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FOR-

JUNE AND DECEMBER, 1881.

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MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

PELTON & KING, PRINTERS AND BOOK-BINDERS,

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## On the Construction of Titus ii. 13.

BY PROF. EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The Greek reads as follows: προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφύλεταν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (or Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ).

Shall we translate, “the appearing of the glory of *our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ*”? or, “the appearing of the glory of *the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ*”?

It was formerly contended by Granville Sharp, and afterwards by Bishop Middleton, that the absence of the Greek article before σωτῆρος in Tit. ii. 13 and 2 Pet. i. 1, and before θεοῦ in Eph. v. 5, is alone sufficient to prove that the two appellatives connected by καὶ belong to one subject.\* “It is impossible,” says Middleton in his note on Tit. ii. 13, “to understand θεοῦ and σωτῆρος otherwise than of one person.” This ground is now generally abandoned, and it is ad-

\*Sharp applied his famous rule also to 2 Thess. i. 12, but Middleton thinks that this text affords no certain evidence in his favor. Winer disposes of it summarily as merely a case in which χριστός is used for ὁ χριστός, the word χριστός taking, in a measure, the character of a proper name. In 2 Thess. i. 11, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν denotes God in distinction from “our Lord Jesus” (ver. 12); it is therefore unnatural in the extreme to take this title in the last clause of *the very same sentence* (ver. 12) as a designation of Christ. We may then reject without hesitation Granville Sharp’s construction, which in fact has the support of but few respectable scholars.

As to 1 Tim. v. 21 and 2 Tim. iv. 1, it is enough to refer to the notes of Bishop Middleton and Bishop Ellicott on the former passage. Compare the remarkable various reading in Gal. ii. 20, adopted by Lachmann and Tregelles (text), but not by Tischendorf or Westcott and Hort,—ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ.

In Eph. v. 5, ἐν τῇ βασικείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, the Χριστοῦ and θεοῦ are regarded as denoting distinct subjects by a large majority of the best commentators, as De Wette, Meyer, Oldshausen, Meier, Holzhausen, Flatt, Matthies, Baumgarten-Crusius, Bleek, Ewald, Schenkel, Braune and Riddle (in Lange’s *Comm.*, Amer. trans.), Conybeare, Bloomfield, Ellicott, Eadie, Alford, Canon Barry in Ellicott’s *N. T. Comm.*, and Prebendary Meyrick in “the Speaker’s Commentary” (1881).

In the Revised New Testament, the construction contended for so strenuously by Middleton in Eph. v. 5, and by Sharp in 2 Thess. i. 12, has not been deemed worthy of notice.

mitted that, *grammatically*, either construction is possible. I need only refer to Winer, Stuart, Buttmann, T. S. Green, and S. G. Green among the grammarians, and to Alford, Ellicott, Wace, and other recent commentators.† It will be most convenient to assume, provisionally, that this view is correct; and to consider first the *exegetical* grounds for preferring one construction to the other. But as some still think that the omission of the article, though not decisive of the question, affords a *presumption* in favor of the construction which makes τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ a designation of Christ, a few remarks upon this point will be made in Note A, at the end of this paper. It may be enough to say here, that θεοῦ has already an attributive, so that the mind naturally rests for a moment upon τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ as a subject by itself; and that the addition of Ἱησοῦ Χριστοῦ to σωτῆρος ἡμῶν distinguishes the person so clearly from τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ according to Paul's *constant use of language*, that there was no need of the article for that purpose.

The question presented derives additional interest from the fact that, in the recent Revision of the English translation of the New Testament, the English Company have adopted in the text the first of the constructions mentioned above, placing the other in the margin; while the American Company, by a large majority, preferred to reverse these positions.

I will first examine the arguments of Bishop Ellicott for the construction which makes τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ an appellation of Christ. They are as follows:

"(a) ἐπιφάνεια is a term specially and peculiarly applied to the Son, and never to the Father." The facts are these. In one passage (2 Tim. i. 10) the word ἐπιφάνεια is applied to Christ's first advent; in four to his second advent (2 Thess. ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8); and as ἐπιφάνεια denotes a visible manifestation, it may be thought that an ἐπιφάνεια of God, the Father, "whom no man hath seen nor can see," could not be spoken of.

But this argument is founded on a misstatement of the question. The expression here is not "the appearing of the great God," but "the appearing of the glory of the great God," which is a very different thing. When our Saviour himself had said, "The Son of man

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†See Winer, *Gram.* § 19, 5, Anm. 1, p. 123, 7te Aufl. (p. 130 Thayer's trans., p. 162 Moulton); Stuart, *Bibl. Repos.* April, 1834, vol. iv. p. 322 f.; A. Buttmann, *Gram.*, § 125, 14–17, pp. 97–100, Thayer's trans.; T. S. Green, *Gram. of the N. T. Dialect* (1842), pp. 205–219, or new ed. (1862), pp. 67–75; S. G. Green, *Handbook to the Gram. of the Greek Test.*, p. 216; and Alford on Tit. ii. 13. Alford has some good remarks on the passage, but I find no sufficient proof of his statement that σωτήρ had become in the N. T. "a quasi proper name."

shall come *in the glory of his Father*, with his angels" (Matt. xvi. 27, comp. Mark viii. 38), or as Luke expresses it, "in his own glory, *and the glory of the Father, and of the holy angels*" (ch. ix. 26), can we doubt that Paul, who had probably often heard Luke's report of these words, might speak of "*the appearing of the glory*" of the Father, as well as of Christ, at the second advent?\*

This view is confirmed by the representations of the second advent given elsewhere in the New Testament, and particularly by 1 Tim. vi. 14–16. The future *ἐπιφάνεια* of Christ was not conceived of by Paul as independent of God, the Father, any more than his first *ἐπιφάνεια* or advent, but as one "which in his own time the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen nor can see, *shall show*" (*δεῖσθαι*). The reference is to the joint manifestation of the glory of God and of Christ at the time when, to use the language of the writer to the Hebrews (i. 6), "*he again bringeth [or shall have brought] the first-begotten into the world, and saith, Let all the angels of God pay him homage.*" That God and Christ should be associated in the references to the second advent, that God should be represented as displaying his power and glory at the *ἐπιφάνεια* of Christ, accords with the account given elsewhere of the *accompanying events*. The dead are to be raised at the second advent, a glorious display of divine power, even as Christ is said to have been "*raised from the dead by the glory of the Father*" (Rom. vi. 4). But it is expressly declared by Paul that "*as Jesus died and rose again, even so shall God, through Jesus, bring with him them that have fallen asleep*" (1 Thess. iv. 14; comp. Phil. iii. 21); and again, "*God both raised the Lord, and will raise up us by his power*" (1 Cor. vi. 14). There is to be a general judgment at the second advent; but Paul tells us that "*God hath appointed a day*

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\* Even if the false assumption on which the argument is founded were correct, that is, if the expression here used were *τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ*, the argument would have little or no weight. The fact that *ἐπιφάνεια* is used four times of Christ in relation to the second advent, would be very far from proving that it might not be so used of God, the Father, also. Abundant examples may be adduced from Jewish writers to show that any extraordinary display of divine power, whether exercised directly and known only by its effects, or through an intermediate visible agent, as an angel, might be called an *ἐπιφάνεια*, an "*appearing*" or "*manifestation*" of God. The word is used in the same way in heathen literature to denote any supposed divine interposition in human affairs, whether accompanied by a visible appearance of the particular deity concerned, or not. See Note B.

in which HE will judge the world in righteousness *by* a man whom he hath ordained" (Acts xvii. 31), or, as it is elsewhere expressed, "the day in which HE will judge the secrets of men, *through* Jesus Christ" (Rom. ii. 16, comp. ver. 5, 6); and that "we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God" (Rom. xiv. 10). So the day referred to is not only called "the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. i. 8; v. 5; 2 Cor. i. 14), or "the day of Christ Jesus" (Phil. i. 6), or "the day of Christ" (Phil. i. 10; ii. 16), but "the day of God" (2 Pet. iii. 12). Here, as throughout the economy of salvation, there is εἰς θεός, ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς χριστός, ἡ γένους Χριστός, δὲ οὗ τὰ πάντα (1 Cor. viii. 6).

It appears to me, then, that Bishop Ellicott's "palmary argument," as he calls it, derives all its apparent force from a misstatement of the question; and when we consider the express language of Christ respecting his appearing in the glory of his Father; the express statement of Paul that this *ἐπιφάνεια* of Christ is one which God, the Father, will *show* (1 Tim. vi. 15), and the corresponding statement of the writer to the Hebrews (i. 6, "when he again bringeth," etc.); when we consider that in the *concomitants* of the second advent, the resurrection of the dead, and the judgment of men, in which the glory of Christ will be displayed, he is everywhere represented as acting, not independently of God, the Father, but in union with him, as his agent, so that "the Father is glorified in the Son," can we find the slightest difficulty in supposing that Paul here describes the second advent as an "appearing of the *glory* of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ"?

(b) Bishop Ellicott's second argument is, "that the immediate context so specially relates to our Lord."—He can only refer to ver. 14, "who gave himself for us," etc. The argument rests on the assumption, that when a writer speaks of two persons, A and B, there is something strange or unnatural in adding a predicate of B alone. If it is not instantly clear that such an assumption contradicts the most familiar facts of language, one may compare the mention of God and Christ together in Gal. i. 3, 4, and 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6, and the predicate that in each case follows the mention of the latter. The passage in Galatians reads: "Grace to you and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might deliver us," etc.

(c) The third point is, "that the following mention of Christ's giving Himself up for us, of His abasement, does fairly account for St. Paul's ascription of a title, otherwise unusual, that specially and antithetically marks His glory."—"Otherwise *unusual*!" Does

Bishop Ellicott mean that "the great God" is simply an "unusual" title of Christ in the New Testament? But this is not an argument, but only an answer to an objection, which we shall consider by and by. It is obvious that what is said in ver. 14 can in itself afford no proof or presumption that Paul in what precedes has called Christ "the great God." He uses similar language in many passages (*e. g.* those just cited under *b* from Gal. i. 3, 4 and 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6) in which Christ is clearly distinguished from God.

(*d*) The fourth argument is, "that *μεγάλον* would seem uncalled for if applied to the Father." It seems to me, on the contrary, to have a solemn impressiveness, suitable to the grandeur of the event referred to. It condenses into one word what is more fully expressed by the accumulation of high titles applied to God in connection with the same subject in 1 Tim. vi. 14-16, suggesting that the event is one in which the power and majesty of God will be conspicuously displayed. The expression "the great God" does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, but it is not uncommon in the Old Testament and later Jewish writings as a designation of Jehovah. See Note C.

(*e*) Bishop Ellicott's last argument is, that "apparently two of the Ante-Nicene (Clem. Alexand. *Protrept.* 7 [ed. Pott.] and Hippolytus, quoted by Words.) and the great bulk of post-Nicene writers concurred in this interpretation."—As to this, I would say that Clement of Alexandria does not cite the passage in proof of the deity of Christ, and there is nothing to show that he adopted the construction which refers the *τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ* to him.\* Hippolytus (*De Anti-christo* c. 67), in an *allusion* to the passage, uses the expression *ἐπεριένειν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* of Christ, which may seem to indicate that he adopted the construction just mentioned. But it is to be observed that he omits the *τῆς ὀδόγης*, and the *μεγάλον*, and the

\* Winstanley well remarks, in his valuable essay on the use of the Greek article in the New Testament, that "the observation of Whitby that Clem. Alex. quotes this text of St. Paul, when he is asserting the divinity of Christ, if it mean that he quotes it as an argument, or proof, is a mistake. Clemens is all along speaking of a past appearance only, and therefore he begins his quotation with a former verse, *ἰ πάρτις τοῦ θεοῦ . . .* etc., and then proceeds *τωδέποτε τὸ ἄσημα τὸ κατεύθυντο* [I omit the quotation], etc., so that his authority inclines the other way: for he has not appealed to this text, though he had it before him, when he was expressly asserting the divinity of Christ, as *Θεός*, and *ὁ Θεὸς λόγος*, but not as *ὁ μέγας Θεός*." (*Vindication of certain Passages in the Common English Version of the N. T.*, p. 35 f., Amer. ed., Cambridge, 1819.)

The supposition of Wordsworth and Wace that Ignatius (*Eph.* c. 1) refers to this passage has, so far as I can see, no foundation.

*Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ* after *σωτῆρος ἡμῶν*, so that it is not certain that if he had quoted the passage fully, instead of merely borrowing some of its language, he would have applied all the terms to one subject. My principal reason for doubt is, that he has nowhere in his writings spoken of Christ as *ὁ μέγας θεός*, with or without *ἡμῶν*, and that it would hardly have been consistent with his theology to do this, holding so strongly as he did the doctrine of the subordination of the Son.

It is true that many writers of the fourth century and later apply the passage to Christ. At that period, and earlier, when *θεός* had become a common appellation of Christ, and especially when he was very often called "our God" or "our God and Saviour," the construction of Tit. ii. 13 which refers the *θεοῦ* to him would seem the most natural. But the *New Testament* use of language is widely different; and on that account a construction which would seem most natural in the fourth century, might not even suggest itself to a reader of the first century. That the orthodox Fathers should give to an ambiguous passage the construction which suited their theology and the use of language in their time, was almost a matter of course, and furnishes no evidence that their resolution of the ambiguity is the true one.

The cases are so numerous in which the Fathers, under the influence of a dogmatic bias, have done extreme violence to very plain language, that we can attach no weight to their preference in the case of a construction really ambiguous, like the present. For a notable example of such violence, see 2 Cor. iv. 4, *ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου ἐπύγλωσσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων*, where, through fear of Gnosticism or Manichæism, Ireneus (*Hær.* iii. 7. § 1; comp. iv. 29 (al. 48). § 2), Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* v. 11), Adamantius or Pseudo-Origin (*De recta in Deum fide*, sect. ii. Orig. *Opp.* i. 832), Chrysostom, Theodoret, Eusebius, Theophylact, Augustine, Primasius, Sedulius Scotus, Haymo, and others make *τοῦ αἰώνος τούτου* depend on *ἀπίστων* instead of *ὁ θεός*,\* a construction which we should hardly hesitate to call impossible.

I have now considered all the arguments of Bishop Ellicott, citing them in full in his own language. It seems to me that no one of them has any real weight; and that a consideration of his "palmary

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\* For many of these writers see Whitby, *Diss. de Script. Interp. secundum Patrum Commentarios*, p. 275 f. Alford's note on this passage has a number of false references, copied without acknowledgment from Meyer, and ascribes this interpretation (after Meyer) to Origen, who opposes it (*Opp.* iii. 497, ed. Delarue).

argument," which is the one mainly urged by the advocates of his construction of the passage, really leads to the opposite view. "The same is true also, I conceive, of his reference to the expression "the great God."

But there is a new argument which it may be worth while to notice. In the English translation of the second edition of his *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of N. T. Greek*, Cremer has added to the article θεός a long note on Tit. ii. 13 which is not in the German original, and has made other alterations in the article. He here contends that τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ refers to Christ. He gives up entirely the argument from the want of the article before σωτῆρος, on which he had insisted in the German edition. Nor does he urge the argument from the use of ἐπιφένεια. His only arguments are founded on the assertion that ver. 14 "by its form already indicates that in ver. 13 only one subject is presented"—an argument which has already been answered (see p. 6, under δ), and to which, it seems to me, one cannot reasonably attach the slightest weight—and the fact that ver. 14 contains the expression λαὸς περιουσίος, "a peculiar people," an expression used in the O. T. to denote the Jewish nation as the chosen people, the peculiar possession of God. The argument rests on the assumption that because in ver. 14 the Apostle has transferred this expression to the church of Christ, "the great God" in ver. 13 must be taken as a predicate of Christ.

The case seems to me to present no difficulty, and to afford no ground for such an inference. The relation of Christians to God and Christ is such that, from its very nature, the servants of Christ are and are called the servants of God, the church of Christ the church of God, the kingdom of Christ the kingdom of God. So Christians are and are represented as the peculiar people and possession of Christ, and at the same time the peculiar people and possession of God (1 Pet. ii. 9, 10).\* If Christians belong to Christ, they must belong also to God, the Father, to whom Christ himself belongs (1 Cor. iii. 23, "ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's"). To infer, then, that because in ver. 14 Christians are spoken of as Christ's peculiar people, the title "great God" must necessarily be understood as applied to him in ver. 13, is a very extraordinary kind of reasoning.

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\* Comp. Clement of Rome, 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 64 (formerly 58): " May the All-seeing God and Master of Spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ and us through him for a peculiar people (*εἰς λαὸν περιουσίων*), grant," etc.

Such are the arguments which have been urged for the translation, “the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.” Let us now consider what is to be said for the construction which makes *τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ* and *Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ* distinct subjects.

In the case of a grammatical ambiguity of this kind in any classical author, the first inquiry would be, What is the usage of the writer respecting the application of the title in question? Now this consideration, which certainly is a most reasonable one, seems to me here absolutely decisive. While the word *θεός* occurs more than five hundred times in the Epistles of Paul, not including the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is not a single instance in which it is *clearly* applied to Christ.†

In the case then of a question between two constructions, either of which is grammatically possible, should we not adopt that which accords with a usage of which we have 500 examples, without one clear exception, rather than that which is in opposition to it? The case is made still stronger by the fact that we have here not only *θεοῦ*, but *μεγάλου θεοῦ*.

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†The passages in the writings of Paul in which the title *θεός* has ever been supposed to be given to Christ are very few, and are all cases of very doubtful construction or doubtful reading. Alford finds it given to him only in Rom. ix. 5; but here, as is well known, many of the most eminent modern scholars make the last part of the verse a doxology to God, the Father. So, for example, Winer, Fritzsche, Meyer, De Wette, Ewald; Tischendorf, Kuenen and Cobet, Buttmann, Hahn (ed. 1861); Prof. Jowett, Prof. I. H. Godwin, Prof. Lewis Campbell of the University of St. Andrews, the Rev. Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and Dr. Hort. Of the other passages, Eph. v. 5 and 2 Thess. i. 12 have already been considered. In 1 Tim. iii. 16 there is now a general agreement among critical scholars that δέξαφαιρώνη and not θεός δέξαφαιρώνη is the true reading. In Col. ii. 2, the only remaining passage, the text is uncertain; but if we adopt the reading τῷν μωσαγρίνων τῷν θεοῦ Αἰριστῶν, the most probable construction is that which regards Αἰριστῶν as in apposition with μωσαγρίνων, which is confirmed by Col. i. 27. This is the view of Bishop Ellicott, Bishop Lightfoot, Wieseler (on Gal. i. 1), and Westcott and Hort. Others, as Meyer and Huther, translate “the mystery of the God of Christ” (comp. Eph. i. 3, 17, etc.) Steiger takes Αἰριστῶν as in apposition with τῷν θεοῦ, and thus finds Christ here called God; but to justify his interpretation the Greek should rather be Αἰριστῶν τῷν θεοῖν (comp. De Wette).

The habitual, and I believe *uniform*, usage of Paul corresponds with his language 1 Cor. viii. 6.

Here and elsewhere I intentionally pass by the question whether Paul's view of the nature of Christ and his relation to the Father would have allowed him to designate Christ as ὁ μέγας θεὸς καὶ σωτῆρ ἡμῶν. This would lead to a long discussion of many passages. My argument rests on the undisputed facts respecting his habitual use of language.

Even if we do not regard the Pastoral Epistles as written by Paul, and confine our attention to them only, we reach the same result. Observe how clearly God, the Father, is distinguished from Christ in 1 Tim. i. 1, 2; ii. 3-5; v. 21; vi. 13-16; 2 Tim. i. 2, 8, 9; iv. 1; Tit. i. 1, 3 (comp. for the *xar' ἐπιταγήν* 1 Tim. i. 1, Rom. xvi. 26), 4; iii. 4-6. Observe, particularly, that the expression "God our Saviour" is applied solely to the Father, who is distinguished from Christ as our Saviour; God being the primal source of salvation, and Christ the medium of communication, agreeably to the language of Paul, 2 Cor. v. 18, *τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καταλλέλουσ* *ἥμας ἔσωτῷ διὰ χριστοῦ*; comp. 1 Cor. viii. 6. See 1 Tim. i. 1; ii. 3-5; iv. 10; Tit. i. 1-4; iii. 4-6; compare also Jude 25. Such being the marked distinction between *θεός* and *Χριστός* in other passages of these Pastoral Epistles, should we not adopt the construction which recognizes the same here?

An examination of the context will confirm the conclusion at which we have arrived. I have already shown that the title "God our Saviour" in the Pastoral Epistles belongs exclusively to the Father. This is generally admitted; for example, by Bloomfield, Alford, and Ellicott. Now the connection of ver. 10, in which this expression occurs, with ver. 11 is obviously such, that if *θεός* denotes the Father in the former it must in the latter. Regarding it then as settled that *θεός* in ver. 11 denotes the Father (and I am not aware that it has ever been disputed),\* is it not harsh to suppose that the *θεός* in ver. 13, in the latter part of the sentence, denotes a different subject from the *θεός* in ver. 11, at the beginning of the same sentence? It appears especially harsh, when we notice the beautiful correspondence of *ἐπιφάνειαν* in ver. 13 with the *ἐπιφάνη* of ver. 11. This correspondence can hardly have been undesigned. As the first advent of Christ was an *appearing* or visible manifestation of the *grace* of God, who sent him, so his second advent will be an *appearing* of the *glory* of God, as well as of Christ.

To sum up: the reasons which are urged for giving this verbally ambiguous passage the construction which makes "the great God" a designation of Christ, are seen, when examined, to have little or no weight; on the other hand, the construction adopted in the common English version, and preferred by the American Revisers, is favored, if not required, by the context (comparing ver. 13 with ver. 11); it perfectly suits the references to the second advent in other

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\* If it should be questioned, all doubt will probably be removed by a comparison of the verse with Tit. iii. 3-7, and 2 Tim. i. 8, 9.

parts of the N. T.; and it is imperatively demanded by a regard to Paul's *use of language*, unless we arbitrarily assume here a single exception to a usage of which we have more than 500 examples.

I might add, though I would not lay much stress on the fact, that the principal ancient versions, the Old Latin, the Vulgate, the Peshitto and Harclean Syriac, the Coptic, and the Arabic, appear to have given the passage the construction which makes God and Christ distinct subjects. The Ethiopic seems to be the only exception. Perhaps, however, the construction in the Latin versions should be regarded as somewhat ambiguous.

Among the modern scholars who have agreed with all the old English versions (Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer, the Genevan, the Bishops' Bible, the Rheinish, and the Authorized) in preferring this construction, are Erasmus, Calvin, Luther, Grotius, LeClerc, Wetstein, Moldenhawer, Michaelis, Benson, Macknight, Abp. Newcome, Rosenmüller, Heinrichs, Schott, Bretschneider, Neander (*Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, Robinson's revised trans., p. 468, note †), De Wette (and so Möller in the 3d ed. of De Wette, 1867), Meyer (on Rom. ix. 5), Fritzsche (*Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 266 ff.), Grimm, Baumgarten-Crusius (N. T. Gr. ed. Schott, 1839), Krehl, H. F. T. L. Ernesti (*Vom Ursprunge der Sünde*, p. 235 f.), Schumann (*Christus*, 1852, ii. 580, note). Messner (*Die Lehre der Apostel*, 1856, p. 236 f.), Huther, Ewald, Holtzmann (in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and with more hesitation in his *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 1880), Beyschlag (*Christol. des N. T.*, 1866, p. 212, note), Rothe (*Dogmatik*, II. i. (1870), p. 110, note 3), Conybeare and Howson, Alford, Fairbairn, with some hesitation (*The Pastoral Epistles*, Edin. 1874, pp. 55, 282–285), Davidson, Prof. Lewis Campbell (in the *Contemp. Rev.* for Aug., 1876), Immer (*Theol. d. N. T.*, 1877, p. 393), W. F. Gess, *Christi Person und Werk*, Abth. II. (1878), p. 330), in opposition to the view expressed in his earlier work, *Die Lehre von der Person Christi* (1856), p. 88 f., Reuss (*Les Épitres Pauliniennes*, Paris, 1878, ii. 345), Farrar (*Life and Work of St. Paul*, ii. 536, cf. p. 615, note 1); Westcott and Hort, apparently, according to the punctuation of their text, as distinguished from that of their margin; and so the grammarians Winer and T. S. Green (comp. his *Two-fold N. T.*). In the case of one or two recent writers, as Pfeiderer and Weizsäcker, who have adopted the other construction, there is reason to regard them as influenced by their view of the non-Pauline authorship of the Epistle, disposing them to find in its Christology a doctrine different from that of Paul.

Very many others, as Heydenreich, Flatt, Tholuck (*Comm. sum*

*Brief an die Römer*, 5<sup>e</sup> Ausg., 1856, p. 482), C. F. Schmid (*Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, 2<sup>e</sup> Aufl., p. 540), Luthardt, leave the matter undecided. Even Bloomfield, in the Addenda to his last work (*Critical Annotations, Additional and Supplementary, on the N. T.*, Lond. 1860, p. 352), after retracting the version given in his 9th edition of the Greek Testament, candidly says: "I am ready to admit that the mode of interpreting maintained by Huther and Al[ford] completely satisfies all the grammatical requirements of the sentence; that it is both structurally and contextually quite as probable as the other, and perhaps more agreeable to the Apostle's way of writing."

The view of Lange (*Christliche Dogmatik*, Heidelb. 1851, ii. 161 f.), Van Hengel (*Interp. Ep. Pauli ad Romanos*, ii. 358, note), and Schenkel (*Das Christusbild der Apostel*, 1879, p. 357), that Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is here in apposition to τῆς δόξης, the words which precede (τοῦ μεγ. δεοῦ καὶ σωτ. ἡμῶν) being referred to the Father, has so little to commend it that it may be passed over without discussion.

#### NOTE A.—(See p. 4.)

##### *On the Omission of the Article before σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.*

Middleton's rule is as follows:—"When two or more attributives joined by a copulative or copulatives are assumed of [assumed to belong to] the same person or thing, before the first attributive the article is inserted; before the remaining ones it is omitted." (*Doctrine of the Greek Article*, Chap. III. Sect. IV. § 2, p. 44, Amer. edition.) If the article is not inserted before the second of the two assumable attributives thus connected, he maintains that both must be understood as describing the same subject.

By attributives he understands adjectives, participles, and nouns which are "significant of character, relation, or dignity."

He admits that the rule is not always applicable to *plurals* (p. 49); and again, where the attributives "are in their nature plainly incompatible." "We cannot wonder," he says, "if in such instances the principle of the rule has been sacrificed to negligence, or even to studied brevity. . . . The second article should in strictness be expressed; but in such cases the writers knew that it might be safely understood." (pp. 51, 52.)

The principle which covers all the cases coming under Middleton's rule, so far as that rule bears on the present question, is, I believe, simply this: The definite article is inserted before the second attributive when it is felt to be needed to distinguish different subjects; but when

the two terms connected by a copulative are *shown by any circumstance* to denote distinct subjects, then the article may be omitted, for the excellent reason that it is not needed.\*

Middleton's rule, with its exceptions, applies to the English language as well as to the Greek. Webster (Wm.) remarks in his *Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament* :—

"In English, the Secretary and Treasurer means one person ; the Secretary and the Treasurer mean two persons. In speaking of horses, the black and white means the piebald, but the black and the white mean two different horses." (pp. 35, 36.)

But this rule is very often broken when such formal precision of expression is not felt to be necessary. If I should say, "I saw the President and Treasurer of the Boston and Albany Railroad yesterday," no one, probably, would doubt that I spoke of two different persons, or (unless perhaps Mr. G. Washington Moon) would imagine that I was violating the laws of the English language. The fact that the two offices referred to are generally or always in such corporations held by different persons would prevent any doubt as to the meaning. Again, the remark that "Mr. A. drove out to-day with his black and white horses" would be perfectly correct English and perfectly unambiguous if addressed to one who *knew* that Mr. A. had only four horses, two of them black and the other two white.

Take an example from the New Testament. In Matt. xxi. 12 we read that Jesus "cast out all those that were selling and buying in the temple," τοὺς πωλῶντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας. No one can reasonably suppose that the same persons are here described as both selling and buying. In Mark the two classes are made distinct by the insertion of τοὺς before ἀγοράζοντας; here it is safely left to the intelligence of the reader to distinguish them.

In the case before us, the omission of the article before σωτῆρος seems to me to present no difficulty; not because σωτῆρος is made sufficiently definite by the addition of οὐμῶν (Winer), for, since God as well as Christ is often called "our Saviour," οὐδέποτε τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος οὐμῶν, *standing alone*, would most naturally be understood of one subject, namely, God, the Father; but the addition of Ἱησοῦ Χριστοῦ to σωτῆρος οὐμῶν changes the case entirely, restricting the σωτῆρος οὐμῶν to a person or being who, according to Paul's *habitual use of language*, is distinguished from the person or being whom he designates as οὐ θεός, so that there was no need of the repetition of the article to prevent ambiguity. So in 2 Thess. i. 12, the expression κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐμῶν καὶ χριστοῦ would naturally be understood of one subject, and the article would be

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\* See the remarks (by Andrews Norton) in the Appendix to the American edition of Winstanley's *Vindication of Certain Passages in the Common Eng. Version of the N. T.*, p. 45 ff.; or Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, &c., 2d ed., (1856), pp. 199-202.

required before *κυρίων* if two were intended; but the simple addition of *'Ιησοῦν Χριστοῦ* to *κυρίου* makes the reference to the two distinct subjects clear without the insertion of the article.

But the omission of the article before the second of two subjects connected by *καὶ* is not without effect. Its absence naturally leads us to conceive of them as united in some common relation, while the repetition of the article would present them to the mind as distinct objects of thought. The difference between the two cases is like the difference between the expressions "the kingdom of Christ and God," and "the kingdom of Christ and of God" in English. The former expression would denote one kingdom, belonging in some sense to both; the latter would permit the supposition that two distinct kingdoms were referred to, though it would not require this interpretation. The repetition of the preposition, however, as of the article, brings the subjects separately before the mind. In the present case, the omission of the article before *σωτῆρος*, conjoining the word closely with *θεοῦ*, may indicate that the glory spoken of belongs in one aspect to God and in another to Christ (comp. Eph. v. 5); or that the glory of God and the glory of Christ are displayed in conjunction (comp. 2 Thess. i. 12, *κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰ. Χ.*; Luke ix. 26).

There may be still another reason for the omission of the article here before *σωτῆρος ἡμῶν*, or, perhaps I should say, another effect of its absence. It is a recognized principle that the omission of the article before an appellative which designates a person tends to fix the attention on the quality or character or peculiar relation expressed by the appellation, while the insertion of the article tends to throw into the shade the inherent meaning of the term, and to give it the force of a simple proper name. For example, in Heb. i. 2 *ἐν τῷ νήπῳ* would simply mean "in (or by) the Son," or "his Son;" but the omission of the article (*ἐν νήπῳ*) emphasizes the significance of the term *νήπος*,—"by one who is a Son," and in virtue of what that designation expresses is far above all "the prophets." (Comp. T. S. Green, *Gram. of the N. T.*, 2d ed., pp. 47 f., 38 f.) So here the meaning may be, "the appearing of the glory of the great God and a *Saviour* of us," one who is our *Saviour*, "Jesus Christ"—essentially equivalent to "of the great God and Jesus Christ as our *Saviour*"; (comp. Acts xiii. 23); the idea suggested being that the salvation or deliverance of Christians will be consummated at the second advent, when Christ "shall appear, to them that wait for him, unto *salvation*." Comp. Phil. iii. 20, 21, "For our citizenship is in heaven, from whence also we wait for a *Saviour*, the Lord Jesus Christ, *ἵνα ὁ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδέχομεθα κίριτον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*, who shall change the body of our humiliation," &c.; Rom. viii. 23, 24; xiii. 11; 1 Thess. v. 8, 9; Heb. ix. 28; 1 Pet. i. 5. The position of *σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* before *'Ιησοῦν Χριστοῦ*, as well as the absence of the article, favors this view; comp. Acts xiii. 23; Phil. iii. 20, and contrast Tit. i. 4.

The points which I would make, then, are, that the insertion of the article before *σωτῆρος* was not needed here to show that the word designates a subject distinct from *τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ*; and that its absence serves to bring out the thoughts that, in the event referred to, the glory of God and that of Christ are displayed *together*, and that Christ then appears as *Saviour*, in the sense that the salvation of Christians, including what St. Paul calls "the redemption of the body," is then made complete. These are conceptions which accord with the view which the Apostle has elsewhere presented of the second advent.

But as many English writers still assume that the construction of Tit. ii. 13 and similar passages has been settled by Bishop Middleton, I will quote in conclusion a few sentences, by way of caution, from one of the highest authorities on the grammar of the Greek Testament, Alexander Buttmann. He says:—

"It will probably never be possible, either in reference to profane literature or to the N. T., to bring down to rigid rules which have no exception, the inquiry when with several substantives connected by conjunctions the article is repeated, and when it is not. . . . From this fact alone it follows, that in view of the subjective and arbitrary treatment of the article on the part of individual writers (cf. § 124, 2) it is very hazardous in particular cases to draw important inferences affecting the sense or even of a doctrinal nature, from the single circumstance of the use or omission of the article; see e. g. Tit. ii. 13; Jude 4; 2 Pet. i. 1 and the expositors of these passages." (*Gram. of the N. T. Greek*, § 125, 14; p. 97, Thayer's trans.)

#### NOTE B. (See p. 5.)

##### *The use of ἐπιφάνεια and kindred terms with reference to God.*

It has already been observed that the expression used in Tit. ii. 13 is not *ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ*, but *ἐπιφάνεια τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ*, and that the reference of the title "the great God" to the Father accords perfectly with the representation elsewhere in the N. T., that the *glory* of God, the Father, as well as of Christ, will be displayed at the second advent. This reference, therefore, presents no difficulty. But the weakness of the argument against it may be still further illustrated by the use of the term *ἐπιφάνεια* and kindred expressions in Josephus and other Jewish writings. It will be seen that any extraordinary manifestation of divine power, whether exerted directly, or through an intermediate agent, is spoken of as an *ἐπιφάνεια* of God.

1. For example, the parting of the waters of the Red Sea is described as "the appearing," or "manifestation of God." *Μωϋσῆς ὁ ἐ ὄρῳ τῷ ἐπιφάνειᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ* x. τ. λ. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 16. § 2.

2. Speaking of the journey through the wilderness, Josephus says: "The cloud was present, and standing over the tabernacle, signified the appearing of God," τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ. (*Ant.* iii. 14. § 4.)

3. Josephus uses both ἡ παρουσία τοῦ θεοῦ, and ἡ ἐπιφάνεια [τοῦ θεοῦ], in reference to a miraculous shower of rain; *Ant.* xviii. 8 (al. 10).

§ 6. So a violent thunderstorm which deterred the army of Xerxes from attacking Delphi is described by Diodorus Siculus as ἡ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφάνεια (*Bibl. Hist.* xi. 14). Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11 (al. 14). § 7, where ἡ ἐμφάνεια τοῦ θεοῦ is used in a similar way. Observe also how in Herod's speech (*Ant.* xv. 5 (al. 6). § 3) angels are spoken of as bringing God εἰς ἐμφάνειαν to men.

4. In reference to the miraculous guidance of Abraham's servant when sent to procure Rebecca as a wife for Isaac, the marriage is said to have been brought about ὅπὸ θείας ἐπιφανείας, where we might say, "by a divine interposition." (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 16. § 3.)

5. After giving an account of the deliverance of Elisha from the troops sent by Ben-Hadad to arrest him, which were struck with blindness, Josephus says that the king "marvelled at the strange event, and the appearing (or manifestation) and power of the God of the Israelites (τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἱεραγλυπτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δύναμιν), and at the prophet with whom the Deity was so evidently present for help." (*Ant.* ix. 4. § 4.) Elijah had prayed that God would "manifest (ἐμφανίσαι) his power and presence," παρουσίαν. (*Ibid.* § 3.)

6. In Josephus, *Ant.* v. 8. §§ 2, 3, the appearance of *an angel sent by God* is described as "a sight of God," ἐξ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ὥραθήγατ.

7. In 2 Macc. iii. 24, in reference to the horse with the terrible rider, and the angels that scourged Heliodorus, we read, ὁ τῶν πατέρων [al. πανημάτων] κύριος καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης ἐπιφάνειαν μεγάλην ἔπεισεν, and in ver. 30, τῷ παντοκράτορῷ ἐπιφανέντος κυρίου, "the Almighty Lord having appeared," and farther on, ver. 34, Heliodorus is spoken of as having been "scourged by him," ὅπ' αὐτοῦ, i. e. the Lord, according to the common text, retained by Grimm and Keil. But here for ὅπ' αὐτοῦ Fritzsche reads ξεῖ οὐρανοῦ, which looks like a gloss (comp. ii. 21, τὰς ξεῖ οὐρανοῦ γενημένας ἐπιφανείας).

8. The sending of a good angel is described as an ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ θεοῦ, 2 Macc. xv. 27, comp. ver. 22, 23. Observe also that in 2 Macc. xv. 34 and 3 Macc. v. 35 τὸν ἐπιφανῆ κύριων or θεόν does not mean "the glorious Lord (or God)" as it has often been misunderstood, but ἐπιφανῆς designates God as one who *manifests* his power in the deliverance of his people, a present help in time of need, "the interposing God" (Bissell). Compare the note of Valesius (Valois) on Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 6. § 2.

9. See also 2 Macc. xii. 22, ἐξ τῆς τοῦ πάντας ἐφορῶντος ἐπιφανείας γενημένου ἐπ' αὐτούς; comp. 2 Macc. xi. 8, 10, 13.

10. "They made application to him who . . . always helpeth his portion [his people] μετ' ἐπιφανείας," 2 Macc. xiv. 15.

11. In 3 Macc. v. 8, we are told that the Jews "besought the Almighty Lord to rescue them from imminent death μετὰ μεγαλομεροῦς ἐπιφανείας," and again, ver. 51, "to take pity on them μετὰ ἐπιφανείας." The answer to the prayer is represented as made by the intervention of angels, vi. 18. In ch. i. 9, God is spoken of as having glorified Jerusalem ἐν ἐπιφανείᾳ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ.

12. In the Additions to Esther, Text B, vii. 6 (Fritzsche, *Libr. Apoc. V. 7*: p. 71), the sun and light in Mordecai's dream are said to represent the ἐπιφανία τοῦ θεοῦ, "appearing" (or manifestation) "of God" in the deliverance of the Jews.

13. In the so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, c. 12, § 1, we read: "Let us therefore wait hourly [or betimes, *Lichtf.*] for the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, because we know not the day of the appearing of God, τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ." The τοῦ θεοῦ, employed thus absolutely, must, I think, refer to the Father, according to the writer's use of language. This consideration does not seem to me invalidated by c. 1, § 1, or by the use of ἐπιφάνεια in reference to Christ, c. 17; but others may think differently.

THE USE of the term ἐπιφάνεια in the later Greek classical writers corresponds with its use as illustrated above. Casaubon has a learned note on the word in his *Exercit. ad Annales Eccles. Baronianas II. xi. Ann. I. Num. 36* (p. 185, Lond. 1614), in which he says: "Graeci scriptores ἐπιφάνειαν appellant apparitionem numinis quoquo tandem modo deus aliquis suae praesentiae signum dedisse crederetur." (Comp. his note on Athenaeus, xii. 11, al. 60.) Wesseling in his note on Diodorus Siculus i. 25 repeats this, and adds other illustrations from Diodorus, viz. iii. 62; iv. 82 [v. 62?]; xi. 14; and xiv. 69 (a striking example). See also the story of the Vestal virgin in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 68 (cf. 69), and of Servius Tullius, *ibid.* iv. 2. Other examples are given by Elsner, *Obss. Sacr.* on 2 Pet. i. 16, and by the writers to whom he refers. But it is not worth while to pursue this part of the subject further here. One who wishes to do so will find much interesting matter in the notes of the very learned Ezechiel Spanheim on Callimachus, *Hymn. in Apoll.* 13, and in *Pallad.* 101, and in his *Dissertationes de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum antiquorum*, ed. nova, vol. i. (Lond. 1706), Diss. vii. p. 425 sqq.

I WILL only add in conclusion: If Paul could speak of the first advent of Christ as an ἐπιφάνεια of the grace of God (see ἐπεφάνη Tit. ii. 11; iii. 4), can we, in view of all that has been said, regard it as in the least degree strange or unnatural that he should speak of his second advent as an ἐπιφάνεια of the glory of God?

## NOTE C. (See p. 7.)

*On the expression, τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ.*

There is no other passage in the N. T. in which this expression occurs, the reading of the "received text" in Rev. xix. 17 having very slender support. But the epithet "great" is so often applied to God in the Old Testament and later Jewish writings, and is so appropriate in connection with the display of the divine power and glory in the event referred to, that it is very wonderful that the use of the word here should be regarded as an argument for the reference of the θεός to Christ on the ground that "God the Father did not *need* the exalting and laudatory epithet μέγας," as Usteri says (*Paulin. Lehrbegriff*, 5 te Aufl., p. 326). It might be enough to answer, with Fritzsche, "At ego putaveram, Deum quum sit magnus, jure etiam magnum appellari" (*Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 268). But the following references will show how naturally Paul might apply this designation to the Father: Deut. viii. 21 (Sept. and Heb.); x. 17. 2 Chr. ii. 5 (4). Neh. i. 5; vii. 6; ix. 32. Ps. lxxvii. 13; lxxxvi. 10. Jer. xxxii. 18, 19. Dan. ii. 45; ix. 4. Psalm. Sal. ii. 33. 3 Macc. vii. 2. Comp. ὁ μέγιστος θεός, 3 Macc. i. 16; iii. 11; v. 25; vii. 22; "the great Lord," Eccl. xxxix. 6; xlvi. 5. 2 Macc. v. 20; xii. 15. So very often in the Sibylline Oracles; I have noted 31 examples in the Third Book alone, the principal part of which was the production of a Jewish writer in the second century before Christ.

Though all will agree that God, the Father, does not "need" exalting epithets, such epithets are applied to him freely by the Apostle Paul and other writers of the N. T. For example, he is called by Paul "the incorruptible God," "the living God," "the eternal God," "the only wise God," "the only God," "the invisible God," "the living and true God," "the blessed God;" and since there is no other place in which the apostle has unequivocally designated Christ as θεός, much less θεός with a high epithet, it certainly seems most natural to suppose that ὁ μέγας θεός here designates the Father. Professor Wace (in the "Speaker's Commentary") appeals to 1 John v. 20, where he assumes that Christ is designated as "the true God." But he must be aware that this depends on the reference of the pronoun *ωὗτος*, and that many of the best expositors refer this to the leading subject of the preceding sentence, namely, τὸν ἀληθινόν; so e. g. Erasmus, Grotius, Wetstein, Michaelis, Lücke, DeWette, Meyer, Neander, Huther, Düsterdieck, Gerlach, Brückner, Ewald, Holtzmann, Braune, Haupt, Rothe, C. F. Schmid, Reuss, Alford, and Sinclair (in Ellicott's *N. T. Comm.*); and so the grammarians Alt, Winer, Wilke, Buttmann, and Schirlitz; comp. also John xvii. 3. So doubtful a passage, and that not in the writings of Paul but John, can hardly serve to render it probable that Paul has here applied the designation ὁ μέγας θεός to Christ rather than to God, the Father.

## Note on I. Cor. vii. 15.

BY PROF. E. P. GOULD.

In regard to the question whether the permission to separate, in this verse, leaves the believer who has been deserted by the husband or wife free to marry again : Meyer says, yes ; because Paul's permission in this case is based on the fact, necessary to his interpretation of the Lord's command, that that command applies only to cases in which both parties are believers, *i. e.*, that it is a Christian, not a general law. DeWette makes the same answer, though on the entirely different ground that the case contemplated here, like the one treated as an exception to his prohibition of divorce by our Lord, is one in which the marriage tie is actually broken. But, as regards Meyer's position, it seems scarcely tenable that our Lord's command is to be treated as merely Christian, and not general law. For his argument in Mt. 19 is based on the original relations of man and woman, established at creation and inherent in their structure, and must therefore be universal in its application, not limited to Christians. It is true that in Mt. 5, Christ is laying down the law of his kingdom, but that law is based on universal human relations and obligations, and is applicable in all its parts to man as such. And in Mt. 19. Christ is discussing what is lawful under the Jewish dispensation, but on the same general grounds. As to De Wette's position, that both in our Lord's treatment of the matter and in Paul's, the exception to the law is reducible to an actual dissolution of the marriage tie, which leaves the party divorced free, our Lord, instead of leaving it so that the two cases can be classed together in this way, himself draws the line between them, and declares that, where there is divorce without adultery, he who marries the divorced party commits adultery. Our Lord does not consider divorce an actual, but only a formal dissolution of the marriage tie.

On the whole, then, it seems that we can go just as far as the apostle does in his exception to the statement of our Lord, and no further. Because there is the line which separates between obedience and infraction of that law. The law is that marriage is a physical connection based on the physical relation of the sexes, and can be dissolved properly only physically and really, not formally. And hence to contract another marriage when there had been no such real dissolution, is, as our Lord says, to commit adultery, which is certainly applicable to this case. But what the apostle actually permits involves no infraction of the law on the part of the believer to whom he is speaking. For when he advises the Christian to allow the unbeliever to depart in order to avoid strife, it simply means that he is to accept the situation forced on him, he himself being passive in the matter. And it is important to notice that the apostle says not a word against the obligation of the unbelieving husband or wife to keep up the connection, but simply permits him to have his way, as something beyond the apostle's control. But if we may judge from what he commands in the case over which he as a Christian apostle does have control, we should say that he does not consider the action permitted to be morally right.

## On Romans ix. 5.

BY PROF. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D. D.

The English Version of 1611, as is well known, rendered this verse, "*Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen.*" As thus rendered, the verse has been regarded as asserting in the plainest terms the Divinity of our Lord, and has been used by theologians with much confidence and much emphasis in controversies with opponents. The Revised Version of 1881 gives a similar translation in its text : "*Whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen.*" This Version, however, adds a marginal note in the following words: "Some modern interpreters place a full stop after *flesh*, and translate, *He who is God over all be (is) blessed forever; or He who is over all is God, blessed forever.* Others punctuate, *flesh, who is over all. God be (is) blessed forever.*" For this note, which is the suggestion of the Revision Company in England, the American Revisers propose to substitute, in accordance with the common form of expression adopted in such cases, the word *Or*, and to read, "*Or, flesh: he who is over all, God, be blessed for ever.*" The New Version, thus, recognises the possibility of a different rendering from that which it still retains from the old one, or, at least, acknowledges that a portion of the scholars of recent times have believed such a rendering to be correct. The ordinary reader of the English New Testament is now, accordingly, put in possession of what his fathers did not, in general, know—the fact that to some scholarly minds the words do not appear to declare the Divinity of Christ, or to assert that he is God over all blessed for ever.

The renewed examination of a passage of so much importance could scarcely be regarded as unsuitable at any time. Certainly it cannot be so at present, when the attention of all readers is called to the words by the added notes of the Revisers in both nations. The

questions may well be asked, Whether the rendering of the Old Version ought to be retained in the new work ; whether, if retained, it ought to be accompanied by a marginal note giving another explanation ; and in what form this note, if added, ought to be expressed. The most important , as well as the most interesting of these questions, however, is the one first mentioned. Is the true translation of the words of the Apostle that which we find in the text of the Revised Version, or does some construction of the clause presented in the margin deserve to be considered as the one originally intended ?

We should approach the consideration of this question, as it seems to us, first as verbal and grammatical interpreters alone,—asking, apart from all regard to St. Paul's doctrinal teaching, what the words before us most naturally mean, in the connection in which they stand ; and only afterwards should we take our view of them as looking from the general doctrine of the Apostle. This is the natural order of examination in all cases. The words of a particular passage have a right to be interpreted by the common rules of language, and to have their meaning determined in independence of anything beyond the limits of their own context. A writer may not have intended to bring out, in a particular place, what he states as the substance of his teaching elsewhere. He may even have a different view of truth at one time from that which he has at another. We owe it to him to take and explain the sentence which he gives us to read, precisely as he gives it. This order, also, is the safest one. By following it, we are least exposed to those doctrinal pre-judgments which are so apt to make us all partial and one-sided in our dealing with the words of Scripture. But, while we look at the passage offered for examination at first in this way, we fail in duty, when we undertake to interpret a writer like St. Paul, unless, before our final decision, we inquire whether the meaning assigned by us to what he says is out of harmony with the Christian doctrine which he teaches.

Proceeding after this manner, let us consider the verse under discussion in view of its words or phrases, and their natural connection and construction. To which of the renderings are we led as the more probable one, or the only allowable one, when we pursue our inquiries in this way ? For convenience in our comparison, we select the American marginal translation as the one to put in contrast with that of the text, reserving what may be said upon the other suggestions, in the English note, to a later point. We propose, also, to place the considerations favoring the translation in the text of the Revised Version first in order, and to follow them with some suggestions respecting those upon the opposite side of the question.

I. It can hardly be denied, we think, that *οὐών* is more naturally connected with *οὐχιστός* *κ. τ. λ.* as a descriptive clause, than with the following words as the beginning of a new and independent sentence. This construction of *οὐών*, in cases similar to that which is here presented, is the almost universal one both in the New Testament and in other Greek. In 2 Cor. xi. 31, for example, where the words *οὐών εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰώνας* occur, as they do here, no one would hesitate to refer them to *οὐθένας* which precedes, even if they stood at the end of the verse, or if the construction of the verse were so changed as to read *οὐ πατήρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὐδενὶ δὲ οὐ φεύδομαι, οὐών ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῖς εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰώνας*. They would be thus referred, because the mind naturally carries back the participial clause to *πατήρ* as if a descriptive relative sentence. That *οὐών* followed by other words must always have this relative character, and cannot begin an independent sentence as its subject, it is, of course, idle to assert. Too many instances in which the phrase is used in the latter way may be cited at once, to allow any such position to be taken. Cf. *e. g.* Matt. xii. 30, Jno. iii. 31, viii. 47. But the peculiarity of Rom. ix. 5, as compared with such passages, lies in the fact, that in the clause immediately preceding there is a prominent noun to which the phrase is most easily joined, and a noun, also, designating a person of whom a description in the way of praise might be readily expected. Under such circumstances the reader, as we cannot doubt, would find himself impelled to refer *οὐών* to this noun and this person. The writer would be aware, when he wrote, that this would be the impulse of every one whose eye should chance to fall upon his words. If, therefore, he did not design this reference to be made, he would, we must believe, have been careful to avoid the danger—we may almost say, the certainty—of it, by adopting another construction for his sentence, which would be exposed to no such misapprehension. Especially would this have been the case, where a misunderstanding would be attended with a wrong conception of a most important truth. While we admit, then, the possibility that *οὐών* opens an entirely new sentence, we think it cannot be denied that the *presumption* lies in favor of the view which connects this phrase with *χριστός*, and that the *burden of proof* is on the side of those who would reject this view.

This presumption and the consequent burden of proof are those which we find, at this point, upon the grammatical side of the question, and apart from the Apostle's doctrinal teaching. The fact of their existence is worthy of serious consideration, as we attempt to decide upon the meaning of the verse. Undoubtedly, however, too much stress may be laid upon this fact. Not only so, but it must be

admitted that more weight has been given to it by some writers than a due estimate of its importance would justify. There is, at the most, only a presumption in favor of this construction of the clause as against the other; and a presumption may be overbalanced by probabilities not yet considered. The grammatical argument may, perhaps, be compelled to give way before the force of what we discover on the doctrinal side. If, for example, it can be shown that St. Paul has distinctly, and perhaps frequently, declared that Christ is not God, we must cease to press this presumption. Dr. Liddon, in his "Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ," page 314, note, says, "We may be very certain that if ἐπὶ πάντων θεού could prove to be an unwarranted reading, no scholar, however Socinianizing his bias, would hesitate to say that ὁ ὡν εὐλογητός κ. τ. λ. should be referred to the proper name which precedes it." But Dr. Liddon and all other competent scholars must be aware that the words which he supposes to be omitted, and on the omission of which the statement made by him is founded, are very vital words in the sentence. They are, it may be, the words which determine the true construction; so that, while no scholar would hesitate to connect ὁ ὡν with χριστός in case they were not present, every scholar ought not only to hesitate, but also to refuse to make this connection when they are present. The Apostle's doctrine as to the relation between χριστός and θεός, as we determine it from other passages of his writings, may prove to be such that ὁ ὡν ἐπὶ πάντων θεού cannot, by any probability whatever, be regarded as descriptive of χριστός. We say, *may be*—for we are assuming that, as yet, we have not ascertained what the Apostle's doctrine on the subject is. The grammatical presumption, to which we have referred, is not so strong as to be practically decisive of the question. This we frankly admit, and, in our judgment, it must be admitted. But such a presumption nevertheless exists, and it deserves notice as showing the probability as to the true construction of the words. We must, therefore, take our position at this point, at the outset of the discussion, and must allow, as we pursue this first part of the argument, that ὁ ὡν, grammatically considered, is more easily and naturally construed in connection with χριστός, than as the subject of a new and doxological clause.

II. We turn now to consider, next in order, the phrase τὸ κατὰ σάμψα. This phrase, by reason of the very limitation which it contains, suggests something of the nature of a contrast. If Christ did not have some other relation, or stand in some other position besides this one connected with the Jews, and different from it, there would be no

occasion for any such words. If He were in every sense and respect “from the Jews,” the Apostle would, beyond any reasonable doubt, have said merely οὐτε ὡν οἱ χριστοίς. There is no instance in the New Testament where *κατὰ σάρξα* is used, in which such a contrast is not plainly intended. There will, however, as we suppose, be little controversy on this point. The main question as related to this phrase in the present verse is, not whether a contrast is intended, but whether it is expressed. In regard to this question, extreme positions have been taken by different writers in opposition to each other, and with equal confidence on both sides. The two parties have agreed only in one particular. They have both asserted that the answer is determined *decisively* by the mere presence of the phrase itself.

On the one hand, it is maintained that the expression τὸ κατὰ σάρξα requires as an antithesis a reference to Christ’s divine nature, (so e. g. Lange), and thus οὐτε ὡν οἱ τ. λ., which are the only words in the passage that can set forth the antithesis, must necessarily contain it. We cannot believe that this assertion, as declaring such a necessity, can be established. There are several examples of the use of *κατὰ σάρξα* without any added expression of this character, in the Pauline Epistles. One of these is in the immediate context of this verse; namely, in Rom. ix. 3, where the Apostle speaks of the Israelites as his *kinsmen according to the flesh*, and yet says nothing of them in any other and contrasted relation. As for τὸ κατὰ σάρξα, no instance of its use outside of the verse before us occurs either in the writings of St. Paul, or in any of the other New Testament books.\* But there are such instances in other Greek writings, where it is plain that there is no expressed antithesis. A very noticeable one—noticeable by reason of the striking similarity of the language to that which the Apostle here employs—is found in the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, chap. xxxii. In speaking of Jacob, Clement says εἰς αὐτοῦ οἱ Κύριοι τηγενῶν τὸ κατὰ σάρξα. Whatever contrast may be implied here, none is set forth in words by the author. These examples of the use of *κατὰ σάρξα*, either with or without the neuter article, are sufficient to show that there is no necessity appertaining to the laws of the Greek language, and none arising from any inevitable obscurity of thought as involved in such a phrase without it, for a distinct expression of the intended antithesis. Some writers, however, who are not disposed to go so far as to assert that the phrase *must*, when referring to Christ, have the contrast *always* supplied in words, affirm that it cannot be otherwise *here*. Thus Philippi says, “The suppression of the anti-

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\* The textual reading in Acts ii. 30, which includes these words, should doubtless be rejected.

thesis, and its supply in thought merely, cannot take place where, as here, the thesis occurs only for the sake of the antithesis. “τὸ κατὰ σάρξα,” he adds, “stands merely for the sake of the following ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ. Without this contrast the words would imply a diminution of the prerogative of Israel. The Apostle would then have written simply καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστός; for that the Messiah springs from the Jews is a higher privilege than that He springs from them after the flesh merely. But that *He* springs from them after the flesh who is God over all, this is the highest conceivable prerogative.” If we were considering probabilities only, this reasoning would have much force. But it must be borne in mind that the words of Philippi include a *cannot*, and claim a *necessity* as existing. That τὸ κατὰ σάρξα is inserted because Christ had another relation, in which he did not belong to the Jewish race, may be admitted. This admission, however, is far from being the same thing as to say, that this relation must be set forth in the words ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ. How do we know that the Apostle did not add the limiting phrase simply because he and his readers appreciated the fact, that the Messiah was not from the Jews in every sense? How do we know that he intended to define particularly what he was in other respects? How do we determine—not that he may, or probably does—but that he *must* give to his sentence this especial emphasis of which Philippi speaks, or that he intends to assign to the Jews “the highest conceivable prerogative?” Those who affirm that the phrase itself renders it absolutely certain that the words ὁ ἦν κ. τ. λ. are antithetical to it, are assuming a ground which, as we think, cannot be successfully defended.

In direct opposition to the writers of the class just alluded to, the learned Dutch scholar, van Hengel, in an extended note in his Commentary on this Epistle, endeavors to prove that, according to Greek usage τὸ κατὰ σάρξα here requires a period to be placed after it, and thus the following words must begin a new sentence. His position is that τὸ κατὰ σάρξα must be distinguished from κατὰ σάρκα, and that, when the neuter article is thus used with a restrictive phrase, the appropriate direct contrast is suggested by and involved in this phrase, and any further antithesis is excluded. This position seems to us indefensible, if it amounts to a declaration that a writer, after using τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, cannot state in words what the person to whom he is referring is τὸ κατὰ πνεῦμα. Do not the passages cited by Meyer, in his notes on this verse,—namely, Xenophon's Cyr. v. 4, 11, (*νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἔμοι οἴχομαι, τὸ δὲ ἐπί σοι σέσωσμαι*), Plato, Minos, 320 C., (*νομωφύλακι γὰρ ἀντῷ ἐχρῆτο ὁ Μίνως κατὰ τὸ ἀστυ, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀλλην*

*Κρήτην τῷ Τάλω),* sufficiently prove the opposite? It also seems indefensible, if it involves the assertion that, though the Apostle might have expressed the contrast here by a phrase including *τὸ κατὰ πνεῦμα*, he could not have set it forth without these words, provided that he desired to use other phraseology giving in substance the same idea. Language is not bound in cast-iron chains. Certainly the language of St. Paul is not. But it is not necessary to enter upon a prolonged discussion respecting this point. If we admit everything which this distinguished commentator can possibly intend to maintain, the question is not settled, as he supposes it to be. There may not be here any such distinct (*τὸ κατὰ πνεῦμα*) contrast as van Hengel is excluding. The Apostle may be—not to say, is—stating not what Christ is on the *σάρξ* and on the *πνεῦμα* side, *i. e.* giving a description of Him in his two natures or relations, but simply that Christ, who is God over all, came from the Jews *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*. Could he not have said, Christ, who is the Son of God, or who is the Saviour of the world, came from the Jews *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα?* If he had desired to lay an especial emphasis on the clause beginning with *who is* in this latter sentence, could he not have placed it after *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, instead of before these words? If he could, he could do the same thing in the case before us. This, as we believe, is precisely what he intended to do. But even the possibility that this view of his purpose is correct proves that no such argument as that of this Dutch writer is conclusive.\*

We are thrown back, therefore—on both sides—upon probabilities, and must pursue our examination accordingly. In order to determine what these probabilities are, however, we must observe what the author is attempting to do in the verses to which this passage belongs. It is evident that his object is to set forth the privileges and honors of the Israelitish people, in which he as a Jew might naturally

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\*If the reading of the Textus Receptus in Acts ii. 30 were adopted—*εἰδὼς ὅτι ὄρχῳ ὥμοσεν αἵτιῷ ὁ θεός ἐκ καρπῶν τῆς οὐσίους αἴτου τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσει τὸν χριστὸν, καθίσαι ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ αἴτου—* could not the words *τὸν ὄντα ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν* have been added to *χριστὸν* by the author? Would he, because of the presence of *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα* have been compelled by the inviolable laws of the Greek language to omit these words, however greatly he desired to insert them in his sentence? We cannot believe that the language is fettered so closely as this. But if it is thus limited, so far as the setting forth of a direct contrast is concerned, it will not follow that there is a similar limitation with reference to such a phrase as the one before us, when introduced for the purpose indicated above.

glory, as an evidence [that, in anything which he was about to say respecting them, he was moved by no feeling of hostility. These honors and privileges he brings before the reader in a series of terms, which are clearly arranged in an order of climax. At the end of the series is mentioned, as the greatest and highest distinction of his nation, the fact that Christ belonged to them in a certain sense or on a certain side,—*τὸν κατὰ σάρπα*. So far there can be no difference of opinion. The Apostle's position is plain. But if this be so, is it not antecedently probable, that—in case he could point out, on the *πνεῦμα* side, some peculiar glory appertaining to Christ, which would serve to show in the most emphatic way what the honor to the Jews of having him appear as one of themselves was—he would for the very purpose of his climax, suggest it to the reader's mind? We cannot doubt that an affirmative answer to this question must be given. If, however, the *οὐ ἀντί* clause is referred to Christ, as descriptive of Him, it contains just such a statement of His exalted position as would, in the highest degree, serve this purpose. It presents the honor divinely bestowed upon the people as nothing else could do; such honor as might well lead the Apostle to the extraordinary expression of devotion to them which we find two verses earlier. On the other hand, the insertion of an independent sentence ascribing praise to God the Father here, whatever may be said as to the possible fitness of such a sentence in this context, deprives the passage of this emphasis of climax, if we may so speak, which the author appears to be aiming at as one of his main objects.

We are considering the words, it must be remembered, in connection with the rules of language and grammar, at present. Looking at the sentence in this way, we may say, (a.) *τὸν κατὰ σάρπα* naturally and necessarily suggests the idea of contrast; (b.) this contrast, though, indeed, it may not always be expressed, will probably be expressed whenever the thought can be brought out more clearly or more impressively by this means; (c.) in the present case, it is evident that the greatest force is given to the words, if the antithesis is distinctly stated; (d.) therefore, in this case, the phrase *τὸν κατὰ σάρπα* throws the presumption in favor of the view which holds that we have a statement of the antithesis within the sentence; (e.) inasmuch as the clause *οὐ ἀντί οὐ τ. λ.* may be interpreted in such a way as to answer the purpose of an antithesis (even expressing it in the manner best adapted to the carrying out of a design which the writer manifestly has in mind), and inasmuch as there is nothing else in the verses which can answer this purpose, the probability is that this clause does express what *τὸν κατὰ σάρπα* suggests or calls for.

This probability, we readily confess, is not so strong that it might not be over-balanced by the clear teaching of the Apostle, if such could be proved, that Christ is not θεός. Nor is it so strong, that it would be impossible to suppose an *unexpressed* contrast had been in the writer's mind—such, for example, as that, while on the σαρξ side Christ came from the Jews only, on the πνεῦμα side he had relation to Jews and Gentiles alike.\* The probability, that is to say, does not reach the limits of certainty. But it is of such strength as to be worthy, as we have already said of that which exists respecting the

\*That the unexpressed contrast here referred to is not the one intended by the Apostle, we think is rendered altogether probable by the following considerations: (a.) In the passage of this Epistle in which the πνεῦμα side or relation of Christ is mentioned most distinctly, in contrast with the σαρξ side or relation,—namely, Chap. i., vss. 3, 4, a radically different sense belongs to πνεῦμα. That passage, however, as it appears to us, is one in which the Apostle would have been more inclined, than he would be here, to bring out the relation of the Lord Jesus to all men, in contrast to that in which he stood to the Jews alone. He was there speaking of the Gospel and its proclamation to all the nations. He was intimating that the Old Testament Scriptures had promised and prophesied it; a point which he subsequently develops as confirming the doctrine of salvation by faith for Jews and Gentiles alike. To refer, under such circumstances, to Christ's relation to both would not have been outside of the line of his thought. But in the verses before us he is confining himself to the Jews only, and is attempting to meet a special difficulty as connected with the covenant of God, which made them earnestly oppose his doctrine. In order to carry out his purpose, he is enumerating their privileges as a nation and the marked evidences of God's favor towards them. It is to them exclusively that his thoughts turn here, though they have turned to others elsewhere. If, in such a context, he says, Christ, who is in himself Divine, is, by his human descent, from the Jews, it is in full harmony with all that he is thus setting forth. But a reference, even by implication, to Christ's spiritual connection with all men, as distinguished from them alone, seems to break in discordantly upon his recital of their peculiar honors, and his defence of himself against their sensitiveness. (b.) Whatever we may hold with respect to the doctrine of His Deity, we cannot but regard it as evident that, in general, when the πνεῦμα side of Christ is spoken of or hinted at in the New Testament, in distinction from the σαρξ side, the reference is to something internal to himself, or belonging to his relations to God, and not to what is external, appertaining to the connection which he has with all men as opposed to that which he has with the Jewish race.

construction of *οὐών*, of very serious consideration. It passes the *burden of proof* over to the opposite view.

We cannot but regard the probabilities developed thus far in the discussion as cumulative. If what has been said (in Section I.) of *οὐών* is of weight, the probability that the clause beginning with those words stands in a certain contrast to *τὸ χατὰ σάρπα* is strengthened by this fact.

III. The next point which demands our attention is the position in the sentence of the word *εὐλογητός*. This word occurs just where we should expect to find it, provided the clause is descriptive of *Χριστός*, but it does not have the place in the order of the sentence which it regularly holds in doxologies. A new probability in favor of making the clause a descriptive relative one is derived from this fact.

To say, indeed, as many authors have done in the discussion of this verse, that this word, *εὐλογητός*, cannot possibly stand anywhere in a doxological sentence of this character except at the beginning, is to take an extreme position. It requires much boldness, as it seems to us, to affirm, in respect to such a matter, what a writer *must* say, or to declare what does not fall within the limits of possibility. Language rises above rules at times. In some cases the form of expression may depend, even to the violation of ordinary principles, on the peculiar shade of thought or point of view which characterizes a writer's mind at the moment. Especially may this be the case where the question is one of emphasis, and where emphasis is connected closely, as it is in the Greek language, with the arrangement of words.

But, setting aside the question of absolute impossibility in any conceivable case, the ordinary rule of the language undoubtedly is, that, in doxologies of an exclamatory character, and of this form, the doxological word has the first place. This rule is observed by all the writers in the New Testament and Old Testament, and in the O. T. Apocryphal books, who use such sentences at all, and, among others, by St. Paul himself. This rule seems, also, to be founded in reason, for it is in the very nature of such a sentence to put the exclamation at the beginning. The fact of the rule, (or custom, if so it be called), and of its reasonableness will scarcely be questioned, and therefore need not be proved. The only point to be determined is, whether there are exceptions, which show that, after all, the whole matter is dependent on mere chance emphasis in each particular case —so that the doxological word may have any position; but ordi-

narily has the first simply because, in ordinary cases, the main emphasis rests upon it.

The only exceptional case which is cited from the Scriptures by most writers, is Psalm lxvii. 20, in the Septuagint Version. We are convinced that this passage constitutes no proper exception to the rule, and that it has no bearing upon Rom. ix. 5. We do not say this, indeed, because of the reason which is urged by many ; namely, that the LXX. translators misinterpreted the Hebrew. This we regard as no satisfactory account of the matter. They may have failed to understand the Hebrew, but they were familiar, doubtless, with Greek usage respecting such sentences ; and their arrangement of the words is a thing wholly within the domain of the Greek language. The fact remains that, in a Greek sentence, they have put *εὐλογητός* in another than the first place.\* But when we examine this passage closely, we find that it differs from ordinary doxologies in an important particular. It is a two-fold sentence, having a double or repeated doxology, such as does not occur elsewhere, either in the Old Testament or the New. The verse reads in the LXX., *χύριος ὁ θεός*

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\* The peculiarity of this verse in the Septuagint is supposed by Schultz, who favors the reference of Rom. ix. 5, to Christ, and is admitted by Grimm, who opposes this reference, to be due to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew after the following manner. The Hebrew suggests as the true translation, Thou hast gone up to the high place, thou hast captured a captivity, thou hast taken gifts among mankind and even among rebels,—to dwell as Jah, God. Blessed be the Lord day by day. The LXX. translators, not comprehending the meaning, rendered the words with a slavish literality and adherence to the Hebrew order, *καὶ γὰρ ἀπειθῶντες τοῦ κατασχεῖσθαι κύριος ὁ θεός εὐλογητός—κύριος ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν*. Being unable, with this reading of the sentence, to connect the phrase *κύριος ὁ θεός* with what precedes, they concluded that it must be connected with *εὐλογητός* as a doxology ; and, accordingly, they inserted another *εὐλογητός* to meet the necessity of a verbal word for the second *κύριος*. This explanation is, perhaps, the most satisfactory one which can be given. But, if it be adopted, we must notice that it involves the supposition that the LXX. translators, when they failed to understand the verse in the original, considered with some carefulness what they could do with it, and only after such consideration inserted the second doxological word. They, thus, deliberately arranged a Greek sentence in this order ; and, accordingly, we must hold that they felt the order to be not forbidden by the rules of the language. For this reason, as it appears to us, the mere statement that the Seventy misinterpreted the Hebrew is not sufficient to account for their arrangement of the words in this verse of the Psalms.

**εὐλογητός, εὐλογητός χύριος ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν.** In double sentences of this kind, there is an altogether peculiar rule of emphasis, which conflicts with, and may overpower, the rule prevailing in single exclamatory clauses. The rule to which we refer is, that, in such cases, the two parts of the sentence are so arranged that the corresponding or contrasted words are placed either at the end of the first and beginning of the second part; or at the beginning of the first and end of the second. The frequency with which this rule is observed by Greek writers will not have escaped the notice of any one who is familiar with their works. It is observed, as we may not doubt, by the LXX. translators here. Their desire was to set forth the emphasis on **εὐλογητός** in this passage in the strongest way. How could they best accomplish this end? How could they, in the twofold sentence with its parallel clauses, give to the doxological words that prominence which in a single exclamatory sentence is secured by placing it at the beginning? Evidently, by arranging the clauses precisely as they have done. For this reason, as we may believe, they adopted this method; and, in adopting it, they sought to bring out what in single clauses they attained in another way. If they had translated the Hebrew accurately, with only one doxology, they would, doubtless, have expressed the emphasis as the Hebrew does in this verse, and as they themselves do everywhere else in the Psalms, by placing **εὐλογητός** at the beginning. So far, then, from being an exception which proves that the doxological word may stand after the subject of the sentence, as Winer and others maintain, this verse from the Septuagint, in our judgment, strengthens the opposite view, inasmuch as it shows that, even in this peculiar case, this word is made to have the greatest possible prominence.\*

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\* In contrast with those who would make Ps. lxvii. 20, Sept., a case in proof of the application of **εὐλογητός** in an exclamatory doxology to a subject which precedes it, Lange and Canon Farrar hold that St. Paul, in our present verse, is only echoing the passage from the Psalms and using it to set forth the exaltation of Christ. They found their opinion on the fact that, in Eph. iv. 8, the Apostle cites a part of the next preceding verse, (Thou hast ascended on high, &c.), in reference to him. "Do we not plainly hear the reecho of this passage," says Lange, "in the *ὦ ἐπὶ πάντων?* And since we know that Paul applies this passage to the glorification of Christ, is it not clear that he immediately adds that ascription of praise in the Psalm? His expression occupies the middle ground between the LXX. and the Hebrew text." This reasoning seems to be inconclusive. The apostle, undoubtedly, uses the words of Ps. lxvii. 19, Sept., in the Epistle to the Ephesians, with reference to

One or two passages additional to this one from the Psalms have been cited, for a similar purpose, by individual writers who have discussed the subject. Thus Prof. Grimm, in an article in the *Zeitschrift fur Wissenschaftliche Theologie* for 1868-9, refers to the Apoc. Psalms of Solomon, viii. 40, 41, where we find *αἰνετὸς κύριος ἐν τοῖς χρίμασιν αὐτοῦ ἐν στύματι ὑσίων, καὶ σὺ εὐλογημένος Ἰσραὴλ ὅπδο κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰώνα.* Gen. xxvii. 29 is mentioned in a note appended to Prof. Andrews Norton's *Statement of Reasons.* Here the words are *ὁ καταράμενός σε ἐπικατάρατος· ὁ δὲ εὐλογῶν σε, εὐλογημένος.* It will be observed that, in both of these cases, we have double sentences, and consequently sentences in which we may discover peculiarities as distinguished from simple ones. The former of the two, though not precisely similar to Ps. lxvii. 20, may be explained in the same way. There is, indeed, a kind of chiasmus here. As for the second, the same idea is repeated several times in the Old Testament, e. g. Gen. xii. 3, *εὐλογήσω τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, καὶ τοὺς καταραμένους σε καταράσσομαι,* Ps. cviii. 28, LXX., *καταράσσονται αὐτοὶ καὶ σὺ εὐλογήσεις,* Num., xxiv. 9, *οἱ εὐλογοῦντές σε εὐλόγησται καὶ οἱ καταράμενοί σε κεχατήρανται.* The examination of these verses will show that the writers seem to labor, in all possible ways, to bring out what we may call the compound emphasis. The object, in all this effort, is the same which, in a single clause, is reached in one way only. The compound sentence, therefore, ceases to be a parallel to the simple one. It involves other and peculiar elements, and hence may be subject to special rules appertaining to itself alone.

As a case where, *in a single clause*, the usual order is reversed, Gen. xxvi. 29, has been referred to. The reading here in the common text of the LXX. is *καὶ νῦν εὐλογημένος σὺ ὅπδο κυρίου,* but according to some of the manuscripts it is *σὺ εὐλογητός.* The correct text is so uncertain as to make the evidence to be derived from it somewhat doubtful. But, accepting the reading which places the subject first,

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Christ. But there we find an evident citation. Here, on the contrary, there is nothing to remind us of the precise words of the Psalm. Can we infer from the fact that in another letter, written four or five years afterwards to another Church, there is an application of a particular Psalm to our Lord, that there is, also, such an application in this letter, when the Psalm itself is not quoted? St. Paul, in addressing the Ephesians, is speaking of another subject, he is presenting the exaltation of Christ with reference to another end, he is employing different expressions, he is calling the attention of his readers directly to the O. T. words. The argument derived from what he says to them can scarcely be of much force as bearing upon his language here.

we think it may be questioned whether the sentence is an exclamatory one, pronouncing Isaac blessed, and is not rather an affirmative one, giving a reason why the speakers had come to him for the purpose of making a covenant. If it is to be interpreted in the latter way, it does not belong in the doxological class.

We will not dwell upon the supposed exceptional cases further. To prove that there is not even a single one within the limits of the Greek language, may be difficult. But certainly the search for them has not been an easy task, and, when the search has seemed to be rewarded by a discovery, the passage which is found has some peculiar characteristics rendering it hardly serviceable for the end in view. We may say, at least, that the cases are so exceedingly rare, that, when we are moving in our argument, as we are now, within the region of probabilities, and not affirming certainties, they afford little strength as opposing the ground which we have taken.

Winer (see his N. T. Grammar, p. 551, Am. ed.) sets aside this whole matter of seeking for exceptional cases or denying their existence. He says, "Only an empirical expositor could regard this position as an unalterable rule; for when the subject constitutes the principal notion, especially when it is antithetical to another subject, the predicate may and must be placed after it, cf. Ps. lxvii. 20, Sept. And so in Rom. ix. 5, if the words, *οὐ οὐτε*, &c., are referred to God, the position of the words is quite appropriate, and even indispensable." Other writers have maintained substantially the same ground. It will be convenient, in continuing our discussion, to make these remarks of Winer the starting point for a few suggestions.

(a.) We may admit that the rule of arrangement is that of emphasis. But the question before us is, in fact, this: Whether in such doxological passages, having an exclamatory character, the doxological word is not necessarily the emphatic one. The decision of this question may not, indeed, be reached by the mere empirical expositor. But, if not, is he not, after all, working along a line of examination which ought to be followed? Is not the determination of universal usage a most important, not to say the conclusive, thing? If all writers pursue the same course, does not their unanimous action carry with it the greatest weight, and show that there must be some ground in the nature of things for their unanimity?

(b.) But, passing this point, let us look at Winer's more particular positions. These are that the doxological word *may*, and that it even *must*, stand after the subject, provided the subject constitutes the principal notion, and especially when it is antithetical to another subject. That the word *must*, in this statement, cannot be sustained, is, we

think, proved by such instances as LXX. Gen. xiv. 19, 20, 1 Kings xxv. 32, 33, where we have contrasted subjects, and, in the latter case, the *σύ* (vs. 33.) is the “principal notion” because of the clause *ἡ ἀποκλύσασα*, etc., which contains the very ground and substance of the whole exclamation. As for the word *may*, on the other hand, it is, to say the least, not justified by Winer’s cited example, Ps. lxvii. 20; for, whatever else may be said of the passage, it presents no such peculiar prominence of the subject. There seems to be no evidence of any prominence at all in the subject, except the mere fact of the arrangement of the words. But to assume that this fact proves it, is, in the first place, to assume the very point in dispute, and in the second place, to assume that no other reason can be given for the peculiar order.

(c.) Without, however, pressing this question of *may* and *must*, we ask what is the prominence of the subject in Rom. ix. 5, which renders it in such a degree the principal notion, that its position before the doxological word is not only “quite appropriate,” as Winer maintains, but “even indispensable?” It must be, if we are guided by his paragraph quoted above, either (*x.*) because of a contrast with something else in the passage,—which, it would seem, is either Christ or the Israelites, or (*y.*) because God is designated as the author of the blessings and privileges mentioned in this verse and the preceding one, and that this authorship is the principal thought or notion. With reference to *x.* we should say that there is no such contrast here, and that, if there were, there are passages of sufficient number in the Old Testament, in which, while the contrast is much more marked and striking, the doxological word keeps its regular position at the beginning of the clause, to show that the Biblical writers did not reverse the order in such cases, or regard the fact of a contrast as having any influence towards a reversal. Compare, for example, LXX. Gen. xiv. 19, 20, 1 Kings xxv. 32, 33, already referred to ; and, as furnishing quite as much of contrast as can possibly be found in Rom. ix. 5, LXX. Ps. lxxxviii; 53, whether we consider the contrast as with the enemies or the anointed, *τοῦ χριστοῦ σου*, (Ps.) the Israelites or Christ, (Rom.). In respect to *y.*, we should maintain that there are passages in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, where the subject is clearly and emphatically the principal notion—as much so as it is in our present verse—in which the writer, nevertheless, places it after the doxological word. Compare 2 Macc. xv. 34, as a marked instance. In this verse, as we see in view of the context, the chief idea, and the point and force of the offering of praise to God, are found in the words *ὁ διατηρήσας τὸν ξανθοῦ τόπου ἀμίαντον*, as they

are in δῶν, etc., according to Winer's statement, in Rom. ix. 5. It is the great act, there as much as here, and so, we think, in LXX. 1 Kings xxv. 33, and elsewhere, which calls forth the doxology, and yet no change in the order is made.\*

(d.) If it be said that these cases, and others which might be mentioned, do not correspond with the one now under discussion, because the name of the subject is here preceded by a descriptive clause, δῶν, etc., which marks the subject as the principal notion, it must be admitted that there is no passage in the Septuagint precisely corresponding, in this respect, with the present one. Can we believe, however, that, if in Ps. lxxi. 18, Sept. for example, which now reads εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, οὐ ποιῶν θαυμάσια μόνος, the writer had wished to use only the phrase δῶν ποιῶν θαυμάσια θεός, instead of the words which he does use, he would have been compelled, or, so far as we can judge, would have been disposed, to place εὐλογητός after it? Or, again, would it have been necessary to vary, in this respect, the order of the sentence in Ps. cxvii. 26 Sept., if to the clause, as it now reads, εὐλογημένος οὐ ἐρχόμενος ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου the writer had desired to add words such as χριστὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνας? It is true that the doxologies in the Septuagint which introduce the word εὐλογητός have, in all cases, the name of the subject immediately following this word, and, if a descriptive or causal clause occurs, it is added with δὲ or διὰ and a verb, or with οὐ and a participle. But this fact seems to point, not so much to an impossibility of placing such a descriptive phrase, consisting of οὐ and a participle, before the name of the subject in such a sentence, but rather to the probability that, if St. Paul had wished to insert a doxology here, he would have adopted the course of the LXX. translators, and would have written εὐλογητός first, θεός in the second place, and then a participial clause with οὐ, or a verbal one with διὰ or δὲ. The argument, thus, is rather unfavorable than favorable to the supposition that the Apostle's words are designed to be an ascription of praise to God the Father.

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\* As the doxological clause in 2 Macc. xv. 34 follows the verb εὐλόγησαν (οὐ δὲ πάντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησαν τὸν ἐπιφανῆ κύριον, λέγοντες), it may, perhaps, be claimed that this verb requires the emphasis in the doxology to be on εὐλογητός. If we admit this—which may be regarded as doubtful, to say the least,—we may, nevertheless, confidently affirm, from the unvarying usage of the Septuagint, that the same arrangement of words would have been given, if the verb in question had not been in the text; and the passage remains, therefore, as a suitable one for the purpose for which it is here used.

(e.) But if Rom. ix. 5, is a passage in which the writer desired to set forth a peculiar emphasis in relation to the subject, such as surpasses that which was aimed at in any doxological verse of the Old Testament; if this emphasis was to be connected with God's authorship of the blessings which had been given to Israel; and if the end was sought by placing the descriptive clause not merely before the name of the subject, but also before the doxological word; we cannot but think that he would have written, not what we have before us, but τῷ δὲ ὅντι ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ δόξα εἰς τὸν τιμῆνας, (or, with another order, τῷ δὲ θεῷ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων ὅντι δόξα, etc.). He would have adopted this course, we think, for two reasons: *first*, because the almost or quite universal usage in such exclamatory doxologies, (as we see in all the Scriptural writers), would have led him to apprehend a possible misunderstanding of the clause, if put in its present form,—we say this, of course, on the verbal and grammatical side, not on the doctrinal,—and *secondly*, because the form of expression with the dative was well known to him and frequently used in his epistles, and, indeed, the most common form at the end of his paragraphs, while at the same time it would, if employed, be unmistakable in its meaning.

(f.) Before closing our remarks on this part of the subject, we would call attention to one further point. Meyer and some others maintain that the doxological passages in the LXX. which have the copula are, in no essential point, different from those which have not, so far forth as the matter now in hand is concerned. Hence they claim that all passages of this class, in which the subject precedes εὐλογητός, are pertinent as bearing upon our present verse. The εἶγ or γένοτο or ἔστω in such sentences, it is affirmed, has no emphasis, and the position of the other words is determined by the fact that the stress falls rather upon the subject than the predicate. The passages of this character are the following: Ruth ii. 19, 2 Chron. ix. 8, Job i. 21, Ps. lxxi. 17, Ps. cxii. 2, Dan. ii. 20. A careful examination of these verses, in connection and comparison with others in which εὐλογητός or εὐλογητέος occurs without the copula, will show, we are confident, that there is no evidence that the subject has any more prominence in the one case than in the other. Compare LXX. Ps. lxxi, 17, for example, where we have ἔστω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εὐλογητόν εἰς τὸν τιμῆνας, with the same Psalm, verse 19, where the words are εὐλογητόν τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν τιμῆνας καὶ εἰς τὸν τιμῆνας. It is worthy of notice that, in all these cases, the Hebrew reads the verb, the subject and the doxological word in the same order,\* while in the passages of the other class the doxological word

\* In Ps. lxxii. (LXX. lxxi.) 17, the Hebrew omits the word *blessed*: “Let his name be for ever.”

is always placed first. Is not the true explanation of the matter the following: namely, that the LXX. translators strictly rendered the Hebrew in both classes of sentences, and that both the Hebrew and Septuagint writers obeyed a natural law of language; the law that, in exclamatory doxologies of this character, the doxological word holds the first position, but, where a copula is introduced, the doxological word may follow the subject—even as we say, in English, Happy is the man, but, Let the man be happy, although the subject is no more prominent, or the principal notion, in the one case than in the other.

We may remark here again, that the argument seems to be cumulative. The probability arising from the position of *εὐλογητός*, strong in itself, is strengthened still further by its connection with *ὁ ὁν*,—by the naturalness, that is, with which it is taken as a predicate after *ῳν*;—and especially in view of the fact that in the other two instances in which we have similar expressions in the Pauline Epistles, (Rom. i. 25, and 2 Cor. xi. 31), it is a predicate; in the former after *ὅς ἐστιν*, in the latter after *ὁ ὁν*.

IV. The phrase *ὁ ὁν ἐπὶ πάντων* is, we think, more readily referred to Christ, in this connection, than to God, because, as descriptive of the exaltation and glory of Christ, *ἐπὶ πάντων* is a very natural and suitable phrase, (as e. g. in Eph. iv. 6, with reference to the Father), but, as setting forth the fact that God's superintending providence had allotted to the Israelites such blessings, it seems clear that some other expression would have been better adapted to convey the thought. Some other expression would, therefore, probably have been employed. That *ἐπὶ πάντων* cannot be used as relating to God in view of the thought of this context, we would not affirm, as some have been disposed to do. But the balance of probability is in favor of the other reference.

It has been asserted, indeed, that *ῳν* would have been omitted, if the Apostle had intended to speak of God. We doubt the propriety of this assertion. *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* and *ὁ ὁν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* are phrases which do not, or at least may not, have precisely the same meaning. St. Paul here, according to the rendering of the sentence which is proposed for the marginal note by the American Revisers, says, “he who is over all, God, be blessed for ever.” For this expression the language used is perfectly fitted, and more so than *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* would be. We think it may be said in this connection, however, that there is a somewhat greater naturalness in the use of the words *ὁ ὁν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, as compared with *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*, or even *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων ὁν θεός*, if the reference be to Christ.

Many writers have further claimed, that, if the clause were designed to be a doxology, a particle like δέ would be inserted at the beginning, so that it would read ἁ δέ ὦν, etc. No doubt this is the common construction in such cases, and therefore there is a certain degree of probability, by reason of this fact, against the doxological interpretation here. But it must be remembered that St. Paul is a writer whose style is marked often by abrupt transitions. In the sentences of such a writer, particles of this sort may easily be omitted. The ardor of his feeling is manifested, at times, by the abruptness, and the emphasis is made stronger. A clear case of the omission of δέ under such circumstances may be found in 2 Cor. ix. 15, if we adopt the reading favored by the oldest manuscripts and approved by the best textual scholars.

In regard to the phrase now under consideration we may say that, at each point to which we have referred, there is a slight balance, at least, in favor of uniting it with χριστός. There is no difficulty as appertaining to the language used, if the words are taken as descriptive of Christ. The absence of δέ, the position of ὦν, and the επί πάντων constitute reasons of some, even if it be but little, weight, as bearing against the independence of the clause and its separation from the preceding words.

We have, thus, examined the several parts of the passage which have any important bearing upon the decision as to its meaning: ἁ ὦν —επί πάντων—εἰλογγιτός—τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. They, each and all, afford a probability that the clause relates to Christ. They point in one direction; and this wholly apart from doctrinal considerations,—in the region of language and grammar alone. We cannot say, indeed, that any one of these phrases presents an absolutely conclusive argument on this side of the question. Nor can we maintain, since a chain is no stronger than its links, that all the phrases, when taken together, constitute such an argument, or determine the reference to God to be *impossible*. At the same time, there is, if we may so express it, a *combined and compounded probability*, the force of which cannot easily be shaken, as it seems to us, and should not fail to be duly considered.

V. Beyond the words of the individual clause, their meaning and connection, there is one further point which deserves particular notice. The relation of the clause to the entire context may have an important influence in determining the intention of the author when he wrote it. In which direction does the context turn the balance of

probability? We think, towards the same reference, to which, as we have already seen, the words direct us. The antecedent presumption from the surrounding verses is against a doxology to God in this place. Some have held that this presumption amounts to certainty. The introduction of such a doxology here, they assert, would be so unsuitable as to render it quite impossible to suppose that the Apostle could have thought of it for a moment. To us, however, this view appears to be quite without foundation. Indeed, we cannot regard an ascription of praise to God as *especially* out of place at this point. St. Paul had been enumerating the peculiar blessings and honors of his own people, which had given them, as he rejoiced to feel, an exalted position in the world. He was declaring his affection for them, and the absence of all enmity even when compelled to say what might seem harsh and offensive. He was testifying to his sorrow for evil which befell them, and his joy and pride in all their history as evidencing God's favor. These are the thoughts of the first five verses of this chapter. Why could he not, and why should he not, at the close of these verses, and after the enumeration of these blessings, break forth into the exclamation, "May he who is over all, God, be blessed for ever!" But, while we admit this, we must observe that the progress of the author's thought is towards the sixth verse and what follows it, and that the balance of probability cannot be determined without considering the five verses in connection with the sixth and the rest of the chapter. As we look at the matter from this point of view, we find that the thought moves on in an easy and natural way, if we make the reference of these words, which are under discussion, to be to Christ. As I come now, (the Apostle says in substance), after my preceding argument and discourse to speak of the lapse of the Jews, I assure them that I do it with sorrow, not with willingness; for how could I do it willingly, since they are my own countrymen, and are the people who have been honored by the possession of the law, etc., and by the fact that the *Divine* Christ entered into our world as one of their race;—and I assure them also (vs. 6), that, in saying what I am compelled to say, I do not mean that the covenant of God, which has given them all these blessings, has failed or will fail. I only say, that it has been misapprehended in its true meaning and application by my countrymen. Understood in this way, everything becomes clear; the emphasis throughout is just what we should anticipate; the relation of the introductory verses to the main portion of the chapter is most appropriate and most simple. If, on the other hand, we have a doxology at the end of the fifth verse, there is a certain arresting of the

thought and drawing aside of the mind, which, in a measure, breaks ~~the~~ the closeness of the connection. Now, as the chapter is not written for the sake of the introduction, but the introduction for the sake of the chapter, it would seem that we ought to explain these verses, in every part of them, in the way which will place them most in harmony with what follows.

VI. If the considerations thus far presented are of weight, and the argument is, in some degree, cumulative as it proceeds, we may properly notice the fact before closing, that the writers of the Primitive Church, so far as they refer to this passage, seem almost uniformly to give the interpretation which applies the words to Christ. The value of patristic interpretation may be questioned, indeed, and in the case of some of the fathers it is possible that reasons may be suggested which influenced their minds, apart from the mere language which is used by the Apostle. But, whatever may be said in this way, and however we may estimate these writers, their substantial or complete unanimity is a circumstance which should not be disregarded. We do not insist on this point with urgency, because we cannot look upon it as having so much importance as it has appeared to many to have. As connected with and following upon what has been previously presented, however, we give the fact a place in the argument which we think it deserves.

We thus bring our presentation of the subject, so far as this side of the argument is concerned, to a close. There are considerations upon the other side, which demand notice, if our discussion is to be complete, or if it is to be carried forward with impartiality. To these we now turn our attention.

I. Looking simply at the matter of language—and apart from all doctrinal controversy—we see, it is said, that St. Paul does not use the word θεός, in any single instance unless it be here, with reference to Christ. This word is found in the Pauline Epistles about five hundred and fifty times. If among all these cases no one is discovered in which Christ is called θεός, outside of the verse before us, what is the inference as to this verse? Is it not, manifestly, that he is not so called here? The advocates of the interpretation which makes the clause a doxology to God press this question with much emphasis and confidence. They claim that the presumption in favor of their view, and against the application of the words to Christ, becomes at this point overwhelming; that it overbalances, indeed, everything which has been or can be urged upon the other side.

Estimate this presumption, however, as fairly as we may, it must be admitted, we think, as has been already said with respect to some of those mentioned upon the other side, that it does not amount to certainty. Certainty, in this connection, could come only from a positive statement on the part of the Apostle, or, at least, of some writer in the New Testament, that Christ is not θεός. But no such statement exists. It must also be admitted, we think, that, in and of itself, it does not reach the highest limits of probability, for if in our study of his writings we find, perchance, indications that divine attributes are ascribed by St. Paul to Christ, this fact may open the way for our believing that he somewhere calls him God. Or if the sentence before us, on investigation, proves to present some difficulties in the meaning of words or in construction, which are equally great with any involved in supposing that the Apostle here deviates from his uniform custom elsewhere, we must weigh these difficulties in the balance with this presumption, in order to our reaching our final result.

So much may be said, even if there are no instances of this use of θεός to be discovered. But in case our examination leads to the finding of a few such instances, the argument now before us will, evidently, lose much, if not all, of its force. The presumption will sink into a far lower region of probability. This will be so, because the present sentence if interpreted of Christ will, under these circumstances, be no longer distinguished from every other Pauline sentence. It will be so, also, because, as it is antecedently to be expected that the word θεός will generally be applied to God the Father, even a small number of examples of reference to Christ may justify us in assuming such a reference, wherever the indications of the sentence itself point in that direction. We are brought, therefore, to the inquiry whether any such cases, which are in point, actually exist, or whether any considerations may properly be offered which tend to weaken or set aside the argument now before us.

The full and satisfactory examination in regard to the use of the word θεός would involve a discussion of all the verses, in which it has been maintained that St. Paul applies it to Christ. Such a discussion, however, would reach far beyond the limits of this paper. We can only indicate, as briefly as possible, a few points which may have a bearing upon the true view of the subject, and may help towards showing precisely what the strength or weaknesss of the presumption asserted to exist here is. These points are the following:

(a.) In Acts xx. 28, the textual evidence is so strong in favor of θεοῦ that it is accepted as the true reading by prominent scholars, and

among them by Westcott and Hort, in their recently published edition of the Greek Testament. The English Revisers have retained the word *God* in their text. It must be admitted by all, that this may have been the original word, and that the other reading, *xupiōv*, cannot be considered as certainly to be substituted. The question, to say the most we can for that other reading, is nearly evenly balanced. Here, then, is one instance where we find a not improbable justification for explaining our present passage as having reference to Christ.

(b.) In Titus ii. 13, the arguments which are connected with the natural construction of the verse, favor the reference of *θεοῦ* to Christ. The ordinary grammatical rule, according to which two appellative words connected by *καὶ* under a common article belong to the same substantive, points to this application of the word. That this rule is universal, is denied. That it holds with regard to the verse in question, is not admitted by Winer and some others. The suggestions of Winer, however, in support of his view do not seem to be conclusive, when they are examined, and we are persuaded that the grounds for applying the rule in this verse have not been duly considered by most of those who have written upon the subject. The English Revisers, here also, have given in their text the rendering which assigns the name *God* to Christ.

(c.) The other verses from the Pauline Epistles which have been cited for the purpose of showing that this name is thus given, such as Col. ii. 2, Eph. v. 5, 2 Thess. i. 12, Tit. i. 3, we regard as having, according to the probabilities of the case, another interpretation. We, therefore, mention them only that it may not be supposed they have been overlooked, but do not rest the argument, in any measure, upon them. The first two of them, not to say all, may possibly be instances in point, but the possibility does not seem to reach the limits of probability. 1 Tim. iii. 16, can hardly be cited at all, since the true text is *ὑς*, not *θεός*, as the best critics now generally admit.

(d.) Whatever may be the final decision with regard to any or all of these passages, St. Paul unquestionably uses very strong expressions respecting Christ, which bear Him to an exaltation closely approaching to that which would be indicated by giving Him the name *θεός*, if, indeed, they do not fully reach it;—especially in Phil. ii. 6–8 and Col. ii. 9. He who “counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God,” and in whom “dwelleth all the fullness of the God-head bodily,” would seem to be worthy of the loftiest title. He has *θεότης* abiding in him; may he not somewhere be called *θεός*?

(e.) The Apostle John uses the word *θεός* of Christ in his Gospel, i. xx. 28. If this be admitted, we must allow that the thought of

Christ as God was not foreign to the apostolic mind, and therefore, that it may not have been strange to Paul. We may notice, also, that St. John, though using this word about one hundred and fifty times, applies it to Christ only twice, or, if xx. 28, is excluded, only once. We find, thus, a fact in connection with his writings, which corresponds, in its measure, with what we see in St. Paul's Epistles, if Rom. ix. 5 is the only instance of his employing θεός in this way.

(f.) This brings us to what we regard as an important suggestion, as relating to the matter now before us. If St. Paul and the other Apostles believed that the word θεός was properly applicable to Christ, it is, nevertheless, not strange that they should have spoken of him scores or hundreds of times as man, or as Messiah, while referring to him only in occasional instances as God. It was to be expected, on the other hand, that this would be their course. Their work, to which they devoted their energy and life, was, as we must remember, to persuade their fellow men to accept as a Savior the *man* who had taught them, whose disciples they had been during His earthly ministry, and whom they had seen after His resurrection and as he ascended towards heaven. The question whether he was God or not, however important in itself, was, in this view, a secondary and subordinate one. Those writers who have asserted that, if the New Testament authors had accepted the doctrine of Christ's Divinity, they would have declared it on every page, misapprehend, as it appears to us, the position of these authors and the first and main object which they had in view. As they besought those to whom they preached the Gospel to be reconciled to God, they set before them the Mediator through whom the reconciliation was made possible. They naturally described him in this official and intermediate relation, as he appeared on earth. They wrote about him as they preached, mainly in his distinction from God and in his human manifestation, and only in a far less degree did they feel impelled to discourse of his union in being with God, or to give him the name of God. It was Jesus, whom they preached. If men would come in faith to Jesus, they believed that they would gradually, if not at once, reach the apprehension that he was Divine. They called him, therefore, Jesus, Christ, Saviour, Mediator, Man, often and always. They called him God only here and there,—only, it may be, at very rare intervals.

The argument now under consideration is, in our judgment, the strongest one which can be brought forward against the reference of the clause before us to Christ. To those who present it, it appears conclusive. But, even if we admit that none of the passages cited from the Pauline writings prove that θεός is used of him, the points

to which we have called attention are, as it appears to us, of much importance. They show that, at the most, very few instances of such use are to be looked for, under any circumstances. They show, also, that St. Paul does not hesitate to employ expressions, which are little short of what this verse would mean, if interpreted as declaring that Christ is God. And, further, they show that one of the other Apostles makes this declaration, with the use of this word, only in one or two places, though he applies the word to God the Father as many times as Paul does in proportion to the extent of his writings. When we bear all this in mind, and remember that the naturalness of the construction in every part of the sentence points to the reference to Christ, the deviation from the Apostle's usual or uniform custom ceases to be so strange as it has been judged to be. Few passages in his Epistles, we must remember also, give a more fitting occasion than this for setting forth this exaltation.

II. It is urged as bearing against the reference of the words under discussion to Christ, that doxologies ascribing praise to him are not found in the Apostolic writings. On this point it may be said, (*a.*) that Rev. i, 6, v. 13, 2 Pet. iii. 18, are clear instances of doxologies to Christ. 2 Tim. iv. 18, is, also, another instance according to the view of commentators in general. Unless all these cases are set aside by denying the apostolic authorship of the books, the argument must be regarded as having no foundation. (*b.*) 1. Pet. iv. 11, and Heb. xiii. 21, are passages in which such doxologies may possibly be found. If so,—the former is from a book whose author was, in all probability, an apostle. We do not, however, press these cases in the discussion, for we consider them as referring, most probably, not to Christ, but to God the Father. (*c.*) But, whatever may be the result of our search for examples, it is clear that the Apostles speak in the most exalted language of Christ. St. Paul himself unites him with God the Father, in the Apostolic Benediction. He calls him the Lord of glory; the image of God; the Lord from heaven; the Lord of the living and the dead; God's own Son. He represents him as before all things; as the one through whom are all things; as sustaining all things; as having a name that is above every name; as the one to whom all things in heaven and earth and under the earth are to bow. He declares that he was in the form of God; that he is now at the right hand of God; that in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; and that he is raised far above all principality and power and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come. That one who

says all this should somewhere pass the limits of ordinary language, and even call him *God*, would hardly surprise us. It would seem to be no more than a fit description of his glory. But much more may we regard it as quite consistent for such a writer, in a passage like Rom. ix. 5, to use a word ascribing to him *praise and blessing*, even if no instance can be found where a *formal doxology* occurs. There are not more than ten such doxologies, it may be noticed, in all the Pauline Epistles. There are only two, (2 Cor. i. 3, Eph. i. 3.) where this word *εὐλογητός* is used.

III. But not merely is the doxological character of the sentence made a ground of rejecting the application of it to Christ. The word *εὐλογητός* itself is not used anywhere in the New Testament as relating to him; and this circumstance is adduced to show the improbability that he is referred to here. The facts with regard to this matter are these. There are but seven instances of the use of this word, outside of the present verse, in the entire New Testament. There are but four in St. Paul's Epistles. The kindred word *εὐλογημένος*, occurs in only eleven cases, and six or seven of these are mere repetitions of a single quotation from the Psalms. In this repeated citation and in one other passage, *εὐλογημένος*, which is elsewhere used of human beings, is applied to Christ. In Mark xiv. 61, on the other hand, Christ is called "the Son of the Blessed;" ο *εὐλογητός* being employed as a designation of God. With respect to these facts we may remark, (a.) that the number of examples of the use of *εὐλογητός* seems insufficient to determine usage as invariable,—to the exclusion of even an individual case; (b.) that the application of *εὐλογημένος*, (as distinguished from *εὐλογητός*), to Christ in six repetitions of an Old Testament verse can scarcely prove that a writer could not make use of the other word in a seventh instance, if he should desire to do so; (c.) that the two words are found in the Old Testament referring both to God and men, with a somewhat greater freedom than we discover in the very few passages occurring in the New Testament; (d.) that, in the case cited from Mark's Gospel, the language is that of the Jewish High Priest who was evidently referring to the declarations of Jesus, that He was the Son of God; and that we cannot fairly conclude from this phrase as thus employed, that, to the Apostolic mind, *εὐλογητός* was an inappropriate word to apply to Christ; (e.) and, finally, that,—considering the very limited amount of evidence which can be brought forward respecting this word, as found in the New Testament books,—the fact that in the only two places similar to the one now under consideration, in which St. Paul uses the word,

(namely Rom. i. 25 and 2 Cor. xi. 31), it is a predicate descriptive ~~of~~ of the subject, is deserving of special notice.

IV. The distinction made between God and Christ in 1 Cor. viii. 6. and Eph. iv. 5, 6, is urged as inconsistent with the interpretation of the clause before us as referring to Christ. Undoubtedly, a distinction is set forth in those verses. But it does not seem to follow from this fact, necessarily, that a similar distinction must be made here. If we suppose Christ to be θεός, it cannot be regarded as impossible, or even improbable, that an Apostle should desire at one time to speak of God and Christ in their separate positions and relations, and at another should wish to describe Christ in himself alone. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that, in the former case, he should represent Christ as κύριος, and God the Father as θεός, adding ὁ επί πάντων καὶ δικαίων πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν, as Paul does in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and that, in the latter, he should say of Christ ὁ ἦν επί πάντων θεός, as in Rom. ix. 5. That the verses cited have no bearing on the question, we would not affirm. They suggest a certain degree of probability, that the present verse ought to be interpreted as they must be. But we cannot regard them as having any considerable weight, because, on the supposition just made, it becomes so easy to explain the different cases on different grounds, and, thus, to show that they may have no complete parallelism.

The points which we have presented on this side of the question, like those on the other side which were previously stated, are in the region of language and its use by the Apostle, and not in that of doctrine. We legitimately investigate the writings of an author and try to determine what his usage is, if we are in doubt respecting the significance or the application of words in a particular passage. So we ordinarily do in the case of a classical Greek writer. So we may, with equal propriety, do when interpreting St. Paul's Epistles. If we find, on such investigation, that he never uses θεός elsewhere as applied to Christ; that he never employs the word εὐλογητός when speaking of him; that doxologies to Christ are not discoverable in his writings; and that, in certain noticeable passages where a distinction is made between him and the Father, the Father only is called ὁ επί πάντων; it will scarcely be denied that all these things, when taken together, present a strong probability that a passage which involves these several words and expressions is not a description of Christ, but a doxology to God the Father. We have seen, however, as we think, that, with regard to the last three of these points, the impression

which the first statement of them may make upon the mind, is diminished in its force, not to say entirely removed, when we come to consider them more carefully. We may argue usage from five hundred examples with some reason, but from four cases in which Paul has εὐλογητίς, or ten doxologies all referring to God, we cannot infer a rule of language, from which he could nowhere deviate for what seemed to him sufficient grounds. He certainly sets forth Christ as worthy of glory and honor, if he does not put his words in the form of an ordinary doxology. He does put them in this form, if the passage in the Second Epistle to Timothy, already cited, is allowed as referring to Christ and as written by the Apostle. Moreover, the distinction made between Christ and God in a few passages does not force us to the conclusion that there may not be a union between them, so that, when the former point is before the mind, one Lord and one God are mentioned apart, but, when the other thought is prominent, the one Lord receives the Divine name, which belongs to him as Divine.

We are left, therefore, for the main support of the position assumed upon this side of the question in dispute, to the first of the four arguments presented,—namely, that with reference to the word θεῖς. The force of this argument, we think we may justly say, is very greatly weakened by the suggestions which have been already made respecting it. We are not disposed to deny, however, that it is deserving of careful consideration on the part of all who, in their study of the passage, honestly seek for the truth.

It will be noticed as a somewhat singular fact, as we review these several grounds which are rested upon by the advocates of the reference of the words to God the Father, that they are all connected with and derived from the general usage of the Apostle. They are, thus, brought to bear upon the meaning of the passage from sources which are outside of it. The grounds, on the other hand, which those allege who would make the sentence descriptive of Christ, fall within the limits of the construction of the passage itself. Arguments of both sorts are legitimate, and may be of great value and great strength. But in general, as we think, those which belong to the words themselves, as they stand before us, will carry with them the greater weight, because a writer may turn aside from his ordinary usage, or even start a new one, in some particular sentence. What a writer's usage is, we determine only by the observation of a certain number of known cases. Whether in a new and hitherto unobserved case he accords with what we have found elsewhere, depends on the possibilities or the probabilities of the phenomena presented by

it (that is, its own words and the rules of construction), and on the reasons which may have easily influenced him at the time of writing.

In the present case, all the arguments which are founded upon the probabilities of construction, and of the meaning of individual words, point towards interpreting the sentence as referring to Christ. These arguments, also, grow in strength as we pass from one to another, for each new one seems to gain something from its connection with those which precede it. Combined in their force, they press us to the conclusion that this is the correct interpretation. We find them opposed by only one, which stands the test of examination. This one, like all which are brought forward in union with it, is derived from the alleged unvarying custom of the Apostle elsewhere, to use a particular word or phrase in a particular way. But, considering all that has been said respecting this word, as connected with the exalted idea of Christ which the Apostle sets forth in language bearing the highest meaning, this argument does not seem to meet the full force of those which it opposes. It leaves the mind of the student or reader, therefore, to follow the pathway to which they point, and, thus, to interpret as the English text reads: "of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever."

At the same time, so long as this argument from usage retains any considerable measure of its weight, the candid scholar must feel, we think, that a marginal rendering ought to be given. The English reader should, by this means, be put in possession of the knowledge of the fact, that the Greek words may possibly have another meaning—that they *may* refer not to Christ, but to the Father. The Revisers on both sides of the ocean have only been faithful to the demands laid upon them, as they have introduced such a marginal rendering into their amended version. It is idle to say, as a distinguished English writer and bishop has recently done, that the translation which makes these words a doxology to God the Father is "a mere evasion of acute minds, occupied by dogmatic prepossessions against the Divinity of Jesus." The discussion of the subject in this paper has been wholly in the field of language and grammar. It has occupied itself with the meaning of words, the construction of sentences, and the usage of the writer; and with these things only. But it has shown that there is an uncertainty in the very form of expression which the Apostle here uses, and that the clause allows two different explanations. It has shown, also, that these have just grounds on which to claim attention.

The question ceases to be one of certainties, and becomes one of probabilities. The probabilities turn towards the reference to Christ, indeed, if our argument has been correct, but not so completely and overwhelmingly as to make it right to ignore the other view altogether. In their Preface to the Revised Version the Revisers say, "We have placed before the reader in the margin other renderings than those which were adopted in the text, wherever such renderings seemed to deserve consideration." The rule for their action was the only proper one for them to adopt. Their insertion of a marginal note at this verse was in accordance with a proper application of the rule.

If, now, we regard it as established that the text of the Revised Version gives that interpretation of the passage which, by its greater probability, deserves to be preferred, and yet that some form of words setting forth the other meaning should be added in the margin, the question arises as to what this form should be. Should it be that which the American Revision Company have suggested, or one, or indeed all, of those presented by the English Company? A few words in answer to this inquiry seem to be required.

There are two points here, which deserve to be noticed. The first has reference to the words which introduce the marginal rendering. The English Revisers have deviated here from their universal custom elsewhere, and have attributed the translations which they record in their margin to "some modern interpreters." This appears to us improper for two reasons: (a.) because the ground on which the rendering of the text throughout the New Testament is preferred, or that on which a marginal interpretation is added, is not that ancient writers have favored it, but that fidelity to truth demands it; and (b.) because the insertion of these words *in this place alone* is calculated to give the ordinary reader an impression that the early fathers were better interpreters than modern scholars, which is not in accordance with the facts of the case. If this verse calls for an alternate rendering at all, it calls for it on similar grounds to those which occasion other alternate renderings, and it ought to be introduced, as all others are, by *Or*. The American suggestion, so far as this point is concerned, is surely the proper and right one.

The second point has reference to the different modes of translating, if we refer the clause to God. The English present three modes, two which place a period after *flesh*, and one which puts a comma after *flesh*, and a period after *all*. The renderings, then, are, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper:

(a.) Of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh. He who is God over all be (is) blessed for ever.

(b.) Of whom, &c. He who is over all is God blessed for ever.

(c.) Of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all. God be (is) blessed for ever.

The American body propose to substitute for all these a fourth form :

(d.) Of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh : he who is over all, God, be blessed for ever.

Of these four forms which one deserves to be preferred? The fourth, as it seems to us. Let us compare it with each of the others; and, in the first place, with (c.). It must be admitted that (c.) has two advantages, as contrasted with (d.)—namely, it allows the natural and easy connection of *ι εν* with *χριστός*, and it affords a contrast to *τὸ κατὰ σύρπα*. But, on the other hand, with this punctuation of the sentence, (1.) the doxology becomes much more abrupt; (2.) it loses all presentation of the ground for its introduction; (3.) it seems to be even less in the line of the Apostle's thought, than if (d.) be adopted; (4.) it furnishes no account of the position of *εὐλογητός*, after the subject; and (5.) it involves a difficulty of some moment in the absence of the article with *θεός*. For these reasons we think it must be rejected, as being less probably than (d.) the true construction, in case the word *θεός* refers to God the Father.

As compared with (b.), it appears to us that (d.) is decidedly to be preferred. (b.) is rather a formal statement of a fact, “He who is over all is God blessed for ever;” (d.) is an expression of feeling, an ascription of praise. The latter is both more in accordance with the course of the author's thought and language in the preceding verses, and is less difficult of explanation so far as the formation of the sentence itself is concerned. In the preceding verses the Apostle has exhibited strong feeling, and has set forth the honors of his own people. To break out into a doxology is not altogether unnatural under the circumstances. To frame his doxology in this form, “May he *who is over all*, God, be blessed forever,” is singular, indeed, but not inexplicable. In the ardor of feeling and outburst of praise, he might express his idea of God's providential care and blessing by the words *who is over all*. But if he is framing a proposition and declaring a fact, it scarcely seems probable that he would have used this language, which is certainly not the most appropriate to the thought. He would more naturally, and therefore more probably, have said, *who is the author of these blessings, or who has bestowed so much upon Israel*. Moreover, the mere formal statement, that he

who gave the gifts, or he who is over all, is God, seems unnecessary and altogether unlikely to have been made between verse fifth and verse sixth. Any one who will compare the passage with 2 Cor. i. 21, 22, will appreciate, we think, the fitness of the expression there used, and the unfitness of such an expression here.

If, then, the sentence refers to God, it must be regarded, in our judgment, as a doxology in the ordinary and strict sense, *God be blessed*, and the doxology must include all the words, and not θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας only.

But, admitting both of these points, are the words to read as in (d.) or as in (a.)? We think that here, again, (d.) is to have the preference. By adopting (d.) we have the sentence in a form which *may possibly* present that emphatic prominence of the subject which is claimed as the reason for placing it before the doxological word. "He who is over all, God," can perhaps describe God as the object of praise because his providential rule has bestowed the blessings. "He who is God over all" is a phrase, on the other hand, more naturally adapted to express the simple idea of God's exaltation and dominion.

The suggestion of the American Revisers, therefore, is the one which seems most deserving of adoption for the marginal note. The interpretation, however, which places the period after πάντων, and connects "who is over all" with Christ,—making the doxology to be *God be blessed for ever*,—may also be worthy of record in the Revision. But this must be considered as doubtful.

We close our paper with two or three remarks not in the immediate line of the argument.

*First.* It is not vital to the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ to find the declaration that he is God in this verse. The Apostle Paul may have believed that his Lord and Saviour was Divine, and may teach this in his Epistles; and yet he may have chosen to limit himself in the use of the name, *God*, so far as to apply it to the Father only. If, then, it be discovered, beyond question, that he never in any single instance uses the word θεός of Christ, the doctrine may still be unshaken. The more careful and systematic study of the New Testament has been showing the Christian Church, in recent times, that its truths are founded less upon individual verses or proof texts, and more upon the great and pervading thought which fills all its books. In this great and pervading thought, as relating to our Lord, we find the declaration of his Divine nature; a declaration which stands fast and abides, though the interpretation of particular

sentences may change as time passes on. If, however, this verse does contain the apostolic testimony that Christ is God, it is a direct affirmation of what the opposite doctrine would deny, and excludes that doctrine altogether.

We may add, in this connection, that, if the doctrine of Christ's divinity be established from other passages or other parts of the New Testament, this fact, by itself, will not prove that *θεός* here refers to him. It will only add to and confirm the probability derived from the examination of the verse, that it has this reference.

*Secondly.* The presentation of the subject, which has been made, shows the groundlessness and inappropriateness of the extreme assertions which have been indulged in by advocates of both views of this passage. It has been declared, on the one hand, by those who refer the words to Christ that the rules of construction absolutely exclude any other reference; that doctrinal prejudice alone has been the cause of any denial of this explanation; that there is no ground for such denial which is founded in reason; that it argues mental or moral blindness, even, to support the opposite view. On the other hand, it has been affirmed that the interpretation which does not apply the sentence to God as a doxology is impossible, if the rules and principles of the Greek language are considered; and that it is, indeed, little short of absurd. The fair and unprejudiced consideration of the words draws us away from all such extravagant statements, and brings us to the calm inquiry into the arguments for both sides, and the decision as to the probabilities within the sphere of language and grammatical construction. The presence of the two renderings in the Revised Version, as it comes into general use, will tend to make all theologians and readers recognize that there is a possibility of both renderings, while yet there is a probability that the one given in the text is correct.

*Thirdly.* It is a fact worthy of notice, that of the most prominent opponents of the reference of the passage to Christ—such writers, for example, as de Wette, Grimm, Rückert, Meyer, Jowett—each one admits a peculiar force as belonging to some particular argument among those which are urged in favor of that reference. Rückert says, that the naturalness of the connection of *οὐ μέν* with *χριστός* points strongly towards this understanding of the clause, and that the sentence moves on most fitly and satisfactorily in this way. de Wette remarks that the demand for a contrast, which is found in *τὸ ξατὰ στίρπα*, is the point of most difficulty to be overcome, and he evidently regards it as of serious moment. Jowett expresses the opinion that the omission of the verb, “the defective and awkward grammar,”

is the strongest objection to the interpretation as a doxology to God. Grimm states that the inappropriateness of using *ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ τάπτων*, in this connection; with respect to God—that is, as describing his relation to the blessings of the Israelites—is the thing which holds his mind back from applying the phrase to God. Meyer allows the force of everything, as it were, except for the want of instances elsewhere in which the Apostolic writers use θεός of Christ. We cannot but regard the fact that these scholars find a strength in the various arguments, which it is hard to overcome—one looking upon one point as presenting very serious difficulty, and another upon another, until, as we read what is said by them all, we see that they are pressed by the weight of all the considerations—as showing that there is a real force in each one, taken by itself, and a cumulative force in the sum of them, when united together. If such advocates of the opposite view acknowledge that the argument, from stage to stage, causes even themselves to give it their most respectful consideration, the position of those who interpret the clause of Christ must be a strong one, and the reasons which support it must be such as ought to influence candid minds.

We have set forth these reasons and defended this position, with a due estimate as we trust, and with a fair presentation, of what is urged upon the other side. The interpreter is called, by the very duties and obligations of his profession, to be a calm, honest, unprejudiced inquirer after truth—to be a judge, not an interested advocate.

## A Paraphrase of the Song of Deborah.

BY PROF. THOMAS H. RICH.

That the strong in Israel laid bare their strength ;  
That the people came to battle willingly ;  
Praise ye the Lord !

Hear, O ye kings of earth ! ye princes, lend your ear !  
I, of the Lord, I fain would sing; would touch the harp,  
In honor of the Lord, the God of Israel !

Lord, when Thou wentst our from Seir ;  
When Thou didst march from Edom's field ;  
Earth quaked ; yea, heaven dissolved ;  
Yea, clouds dissolved in rain !  
Mountains shook at presence of the Lord ;—  
Sinai there, at presence of the Lord,  
The God of Israel !

In days of Shamgar, Anath's son ;  
In days of Jael, idle lay the ways ;  
And such as follow trodden paths,  
Went ways circuitous.  
Idle lay the villages in Israel—idle,  
Until I, Deborah, arose—arose,  
And like a mother wrought for Israel.

He chose new gods ;  
Then war was at his gates ;  
Nor shield appeared, nor lance,  
'Mong Israel's forty thousand men.

My heart goes out to the leaders of Israel ;  
To the people that came to battle willingly ;  
Praise ye the Lord !

Ye, who on white asses ride ;  
 Ye, who on rich carpets sit ;  
 And ye, who tread the way, in toil for bread ;  
 Muse on the victory !  
 For voice of archers at the water troughs—  
 There be rehearsed the righteous acts the Lord hath done ;  
 His righteous acts done for his villages in Israel.  
 Then from their refuges on high,  
 The people of the Lord came to their gates again,  
 No foe to fear !

Awake, Deborah, awake !  
 Awake, awake, the triumph sing !  
 Up, Barak, Abinoam's son,  
 And lead thy captives to captivity !

Then, a remnant of the nation's noblemen,  
 Down to the battle came ;  
 The Lord among those heroes—joy to me—  
 Came down to Jezreel !  
 From Ephraim—they rooted in Mount Amalek.  
 Next thee Benjamin, joined with thy hosts.  
 From Machir, leaders with their trains came down ;  
 And out of Zebulon they onward march,  
 With captain's staff.  
 And princes of Issachar with Deborah league ;  
 And Issachar like Barak brave,  
 Down to the vale his feet impel.

By streams of Reuben, were determinations great.  
 Why tarrying still amid the fold ?  
 Is bleat of flock so sweet to hear ?  
 At streams of Reuben, were deliberations great ;  
 But none the battle sought !

Gilead beyond Jordan rests ;  
 And Dan—why sojourns he in ships ?  
 Asher by the seashore abides,  
 And at his havens resteth quietly.

Zebulon is a people that accounts it nought to die !  
 And Naphtali, of mountain home !

Kings came ; they fought.  
 Then kings of Canaan fought ;  
 At Tanaach, by waters of Megiddo—  
 Spoil of silver failed to take !  
 The Heavens against them fought ;

The stars their courses left to fight with Sisera.  
 Kishon's brook swept them away—  
 Brook of ancient days—Kishon's brook.  
 My soul contemns their strength !

Then hoofs of horses smote the ground ;  
 For on and on their warriors dashed—  
 A troubled multitude !

Curse ye Meroz, saith the Angel of the Lord ;  
 Curse, curse ye her inhabitants,  
 Coming not to help the Lord—  
 To help the Lord amid the heroes of the land.

Jael, Kenite Heber's wife—  
 Let her, beyond women blessed be !  
 Beyond women, who in tents abide,  
 Let her blessed be !  
 Water he asked, she gave him milk ;  
 In costly bowl she offered cream.  
 But deep his sleep, within her tent,  
 Her hand out to the nail she stretched,  
 And her right hand to hammer used in toil ;  
 And hammered Sisera ; she brake his head ;  
 And crushed, and pierced his temples through.  
 At her feet he sank, he fell, he lay ;  
 At her feet he sank, he fell ;  
 Where he sank, there he fell—a *worthless* thing.

Through the window there looks forth, and cries aloud—  
 Through the lattice—the mother of Sisera :  
 Why does his chariot delay to come ?  
 Why step his steeds so slow ?

The wisest of her princesses reply—  
 But her own word she still repeats unto herself—  
 “ Surely they booty find and share ;  
 A maiden, two maidens, for each man ;  
 Booty of garments bright for Sisera ;  
 Booty of garments bright, with needle wrought ;  
 A garment bright, on both sides wrought—  
 Booty for me to wear !

So perish *all* who hate Thee, Lord !  
 But them who love Him—  
 Let them like the sun go forth,  
 In strength of victory !

## The Babylonian Element in Ezekiel.

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BY PROF. C. H. TOY, D. D.

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### § I. EZEKIEL'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS BABYLON.

1. The almost complete silence of the earlier prophets, down to the end of the 7th century, B. C., in respect to the Babylonian kingdom; is what we should expect from the political relations of the time, and the method of the prophetic exhortations. The prophets were practical preachers and statesmen, who dealt with foreign nations only as these came into actual contact with Israel, and from the time of Amos to that of Jeremiah Babylon was merely a restless, hardly-managed dependency of Assyria, with no important independent political power, not formidable as an enemy, or valuable as a friend. After various revolts and wars it was finally completely subdued B. C., 710 by Sargon, who took the title of King of Babylon, and held his court in the city probably for several years; and it seems to be just at this time that Micah declared (ch. iv. 10) that Judah should be carried away out of the city into the country and as far as Babylon. It was not long after the destructive expedition of Sargon into southern Palestine, which filled the land with dismay (B. C. 712 or 711), and was not improbably connected with the embassy of Marduk-bal-iddin (Isa. xxxix.), who before his last, ill-fated struggle for independence, may have wished to gain the friendship of the petty kings of Palestine. The genuineness of the prediction ascribed to the prophet Isaiah in Isa. xxxix., 2 Kings xx. may fairly be regarded as doubtful, seeing that this whole historical insertion (chs. xxxvi.-xxxix.) bears the marks of a later date, and the book of Kings belongs to the period of the exile. The mention of Babylon in Micah, then, the only one certainly earlier than Jeremiah, is nothing but a consequence of the temporary position of the King of Assyria in that city, and has nothing to do with a kingdom of Babylon. The sole mention of this last is found in the prediction of Isaiah, if this be genuine.

2. In B. C. 625 the Assyrian empire fell before the attack of the Medes and Babylonians, who divided its territory between them, Palestine naturally falling to the latter; Josiah, King of Judah, became a vassal of Babylon and lost his life in an attempt to prevent Pharaoh Necho from marching against his suzerain. The prophet Jeremiah assumed the same friendly attitude towards Babylon, opposed with all his might alliance with Egypt and rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar, wrote to the captives to make themselves at home in the land of their exile, and carried his advocacy of the Babylonian supremacy so far as to incur the suspicion of treachery to his own country, and the hearty hatred of the national party. He spoke no word against Babylon, but predicted a speedy return of Israel to their own land.

3. On this point Ezekiel is completely at one with Jeremiah—while he looks to his people's restoration to Canaan, he is thoroughly friendly to Babylon. He sides with Nebuchadrezzar against Egypt and Tyre—promises to the Babylonian King the spoil of the latter (xxvi. 7–14), and when his attack had failed\* gives him Egypt in compensation (xxix. 18–20). In portraying the attack of Gog on Israel, the allies whom he assigns to the northern horde are nearly identical with the allies of Tyre the enemy of Nebuchadrezzar. He has no word of blame or reproof for the King of Babylon—he does not denounce him for holding Israel in captivity—when the tidings of the fall of Jerusalem come, it is not against the conqueror but against Israel that he lifts up his voice (xxxiii. 21–29)—the judgment of God on Ammon, Moab, Edom and Philistia is announced for their hostility to Israel, but there is no word of judgment on Babylon. This forbearance is extended to the Babylonian religion. The idolatry of Israel is denounced, the idols of Egypt are to be destroyed, but Bel and Nebo and Marduk, Nebuchadrezzar's special god are unmentioned.

4. All this is in striking contrast with the tone of later prophecies, as Jer. I., li.; Isa. xiii., xiv., xlvi. xlvii., in which Babylon is treated as the enemy of Israel, and therefore to be punished with destruction.

5. The difference of tone is explained by the difference of the historical circumstances. To Jeremiah and Ezekiel Babylon was the supreme political power of the world, victorious over all enemies, firmly established, and therefore the safest guardian of Israel. They saw that it would be madness in a petty kingdom in Palestine to set itself

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\*Whether Nebuchadrezzar took Tyre or not (on which point Josephus' citation of authorities seems to me to amount to little), still the prophet says that neither he nor his army had wages for his service against Tyre.

**up** against this overwhelming force. They believed that God's providence now pointed to submission; that, as he used the Babylonian King to chastise sinful Israel, so he had his own plans for the restoration of his people to national dignity and righteous prosperity, and that those plans could be carried out only by yielding to the superior strength of Babylon, repenting of sin, turning to Yahwe and husbanding the national resources for the future.

The aspect of things naturally changed when Cyrus entered on his conquering career, and approached the Euphrates. The prophets looked on him as the agent of the glorious deliverance that God had in store for Israel. Babylon, on the other hand, was now regarded as the oppressive power that held the chosen people back from the enjoyment of its rights—this power must be crushed in order that Israel may be restored. In the second Isaiah and Jer. I. and II. there is no friendly feeling for Babylon, nothing but bitter reproach for its pride, sarcasm for its religion, and exultation over its approaching downfall.

This prophetic point of view is not ethical or religious, but national. The Babylon of Ezekiel was not less proud, oppressive and idolatrous than that of the second Isaiah. There is no indication that the policy of Nabunahid, who surrendered to Cyrus, was different from that of Nebuchadrezzar who destroyed Jerusalem. The Babylonian treatment of the Jewish exiles appears to have been humane and liberal throughout. But in the days of Ezekiel Israel's hope was in keeping quiet and maintaining friendly relations with Babylon, and the prophet has no word to say against its moral and religious character; in the days of Cyrus the hope of Israel was in Babylon's overthrow, and the prophets of the time freely denounce it on ethical and religious grounds. They were single-minded in their devotion to their people—they held up for them the standard of holiness of life as the condition of Yahwe's favor—nevertheless their judgment of foreign nations was determined by the political relation of these to Israel.

6. Ezekiel, then, is definitely on the side of Babylon. He sees no hope of present independence for Israel, and his utterances consist almost entirely of castigation of his people's sins, and elaboration of a plan of national life for the restoration. It does not appear that his sympathy with Babylon brought him into disfavor with the people. They were deaf, indeed, to his exhortations (xxxiii. 32), but the elders came to inquire of Yahwe through him (xx. 1), and he seems to have been uniformly treated with respect.

## § II. BABYLONIAN IDEAS.

1. Ezekiel's position would naturally bring him into contact with Babylonian ideas, and his friendly attitude towards the country would predispose him to accept them in so far as this was not inconsistent with his loyalty to his own people and religion. How far the books of the public libraries at Babylon and elsewhere would be accessible to him we have no means of knowing; but a residence of thirty years must have taught him much. It is to be regretted that he says so little of Babylonian customs and ideas; the reports of such an observer would have been of the highest value for us. As it is, we have only one or two general hints besides the history of the Garden of Eden.

2. The belomancy described in xxi. 26 f. (Eng. Vers. 21 f.) was a common practice in Babylon and elsewhere. It is referred to nowhere else in the Old Testament, but is natural in the mouth of Ezekiel, who might have seen the ceremony performed, as we now have it figured on Assyrian and Babylonian monuments (see Lenormant, *La Divination*, ch. II.).

The first date of the beginning of Ezekiel's ministry (chap. i. 1) seems also to be reckoned from the era of Nabopalassar B. C. 625, from which to 594 would be about thirty years. The only other supposition that has any plausibility, namely, that the prophet gives the year of his own life, is rendered improbable by the phraseology, which is in the manner of reckoning from a chronological epoch; nowhere else is such a mode of giving a man's age found. This date (verse 1) seems to be from the prophet himself; the second date (verse 2), which gives the Jewish reckoning, is from the hand of an editor, who speaks of Ezekiel in the third person. It would appear, therefore, that Ezekiel had adopted the Babylonian mode of reckoning time, an indication that he had not held himself aloof from the life of the nation in whose midst his lot was cast.

3. Another apparent point of contact between Ezekiel and Babylon, I mean his use of Eden and the cherub, requires more careful consideration.

Let us first look at the occurrence of those words in the books of the Old Testament whose date can be fixed with some approach to exactness.

Outside of the Pentateuch Eden, as the name of the primeval paradise, is found only twice in other books than Ezekiel. Isa. li. 3 mentions it simply as the "garden of Yahwe," a type of fertility and gladness; I hold this passage to belong to about B. C. 540. With this may be compared Gen. xiii. 10, where the plain of the Jordan is

similarly compared to the "Garden of Yahwe"; in Gen. ii., iii., the name is the "garden of Eden," or simply the "garden." In Joel ii. 3 this fuller phrase also occurs: the land is likened to the "garden of Eden." The prophecy of Joel seems to me to be post-exilian. It is not my purpose here to go into a discussion of the date of Isa. xl.-lxvi. and Joel. In regard to the latter I will only say that the reference to the temple as existing (i. 14) and to the people as being partly in captivity (iv. 1, 2), the mention of Tyre and Sidon and Philistia as principal enemies of Israel (iv. 4-6) together with Edom and Egypt, the silence respecting a King of Judah, and the general religious phraseology appears to me to point to a time not long after the building of the second temple. If this view is correct, reference to Eden outside of the Pentateuch does not occur before Ezekiel. If Joel be put just before the exile or even in the beginning of the eighth century B. C., there is still nothing more than a bare mention of Eden except in Ezekiel and the Pentateuch.

A similar remark may be made of the cherub. Leaving out the general reference in the post-exilian psalm civ. 3, 4, we find outside of Ezekiel and the Pentateuch only Ps. xviii. 11, where the cherub is a personification of the thunder-cloud or a symbolical creature, its form not described, which somehow stands in connection with this phenomenon. There is the related conception of the seraph in Isa. vi. Both of these appear to belong to the popular idea of the Israelites, and may date from the beginning of their history.

When we turn to Ezekiel we find the pictures of Eden and the cherub drawn with remarkable fulness of detail. First his references to Eden: "Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering . . . the workmanship of thy tablets and of thy pipes (or, jewel-settings) was prepared for thee in the day that thou wast created . . . thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created till iniquity was found in thee" (xxviii. 13, 15) "The cedars in the Garden of God could not hide him; the cypresses were not like his boughs, and the plane-trees were not like his branches" (xxxii. 8). The resemblance of this picture to that in Genesis and its greater elaborateness in certain respects lie on the surface. And Ezekiel recurs to it again and again. The great prominence that he gives to it and the fulness of detail into which he enters indicate special interest in the story on his part and special sources of information. Where could he have got the information except from Babylonia? And, remembering the silence of all Old Testament writers before him on these points, does it not become probable that it is now for the first time that the Eden history takes shape among

the Israelites, and that it was incorporated into the prepatriarchal narrative after the exile?

Ezekiel has three different representations of the cherub: 1. xxviii. 14, which seems to be derived from the figure in Solomon's temple—the epithet "covering" being suggested by the fact that the cherubim "covered" the mercy-seat with their wings (1 K. viii. 7; Ex. xxv. 20), the "anointed" either referring solely to the king, or a general epithet of the cherub as a part of the sanctuary which was consecrated by anointing (Ex. xl. 9)—the "holy mountain of God" may be the temple-hill, or it may be specially a designation of the altar with its burning coals or "stones of fire" (cp. Isa. vi. 6); in xlvi. 15 the altar is called "mountain of God" (*הַר־אֱלֹהִים*) and "hearth of God" (*אַדְלָה* or *אַדְלָה*) as being the center and essence of the sacrificial service; in the midst of this hearth the cherub is said to walk as the representative of God himself or of his ideally perfect creature and minister. It does not appear what the form of this cherub was except that it was winged, and the Babylonian monuments present nothing similar to it. I pass it by, therefore, with the single remark that, as a Phenician was the designer of Solomon's temple, it is not likely that its cherub-figure came from Egypt, it was more probably Babylonian in its origin, though we are unable to give proofs of such an origin, and that, as to the cherub of Exodus in the Tabernacle, our opinion of its form will depend on our view of the date and historical value of the descriptions of that book. 2. In Ezekiel's opening vision the cherub-face is identified in one place (x. 14) with that of the ox, though in the same connection the name cherub is given to the complex living creature with its four faces of ox, man, lion and eagle (ver. 1, 3, &c.)—the feet were those of a calf, but the general appearance was human. 3. In the description of the temple (xli. 18, 19) the cherub carved on the walls had only two faces, lion and human, and this is all that is said of it. It may be assumed that these last two forms were of Babylonian origin; Lenormant gives satisfactory proof of this in his "Origines de l'histoire," ch. iii. It is not necessarily true that the cherub-forms were bodily copies of Babylonian figures—the prophet may have got from these only the suggestion of composite creatures, and fashioned his material to suit the symbolism he had in mind. But the whole conception of this symbolism seems to be Babylonian in form, though the lofty moral and religious ideas attached to it by the prophet are the product of Israelitish thought.

4. One other point may be suggested—whether Ezekiel got a hint or impulse towards a more completely organized religious cultus and ritual from the Babylonians. There is extant no codification of the

priestly ritual before the exile—we are left to gather its details from the rare and brief statements of the historical books and the psalms. While in the book of Deuteronomy we have the Tora as it was conceived by the prophets in the early part of Josiah's reign or perhaps a half-century before, and in Leviticus the fully developed priestly ritual of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and later, we find only in Ezekiel any formal statement of temple-ritual in the times preceding Ezra's visit to Jerusalem from Babylon. That there was such a ritual we may take it for granted, and we may be equally sure that Ezekiel's sketch was not inferior in fulness of elaboration to what existed before him. What led him to draw up this complete scheme of temple-service, found in chs. xliii.-xlvi. of his book? Jeremiah, in whom, however, the priest seems to have been sunk in the prophet, thought of nothing of this sort. Hilkiah, who was high-priest under Josiah when the book of the Tora was found in the temple, attempted no codification—this was left to the priest-prophet of the Babylonian exile.

Now there was undoubtedly a good deal in the circumstances of the time to force on Ezekiel's attention the necessity of some such rigid ritual scheme of national life as he gives in the last chapters of his book. The nation seemed to him going to pieces politically, and morally and religiously; the main reason of this was their faithlessness to their God, their neglect of his worship, and this worship would be secured by a strict temple-law. The restored nation must be guided by a more definite rule of service than had hitherto existed.

This is true. Yet it is worth while to ask whether the idea of presenting this better defined scheme was not fostered and brought to maturity by the ecclesiastical system of the people among whom he was living. We have already seen reason to believe that he was in somewhat close contact with them, that he had opportunity of knowing their customs, that he possibly admired and honored this nation whose dread king was so potent an instrument in the hands of the God of Israel for carrying out his designs. The Jews were never in these early times, as they have never since been, averse to getting suggestions from their neighbors. In Ezekiel's time the Babylonian cultus was not only elaborate, but was recorded in books. The numerous and splendid ceremonies, the offerings, the interpretation of omens, the celebration of feast-days of deities required the constant care of a host of priests, who were supported by the gifts of the worshipers and from the property attached to the temples. It was a religious organization far in advance of that which existed in Israel, and it would not be strange if acquaintance with so well arranged a

system suggested to the prophet the desirability of something like it for his own people.

There are not data for a detailed comparison between Ezekiel's scheme and the Babylonian temple-organization, nor is it likely that he took from the latter much more than the general idea. The materials were already at hand in existing customs, which he had merely to develop and systematize. The provision that would most naturally suggest a borrowing is the assignment of land near the temple to the priests—an arrangement that then existed in Babylon, but seems not to have existed in Israel up to that time.

So far as appears, the movement for a stricter ritual, which culminated in Ezra's visit to Jerusalem, originated with Ezekiel. Its influence on the succeeding history of the Jews is familiar—it gathered up the formal elements of the nation's religious life into a mass, and carried it on to the point that called for the prophetic protest of John the Baptist, and the completion of Israel's spiritual development in Jesus Christ.

It is hardly necessary to remark that such a borrowing as this in no wise detracts from the true religious originality of Israel. The nation cast the materials thus gained from other peoples into the crucible of its own thought, and thence produced ideas, whose superiority to those of the Babylonians is demonstrated by the history of the world. To trace the genesis of Jewish religious forms and ideas is to follow the guidance of God by which the Jews became the religious teachers of the world and prepared the way for Jesus of Nazareth. Whatever the seed, and whatever the soil into which it was cast, the fruit was no less the creation of the Divine maker of all things, in whose hands all the experiences of Israel were fashioned into a form destined to be one of the great educating influences of the race.

## On the Use of בַּל and *Kapdia* in the Old and New Testaments.

BY PROF. D. R. GOODWIN, D. D., LL. D.

The word בַּל, with its cognates, בְּלִי, &c., designates *the heart*, in the first place, of course, as the physical organ, the centre of *life*; and one is tempted to suspect some genetical relation to the German Leben and our English word "life." Then, it stands for the central part in general, the inside, and so for *the interior man* as manifesting himself in all his various activities, in his desires, affections, emotions, passions, purposes, his thoughts, perceptions, imaginations, his wisdom, knowledge, skill, his beliefs and his reasonings, his memory and his consciousness. It is not especially confined to the feelings and moral acts in distinction from the intellectual, except as there is more frequent occasion for its use in the former application than in the latter. It designates the central basis for the functions of the whole inner man.

These words, בַּל, בְּלִי, &c., are more frequently translated "mind" in our received version of the Old Testament than any other word, including such cases as "dead man out of mind," "bring to mind," "remember or come to mind," "this I recall to mind," &c. For this purpose, בָּנָה and רִוָּה come next in frequency.

1. Under בַּל are included such expressions as "imagination of the thoughts of his heart," "imagination of man's heart," Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21; also in Zechariah and in Jeremiah many times; "said in his heart," Gen. xvii. 17; "speaking in my heart," xxiv. 45; "wise-hearted," *i. e.* skilful, Exod. xxxi. 6; "wisdom of heart," xxxv. 35; "in whose heart the Lord hath put wisdom," *i. e.* skill, xxxvi. 2;

"an heart to perceive," Deut. xxix. 4 ; "in the imagination of mine heart," xxix. 19 ; "told all his heart," *i. e.* all he knew, Jud. xvi. 17; "an understanding heart," לְבָב שְׁמַעַת, 1 Kings iii. 9 ; "I have given thee a wise heart," iii. 12 ; "feignest them out of thine own heart," Neh. vi. 8; "meditation of my heart," Ps. xix. 14; xlix. 3; "thoughts of his heart," xxxiii. 11 ; "heart inditing a good matter," xlvi. 1 ; "write on the table of thine heart," Prov. iii. 3 ; "thine heart retain my words," iv. 4 ; "heart seeketh knowledge," xv. 14 ; "a man's heart deviseth his way," xvi. 9; "my heart had great experience of wisdom," Eccles. i. 16 ; "a wise man's heart discerneth both time," &c., viii. 5 ; "consider in his heart," Isa. xliv. 19.

לְבָב is used in such cases as "consider in thine heart," Deut. iv. 39 ; "thought in thy heart," xv. 9 ; "ye know in all your hearts," Josh. xxiii. 14 ; "understand with their heart," Isa. vi. 10 ; "heart of the rash shall understand," xxxii. 4 ; "thoughts of thy heart," Dan. ii. 30 ; "beast's heart given," iv. 16 : v. 21 : and vii. 4 ; "shut their hearts (fem. pl.) that they cannot understand," Isa. xliv. 18.

שְׁמַעַת is used for the affections quite as familiarly as לְבָב, and, in that sense, is translated sometimes "heart," but generally "soul."

If it be said, as to the connection of לְבָב with wisdom, that, in the Proverbs and elsewhere, wisdom is a moral quality, and so לְבָב in the sense of the affections is appropriately used with it ; let it be observed that בִּינָה, בִּינָה, and חֲבוֹנָה are also used in connection with this wisdom, and that in the most striking cases, as (יְמִינָה) "O ye simple, understand wisdom," Prov. viii. 5 ; (בִּינָה) "Get understanding," "with all thy getting, get understanding," iv. 5 and iv. 7 ; "counsel is mine, I am understanding," viii. 14 ; "the knowledge of the holy is understanding," ix. 10 ; (חֲבוֹנָה) "bow thine ear to my understanding," v. 1 ; "and understanding put forth her voice," viii. 1 ; "a man of understanding hath wisdom," (note that it is not the converse), x. 23 ; "a man of understanding walketh uprightly," xv. 21 ; "is of an excellent spirit," xvii. 27. So Isa. xi. 2, "the spirit of wisdom and understanding" (בִּינָה) ; and "ye fools, be of an understanding heart," (יְמִינָה), Prov. viii. 5.

*Καρδία.*

The use of *Kardia* in the New Testament corresponds almost perfectly to that of *心思* in the Old Testament. It stands for the *mind*, the inner man, Lat. *animus*:—thus, “Think evil in your hearts,” Matt. ix. 4; “should understand with their heart,” xiii. 15; “out of the heart proceed evil thoughts,” xv. 19; “reasoning in their hearts,” Mark ii. 6; “not doubt in his heart,” xi. 23; “imagination of their hearts,” Luke i. 51; “pondered them in her heart,” ii. 19; “mused in their hearts,” iii. 15; “slow of heart to believe,” xxiv. 25; “they considered not for their heart was hardened,” Mark vi. 32; “have ye your hearts hardened? . . . do ye not yet understand?” Mark viii. 17, because they did not apprehend about the leaven of the Pharisees; so in Acts xix. 9, “divers were hardened and believed not;” “therefore,” says St. John, “they could not believe because that Esaias said again, he hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, lest they should . . . understand with their heart”; and so for other cases of hardening the heart;—to “blind the mind” and “harden the heart,” seem to be parallel expressions for the same thing;—again, “why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart?” Acts v. 4; “show the work of the law in their hearts, . . . their thoughts accusing or excusing,” Rom. ii. 15; “shalt believe in thine heart,” x. 9; “neither have entered into the heart of man the things,” 1 Cor. ii. 9; “written in our hearts,” iii. 2; “I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them,” Heb. x. 16; “till the day-star arise in your hearts,” 2 Pet. ii. 19.

With *καρδία* are connected διὰ λογίσμου, “out of the heart proceed thoughts,” Matt. xv. 19; Mark vii. 21; “thoughts of many hearts,” Luke ii. 35; “Jesus perceived the thoughts of their hearts,” ix. 47; “why do thoughts arise in your hearts,” xxiv. 38;—also θυμός στεγεῖς, “discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart,” Heb. iv. 12; ἐποικούμενα, “wherefore think ye evil in your hearts?” Matt. ix. 4;—also ἐπιθυμία, “if perhaps the thought of thine heart,” Acts viii. 22, and “hast thought,” νομίζω, viii. 20;—also διάνοια, “imagination of their hearts,” Luke i. 51. *Diānoia* is also used in the moral sense like *Kardia*, “desires of the flesh and the mind,” Eph. ii. 3; “enemies in your mind by wicked works,” Col. i. 21; “I will put my laws into their mind,” Heb. viii. 10; “I will put my laws into their hearts, and in their minds will I write them,” Heb. x. 16; “gird up the loins of your mind, be sober,” 1 Pet. i. 13; “Stir up your pure

minds," 2 Pet. iii. 1;—also ἔννοια, "arm yourselves likewise with the same mind," 1 Pet. iv. 1;—also νόημα, "their minds were blinded . . . for the veil is upon their heart," 2 Cor. iii. 14; "hath blinded the mind of them that believe not," 2 Cor. iv. 4; "so your minds should be corrupted," xi. 3; "shall keep your hearts and minds," Phil. iv. 7;—also νοῦς, "God gave them over to a reprobate mind," Rom. i. 28; "warring against the law of my mind," vii. 23; "with the mind I myself serve the law of God," vii. 25; "transformed by the renewing of your mind," xii. 2; "renewed in the spirit of your mind," Eph. iv. 23; "disputings of men of corrupt minds," 1 Tim. vi. 5; 2 Tim. iii. 8;—also φρύνημα and φρυνέω, as φρύνημα σαρκός, Rom. viii. 7; and φρύνημα πνεῦματος, viii. 27; φρυνέω τοῦτο, Phil. ii. 5; "savourest not the things that be of God," Matt. xvi. 23 and Mark viii. 33; "do mind the things of the flesh," Rom. viii. 5;—also φυχή, "minds evil-affected," Acts xiv. 2;—also, finally, and most striking of all, μετανοέω, and μετάνοια are the words used precisely for what we should call "a change of heart,"—not μεταχαρδία but μετάνοια.

Thus בַּל and ψαρδία are the subject or seat, not only of the affections, but of thought, imagination, meditation, memory, perception, reflection, knowledge, skill, belief, judgment, reasoning, consciousness; and, on the other hand, other words which are admitted properly to refer to intellectual operations are familiarly used also for the affections and all the moral activities.

The word φρήν, pl. φρένες, standing for the reins or kidneys, or the diaphragm or caul, came to denote, after its physical sense, what we express by heart, as properly as did ψαρδία; but, like ψαρδία, it came also to stand for the whole mind. It is used but twice in the New Testament, and then in the same verse (1 Cor. xiv. 20), and is there translated "understanding." It is very curious that, while the ancients treated several of the internal physical organs as the seat of the mind, e. g., not only the heart and kidneys or liver, but the breast, and even the stomach and bowels, they never hit upon the brains for that purpose;—except, perhaps, in Dan. iv. 13, "visions of my head";—although φρένες comes so provokingly near the English word in sound that we are almost tempted to seek for some mysterious etymological connection.

The Latin "cor" of the same root as the Greek ψαρδία, was sometimes, though unsfrequently, used for the cogitative or cognitive faculty. Through the French it has passed out into the special sense of courage. The English *heart*, of the same root as the Greek and

Latin words, is used almost exclusively for the seat of the affections and in direct contradistinction from the understanding. Hence, with its distinct signification and contrasted associations, it fails to correspond as an exact equivalent to the looser Hebrew and Greek words; though we have one phrase left in which it has the sense of mind or memory, viz., "to learn by heart." May we not well beware, therefore, lest, by basing our expositions and doctrinal teaching upon the special force of the English term, we really pervert the word of God, instead of inculcating high spiritual truth?

The ancients did not make the nice mental and linguistic analyses of modern thought. They used  $\Sigma\delta$ , *xapōia*, Πνεύμα, νοῦς, &c., for the whole inner man, now with special reference to one special faculty, or state, and now to another. But *xapōia*, for example, is never in the New Testament contradistinguished from or contrasted with *νοῦς*, or *θάυμα*, &c.; and, when put side by side with them, it is by parallelism rather than distinction. Thus, when it is said thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart (*xapōia*) and with all thy soul (*ψυχή*) and with all thy mind (*θάυμα*), it is not meant that heart, soul, mind, are distinct parts of man; each is the whole inner man, and they are all put together to make the expression of totality the stronger; and sometimes, to strengthen it still further, understanding (*σέπτες*) and strength (*πολεῖς*) are added.

Standing as it does for the inner man, *xapōia* is never contrasted with anything else within, but with what is without. Thus our Saviour: Nothing from without entering into a man can defile him, but from within, out of the heart, proceed evil thoughts, &c.—and these defile a man. We have no right to connect with *xapōia* the sharp distinctions with which we use the modern word *heart*. Shall we say, for example, that believing with the heart is a different thing from believing with the mind? The apostle says: "if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Now here heart is not opposed to mind but to mouth, the inward to the outward; and "in the heart" adds no more to the believing than "with the mouth" adds to the confessing. It is merely said that one is an internal act, and the other an external act. It is no extraordinary kind of believing any more than it is an extraordinary kind of confession. It is believing a logical proposition—"that God hath raised him from the dead." No doubt the apostle means a true, honest, lively faith, and a true, honest confession; and this he would

equally mean, if "in the heart" and "with the mouth" were **not** there. Man believeth to righteousness, and confession is made **unto** salvation; he believeth with the inner man, and confesseth with **the** outer man.

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## On the use of *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, and Connected Words in the Sacred Writings.

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The words שְׁמֹךְ and רֶאַיָּה in Hebrew, *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα* in Greek, **anima** and **spiritus** in Latin, Seele and Geist in German, soul and ghost or spirit in English, are all alike derived from roots meaning air or some movement of air, as breathing, or a waving of the wind. In classical Greek *ψυχή* came to stand for the mind, the inner man, the immortal part of man; and, what is remarkable, it came to have a special reference to the departed spirits or shades; while שְׁמֹךְ, the corresponding Hebrew word, came to designate the dead body. The classical Greek never carried *πνεῦμα* beyond its physical sense, though the later Greek began to use it for life or the living being.

In the following paper it will be understood that, for the sake of greater brevity, whenever the English words soul and spirit are employed in reference to Old Testament passages, they correspond to the Hebrew words שְׁמֹךְ and רֶאַיָּה, and in connection with the New Testament passages, to *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, respectively; unless some other word is expressly given as the original term.

Spirit and soul are used interchangeably, or as parallel and equivalent expressions; each for the whole inner man, the whole man exclusive of the body; and both having the same predicates.

*Isa.* xxvi. 9, "With my soul have I desired thee, yea with my

spirit within me will I seek thee"; lvii. 16, "The spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made"; Luke i. 46, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour"; Phil. i. 27, "Stand fast in one spirit, with one soul strivings together"; Luke x. 21, "Rejoiced in spirit"; John xi. 33, "Groaned in spirit"; xiii. 21, "Troubled in spirit"; Mark viii. 12, "Sighed deeply in his spirit"; Acts xvii. 16, "Spirit stirred within him"; xviii. 5, "Pressed in spirit";—John xii. 27, "My soul is troubled"; 2 Pet. ii. 8, "Vexed his righteous soul"; Matt. xi. 29, "Ye shall find rest unto your souls"; xxvi. 38, and Mark xiv. 34, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful"; Luke ii. 35, "A sword shall pierce through thine own soul"; Gen. xliii. 21, "We saw the anguish of his soul"; Lev. xv. 29, 31, "Shall afflict your souls"; 1 Sam. i. 10, "She was in bitterness of soul", (also Job iii. 10); Jud. xvi. 16, "His soul was vexed", also Ps. vi. 3, &c.;—Gen. xli. 8, "Spirit troubled"; Ex. vi. 9, "anguish of spirit"; Job. vii. 11, "I will speak in the anguish of my spirit"; see also "a broken spirit", "a wounded spirit", "vexation of spirit", &c.

Thus the same affections are ascribed indiscriminately to the soul and to the spirit; and one stands for the man himself as much as the other.

The soul and the body are represented as constituting the whole man. Matt. x. 28, "And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna"; see also Luke xii. 5. Here "soul" is more than "the life"; for *that* man can destroy; it is the living being;—and Gehenna is more than the grave or the valley of Hinnom; for, according to St. Luke, man cannot cast into it. Here, too, it is plain the soul and the body are all there is of man. Micah vi. 7, "Fruit of my body for the sin of my soul"; Isa. x. 18, "Both soul and body"; Gen. xxxv. 18, "Her soul was in departing"; 1 Kings xix. 21, 22, "Let this child's soul come into him again."

Still more frequently are the spirit and body, in immediate contrast, thus represented:—Luke viii. 55, "Her spirit came again and she arose"; so, "into thy hands I commend my spirit"; "receive my spirit"; 1 Cor. vi. 20, "Glorify God in your body and in your spirit"; vii. 34, "Holy both in body and in spirit"; Eph. iv. 4, "One body, one spirit"; James ii. 26, "As the body without the spirit is dead," (where the spirit is recognized as the animating principle for the body); so Rev. xi. 11, "The spirit of life from God entered into them."

Our Lord himself contrasts spirit with flesh, *σάρξ*; never with **body**, *σῶμα*. “That which is born of the flesh,” says he, “is flesh; **and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.**” Here flesh does not mean the body, but the whole natural man, that which is the product or the result of natural generation; while the spirit does not denote what was in the man before as a constituent part of him, but that which is produced in him by the regenerating agency of the Divine Spirit. St. Paul uses flesh and spirit in the same way. “The flesh lusteth against the spirit,” says he, “and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would”, (Gal. v. 17); and again, “So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God. But ye are not in the flesh but in the spirit.” Whence it is manifest that flesh is not synonymous with body, for they were in the body.

When, on another occasion, our Lord says, “the spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak”, the flesh may mean much the same as **body**; but if so, the spirit means the same as soul or heart or mind; **and thus the distinction is equivalent to that between soul and body.**

There are a few other passages where spirit and flesh are brought in to contrast or juxtaposition,—particularly Heb. xii. 9, 10: “Furthermore, the fathers of our flesh we had as chasteners, and we revered them; shall we not much rather submit ourselves unto the Father of the [our?] spirits and live?” This has been variously interpreted; and it has been cited as proving the doctrine of creationism, *i. e.*, that each human soul is created for each human body by an act of God. But this seems to ignore the fact that God is the maker of our bodies as well as of our spirits or souls; see Ps. cxxxix. 13–16. The allusion may be to the original Divine inbreathing whereby “man became a living soul”; or to the regenerating energy of the Divine Spirit. The *soul* is also spoken of much in the same way in Isa. lvii. 16: “The spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made.” For other passages similar to that in Hebrews, see Numb. xvi. 22: “O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh”; xxvii. 1, “The Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh”; Job. xii. 10, “In whose hand is the soul (*ψυχή*) of all life, and the breath (*πνεῦμα*) of all human flesh”; xxvii. 3, “The Spirit of God is in my nostrils”; xxxiii. 4, “The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath (*πνεῦμα*) of the Almighty hath given me life.” In these passages the Spirit seems to stand for the breath or the animating principle in man; and God is simply represented as the author and

preserver of our lives, with special reference, it may be, to our minds.

Spirit and heart, soul and heart, are also used interchangeably and by way of parallelism:—Isa. li. 15, “To revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones”; Deut. ii. 30, “God hardened his spirit and made his heart,” &c.; Ps. li. 10, “Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me”; li. 17, “The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart,” &c.; Ezek. xviii. 21, “A new heart and a new spirit”; —as for heart and soul, see Matt. xxii. 37, “With all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind”; see also Mark xii. 30, and Luke xii. 19; Acts iv. 32, “Of one heart and of one soul”; Deut. iv. 29, “If thou seek him with all thy heart and with all thy soul”; see also vi. 5; x. 12; xi. 13; xiii. 3; xxvi. 16, “Keep and do them with all thine heart and with all thy soul”; xxx. 2, “Obey with all thy heart and with all thy soul”; Joshua xxii. 5, “Serve him with all your heart and with all your soul”; xxviii. 14, “Ye know in all your hearts and in all your souls”; 2 Kings xxii. 3, 25, “To keep his commandments with all their heart and with all their soul”; 1 Chron. xxii. 19, “Set your heart and your soul to seek the Lord”; Eph. vi. 5, 6, “In singleness of your heart, . . . doing the will of God from the soul”; and so, Col. iii. 22, 23, “In singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it from the soul.”

Spirit and mind are both contrasted and conjoined. In 1 Cor. xiv. 14, 15, spirit and *νοῦς* are contrasted: “My spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit and I will pray with the understanding also.” In Eph. iv. 23, they are conjoined or merged: “Renewed in the spirit of your mind, *νοῦς*.” In 1 Cor. ii. 11, “The spirit of man in him” stands for his conscious being, it *knows* the things of the man.

Sin, perversion, pollution, are predicated alike of the soul, the spirit, the heart, and the mind. Lev. iv. 2, “If a soul sin”; see also, vi. 2, etc.; xvii. 11, “Make an atonement for your souls” (here soul may mean merely the person); Hab. ii. 4, “His soul is not upright in him”; Ezek. xviii. 4, “The soul that sinneth, it shall die”; xxxvi. 5, “With despiteful minds (souls)”; Micah. vi. 7, “The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul”; Acts xv. 24, “Subverting your souls”; 1 Pet. i. 22, “Ye have purified your souls”; 2 Pet. ii. 14, “Beguiling unstable souls”; Deut. ii. 10, “God hardened his spirit”; Judges ix. 23; 1 Sam. xvi. 14, 15, &c., “An evil spirit”; 1 Kings xxii. 21, 22, &c., “A lying spirit”; Ezek. xviii. 21, “A new heart and a new spirit”; see in Gospels, “Unclean spirits”; 2 Cor. vii. 1, “Filthiness of the flesh and spirit”; James iv. 5,

"The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy";—for "heart" no citations are needed;—for "mind," Eph. ii. 3, "desires of the flesh of the mind (*διανοίᾳ*)"; Col. i. 21, "Enemies in mind (*διανοίᾳ*) by wicked works; 2 Cor. xi. 3, "So your minds (*νοήματα*) should be corrupted"; Rom. i. 28, "Reprobate mind (*νοῦς*)"; Col. ii. 18, "Puffed up by his fleshly mind (*νοῦς*)"; 1 Tim. vi. 5, "Corrupt minds (*νοῦς*)"; Tit. i. 15, "Mind (*νοῦς*) and conscience is defiled"; Rom. viii. 7, "The mind of the flesh (*φρόνημα σαρκός*) is enmity against God."

Righteousness and purity are similarly predicated, but no texts are needed in proof.

Life after death, future punishment and salvation, are predicated alike of the soul and of the spirit.

Job xxxii. 22, "His soul dwelleth near unto Sheol"; Ps. xvi. 10, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol"; xxx. 3, "Brought up my soul from Sheol"; Matt. x. 28, "Destroy both soul and body in Gehenna"; John xii. 25, "He that hateth his life (*ψυχή*) in this world shall keep it unto life (*ζωή*) eternal"; Matt. x. 39, "He that findeth his life (*ψυχή*) shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it"; also, xvi. 25, 27; Mark viii. 35, 38,— "Whosoever shall lose his life (*ψυχή*) for my sake and the Gospel's, the same shall save it," &c.; also, Luke ix. 24, 27; 2 Cor. xii. 15, "I will most gladly spend and be spent for your souls"; Heb. vi. 19, "An anchor of the soul"; 1 Peter ii. 11, 25, "Fleshly lusts, which war against the soul"; "The shepherd and bishop of your souls"; Heb. x. 39, "Saving of the soul"; James i. 21, "Able to save your souls"; 1 Pet. i. 9, "Salvation of your souls"; iv. 19, "Commit the keeping of your souls to him"; Rom. ii. 7, 9, "To those who seek immortality, eternal life, but tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil"; Rev. vi. 9, "I saw under the altar the souls," &c.; xx. 4, "I saw the souls of them which were beheaded," &c.;—Ps. xxxi. 5, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit"; see also Luke xxiii. 46; Eccles. iii. 21, the spirit of man that goeth upward"; xii. 7, "The spirit shall return unto God who gave it"; 1 Cor. v. 5, "That the spirit may be saved"; Heb. xii. 23, "Spirits of just men made perfect"; 1 Pet. iii. 19, "The spirits in prison."

Both *ψυχή* and *ψυχή* are sometimes, but particularly *ψυχή*, used in a sort of wavering sense between what we express by "life" and what we express by "soul," or as combining both senses. See the already quoted passages, John xii. 25; Matt. x. 39; xvi. 26, &c.; Mark viii. 35-37; and Luke ix. 24, 25.

Sometimes שֶׁבַע is used of the life of *brutes*. Gen. i. 21, 24, "Every living creature that moveth," "The living creature after his kind"; ii. 19, "Every living creature"; ix. 4, "Flesh with the life thereof . . . shall ye not eat"; iv. 12, 15, 16, "Every living creature"; Lev. xxiv. 18, "Flesh with the life thereof"; also, xvii. 11, 14, and Deut. xii. 23; Numb. xxxi. 28, "One soul of five hundred both of the persons and of the beeves"; Job xii. 10, "The soul of every living thing, and the spirit (רֵאשִׁית) of all mankind."

These fourteen are all the cases that I can find in the Old Testament in which the Hebrew word has this application. In the New Testament there are but two cases of ψυχή so used; Rev. viii. 9, "All which were in the sea and had life died"; and xvi. 3, "And every living soul died in the sea."

On the other hand, רֵאשִׁית is used of *beasts* six times; Gen. vi. 17,

"All flesh wherein is the breath of life"; so also, vii. 15, 22; Ps. civ. 29, "Thou takest away their breath (רֵאשִׁית)"; Eccles. iii. 19,

"For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts . . . yea they have all one breath (רֵאשִׁית)"; 21, "The spirit of the beast that goeth downward."

And שֶׁבַע is used of God in the Old Testament nine times; Jud.

xvi. 16, "His soul was grieved for the misery of the children of Israel": Isa. i. 14, "My soul hateth"; xiii. 2, "In whom my soul delighteth"; Jerem. v. 9 and ix. 9, "Shall not my soul be avenged?" xii. 7, "The dearly beloved of my soul"; xiv. 19, "Hath thy soul loathed Zion?" xxxii. 41, "With my whole heart and with my whole soul"; Lev. xxvi. 11, "My soul shall not abhor you." In the New Testament ψυχή is so applied twice; Matt. xii. 18, "In whom my soul is well pleased;" and Heb. x. 38, "My soul shall have no pleasure in him":—both cited from the Septuagint.

In general שֶׁבַע and ψυχή are distinguished from נַפְשׁוֹ and נַפְשָׁךְ. The latter stand for life, living, in the *abstract*, (though נַפְשׁוֹ is also frequently used concretely, both as an adjective and for נַפְשָׁךְ). But the former are always *concrete*, and stand for somewhat that lives, either the vital principle itself or the living being; and so they come to represent the person, the soul, the self; which נַפְשׁוֹ and נַפְשָׁךְ never do. This is the strongest evidence that they stand for the whole inner man; for the

centre of the consciousness of our inner being. Life (*ν*) and soul (*ψ*) are contradistinguished: Job x, 1, "My soul is weary of my life"; Ps. lxvi. 9, "Which holdeth our soul in life"; Prov. iii. 22, "So shall they be life unto thy soul"; see also John xii. 25, &c. For *ζωή* see also 1 Pet. iii. 10, "He that will love life,"—this is very different from loving his life, *ψυχή*; Jas. iv. 14, "What is your life? it is even a vapour"; 1 Tim. iv. 8, "Having promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come"; 1 Cor. xv. 18, "If in this life only," &c. Of *ψυχή* such propositions are never made.

But as *ψ* and *ψυχή* stand thus for the vital or animating principle, so also do *ρ* and *πνεύμα*; as, "all flesh wherein is the breath of life," (Gen. v. 17; vii. 15, 22; &c.); "Her spirit came again and she arose," (Luke viii. 55); "As the body without the spirit is dead," (Jas. ii. 26.)

As the soul is the seat of the affections, so also, as we have seen, is the spirit. On the other hand, as the spirit is used for the rational mind, which is conscious of the things of man that are in him; so also the soul *knows*, *thinks*, *remembers*: Psalms cxxxix. 14, "my soul knoweth right well"; Prov. xix. 2, "That the soul be without knowledge is not good"; 1 Sam. xx 4, "What thy soul speaketh"; Lam. iii. 20, "My soul hath them still in remembrance"; Josh. xxiii. 14, "Ye know in all your hearts, and in all your souls," &c.

As soul stands familiarly for the person, the self, the ego, so that "my soul," "thy soul," "his soul," often mean—though always probably with a certain peculiar modification of sense—the same as *I, thou, he*;—so also is the spirit used. Thus, Isa. xxxviii. 16, "In all these things is the life of my spirit; so wilt thou recover me and make me live"; "where 'Life of my spirit' is *my life*"; "My spirit is myself, just as 'My soul' is I. So also, "Hath refreshed my spirit and yours," (1 Cor. xvi. 18, also 2 Cor. vii. 13), i. e., me and you. And thus, when, to the salutation: "The Lord be with you," it is answered, "And with thy spirit,"—"Thy spirit" means simply *thee*.

In Job xxxiii. 8, it seems to be implied that the spirit, *ρ*, belongs to man naturally; and the natural understanding is said to come into it, as it were, from the Spirit of God: "But there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration (*πνεύμα*) of the Almighty giveth him understanding.

That what is called *πνεύμα* is *naturally* in man as well as what is called *ψυχή* is further evident from the words of St. Paul, which occur

in immediate connexion with his contrast of the natural or psychical with the spiritual or pneumatical man: "For who of men," says he, "Knoweth the things of man (or of the man, or man in general) save the spirit of man (or of the man) which is in him?" This spirit, then, belongs to man as man, to all men; and it is here regarded as the seat of human consciousness.

Thus then we have seen that:

- (1) Spirit and soul are used indiscriminately for the whole inner man.
- (2) The same predicates, the same affections, are ascribed to both.
- (3) Soul and body, or spirit and body, stand alike for the whole man.
- (4) Spirit and flesh have sometimes a special contrast, but not as being constituent parts of our natural constitution.
- (5) Heart is used interchangeably with spirit or with soul.
- (6) Spirit and mind are contrasted as well as conjoined.
- (7) Sin, pollution, perversion, as well as righteousness and purity, are predicated alike of soul, spirit, heart and mind.
- (8) Life after death, future punishment and salvation are predicated alike of the soul and of the spirit.
- (9) Spirit and soul are both used for the principle of life, the animating principle in the body.
- (10) Both terms are used for the life of beasts; and both are used in respect to God, in the New Testament as well as in the Old.
- (11) Both are used to denote not only the seat of the affections, but the rational conscious mind and the proper personal self.

Let us turn now to some points of view in which the two terms or things are discriminated.

That ψυχή and (in the Septuagint) ψυχή should come to stand for a *dead body*, is a remarkable and startling fact. But this is explained by considering that the body is regarded as having been alive; and that, to the eye, the body represents the *person*. Indeed, in our ordinary English, we have remarkable traces of a converse usage, viz., of "body" for person; as anybody, everybody, somebody, nobody, busy-body, &c.,—terms which we never apply to the lower animals, and which mean, therefore, not individual bodies, but proper persons. Besides we may note the tendency in the vulgar thought and speech in general to degrade *person* to *body*, as in the phrases, "He has a fine person", "To adorn the person", "His personal appearance or bearing", &c. And thus there is danger that that most refined and elevated philosophical conception of personality should be by many people

entirely missed, or merged in mere corporeity. It may be added that, in imitation of Scripture language, we also, in current English, use *soul* for *person* numerically, as "Every soul on board", "more than twenty souls", &c. In neither of the above mentioned ways is spirit ever used.

On the other hand, the special uses of spirit are:

- (1) To indicate the Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit.
- (2) In the Acts of the Apostles frequently, and sometimes elsewhere, to indicate his miraculous gifts, or with special reference to them; but, in Cor. xii. 4-11, these are emphatically distinguished in their diversity from the one giver. In 1 Cor. xiv. 12, spiritual gifts are called *πνεύματα* (in the plural).
- (3) To denote devils or demons, "evil or foul spirits"; and good angels, "ministering spirits."
- (4) To denote temper, disposition, character; as, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of", (Luke ix. 55); "A meek and quiet spirit", (1 Pet. iii. 4); so "a spirit of meekness", "of love", &c.; and "spirit of your mind."

In none of these senses is soul ever used.

The question now arises, is man's nature in the Scripture regarded as bipartite or tripartite?

In the first place, the discriminations just mentioned in the Scripture usage of the terms soul and spirit, when compared with the great mass of indiscriminate usage, can hardly be urged as a sufficient ground for regarding soul and spirit as distinct hypostases, as contradistinguished constituent parts, of man's natural constitution.

In the second place, by our Lord and by the Evangelists, only a two-fold division is recognized;—it is either "soul and body" or "spirit and body." "Soul and spirit" are never discriminated. In one case only the two are placed in juxtaposition, and that in Mary's magnificat; where they are in parallelism, and mean the same thing. Such also is the *general* usage of the New Testament writers, St. Paul included. Our Lord never speaks of "body and spirit", but only of "body and soul." He never speaks of the spirit but only of the soul, as *being saved*.

But there remain a few passages in the New Testament which are by many held to teach the doctrine of trichotomy; and thereby, as they think, to lay the foundation for a specifically Christian philosophy of human nature. This doctrine, with various modifications, was maintained by several of the early fathers, and is by some urged as a solvent for almost all anthropological difficulties in theology. The passages relied upon are: 1 Thess. v. 23; Heb. iv. 12; Jude 19;

Jas. iii. 15; 1 Cor. ii. 14, and xv. 44, 45. I believe these are ~~all~~<sup>1</sup> that are to any purpose as proofs. And now of these in order:—

(a) Take first the passage from 1 Thess. v. 23, "Your whole spirit and soul and body." Here I submit that, in Scripture style, such an expression is not to be conceived of as setting forth or implying a philosophical analysis of man's constitution, but rather as a rhetorical fulness of statement for the whole inner and outer man; just as "Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, and with all thy *soul* and with all thy mind," is not to be understood as (with the body) implying a tetratomistic analysis of the constitution of man. And yet the mode of expression in this latter case is stronger for that purpose than in the former for a similar purpose; it points much more emphatically towards a real distinction and separation of parts than the simple phrase, "With all thine heart and soul and mind" (like "whole spirit and soul and body") would have done. To these four (body being included) is, in one case, added a fifth, "and with all thy strength." Does this imply the philosophy of a pentatomistic constitution of man's being? We have just seen that both the Hebrew and the Greek terms for *soul* and *spirit* are used, both in the Old and New Testaments, as, in general, synonymous expressions for that whole living being which, as Butler says, we call ourselves. It is true that, like all so-called synonymous words,—like heart and soul and mind,—they may each have some special modification of meaning and some special proprieties of use and application. But all this is not enough to show that they denote distinct things or beings or objects of thought. We must always beware how we read our modern abstractions and nice metaphysical analyses into the concrete and popular language of Scripture. The argument from *ὅλοκληρον* (whole) as implying three parts is merely fanciful.

(b) Next comes Heb. iv. 12, "The dividing asunder of soul and spirit." This dividing is thought to settle the question as to the real distinction between soul and spirit, by showing that they are not only logically but actually separable. But here, in fact, the whole operation is logical,—an operation by the word of God acting upon functions, and not directly upon entities, and an operation which is described in highly figurative language. In any event, it does not express a dividing asunder of the soul *from* the spirit, but a dividing *of* the soul and a dividing *of* the spirit; for it is plain that the dividing "of the joints and marrow" is not a dividing of the joints *from* the marrow, but a separation of joint from joint or of each joint in twain, and a cleaving asunder of the marrow,—as if by a strong downward stroke of a sword, the whole spine were to be cleft in the

midst. It is plain, too, that the critical discerning or distinguishing "of the thoughts and intents of the heart," is not a discriminating of thoughts from intents but of thought from thought and intent from intent; still less can it reasonably be supposed to imply that thoughts and intents are assumed to be two real and substantial divisions or constituent parts of the heart. If it be suggested that the soul and spirit are absolute units, indivisible entities, and, so, incapable of separation into parts; I answer, that neither the language of Scripture nor the ordinary speech of even these our philosophical and scientific times has anything to do with such nice distinctions. The Scriptures speak, and we speak, of a distracted mind, a divided heart, a wounded and broken spirit. In short, in my view, the text would have much the same sense if it read: "Dividing asunder of heart and soul," &c., or, "Of heart and spirit," &c.

(c) Four passages remain; in all of which the adjective "psychic" or "psychical," (*Ψυχικός*), is used in opposition to "spiritual" or "pneumatic," (*πνευματικός*.) St. Jude speaks of certain men as "psychical, not having the spirit." But surely he is not speaking of men who are destitute of a trichotomistic part of the human constitution; but of men who, in their full natural powers, are destitute of the Spirit of God, and so are of a worldly and carnal disposition. In like manner St. James describes certain men as "earthly, psychical, demon-like";—as if he had said, "not having the Spirit of God, but the spirit of evil demons." So also St. Paul, in 1 Cor. ii. 14, represents the "psychical" man as one who is not enlightened and taught by the Spirit of God, in contrast with the spiritual (or pneumatical) man who is so taught. Thus St. Jude furnishes the key, "psychical, not having the Spirit"—not having the Spirit of God.

The passage in 1 Cor. xv. 44 is somewhat different. Here the Apostle speaks of "a psychical body and a spiritual (or pneumatical) body." Now, as the psychical man is not a man who is destitute of a third part of man's normal constitution, or of a rational and moral nature, but a man who has not the Spirit of God; he is, while in this natural condition,—while not informed, illumined, energized by the indwelling of the Divine Spirit, worldly, carnal, sensual; and so he is associated in the Apostle's mind with this mortal and corruptible body. And the spiritual (or pneumatic), which the Apostle most commonly sets in an antithesis to the fleshly or carnal (*σαρκίκος*—*πνεῦμα τοῦ σαρκὸς*)—is thus naturally opposed here to the psychical. The psychical body, then, is that which furnishes the organic connexion with worldly and sensible things, while the spiritual body is that which shall furnish an organic connexion with external things in a

heavenly and spiritual state;—I say, an organic connexion after the analogy of the present body in its relation to the mind or soul. For the spiritual body is *body* and not spirit, and therefore must come under the definition of *body*. If it were to be mere spirit, then every man, in the future state, would have two spirits, the spirit that he had here and another spirit received at the resurrection.

The Spirit of God is not represented as coming into direct contact with the outer man, but first with the inner man, and through that with the outer. And thus the Apostle says: “If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his spirit that dwelleth in you.” And the operation of the Spirit of God upon the inner man, renewing, enlightening, sanctifying; changing the psychical to the pneumatical man; is not represented, and is not to be conceived of, as introducing into its subjects any new substance or faculties or constituent parts of their nature, but as renovating and restoring the deranged and perverted or misdirected functions; the regenerate man is renewed in the spirit and temper of his mind, renewed in righteousness and true holiness, renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him, created anew in Christ Jesus. Through the power of the Holy Ghost, Christ dwells in his people as a quickening Spirit. It is presumed that man in his original condition, before he sinned, was no destitute of the Spirit. And yet, to illustrate the reality of the psychical body, the Apostle refers to Adam as he was originally created: “And so it is written,” he says, “the first man Adam was made a living soul.” Thus, in his normal original state, he was a psychical man. The *ψυχή*, *ψυχικός*, do not, therefore, necessarily carry with them a bad sense; but only when the latter is used in distinctively negative way, as the Apostle here employs it, so that it implies the destitution of the Divine Spirit.

But now, finally, supposing that the Apostle here or elsewhere would contradistinguish soul and spirit as being distinct and co-ordinate, higher and lower, parts of man’s inner nature; I should still maintain that the whole *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures requires us to consider it as a *functional* and not a *substantial* distinction. The two-fold distinction into body and soul, body and spirit, body and mind, is to be regarded as a real and substantial distinction; but in the threefold distinction into “body, soul and spirit,” that between soul and spirit simply refers to different faculties, relations or activities—functions—of the inner man, who is substantially an individual unit, but whose functions are thus distributed in respect to his moral

and religious state, into two great departments, lower and higher, earthward and heavenward.

Those who scout the idea of substances as a mere metaphysical figment must of course admit the negative proposition, that the distinction in question is not substantial; and it is difficult to see how they can refuse to admit the positive proposition, that it is functional.

On the other hand, those who adopt the idea of substance, as it is commonly understood, must either admit the statement that the distinction in question is not substantial but functional, or they must hold that there are real substances in the world which are neither matter nor mind, and that either the soul or the spirit is such a substance.

I suppose that nobody has ever denied or doubted that in man's inner nature there are higher and lower powers or faculties or functions, and that it is the higher parts that are directly receptive of the impulse of the Divine Spirit. And if this is all that is meant by the trichotomists, they need not make much noise about their discovery. The real difficulty would be to draw any precise line between the higher and the lower, and to distribute all man's faculties or functions (other than the bodily) into the two departments of soul and spirit; and especially to make this distribution *as of Scripture authority* and in consonance with the actual use of these words in the Old and New Testaments, or in either of them. The commonly received and very loose division of man's nature into Intellectual, Moral and Physical does not seem to correspond to what is meant by those who make the threefold division into spirit, soul and body; for they are understood to include the higher—rational as well as moral—faculties under the spirit, while they admit that in great part the moral affections belong to the soul. But we have seen that the same affections belong also to the spirit; and St. Paul enumerates among the fruits of the spirit, "love, joy, peace," &c., and speaks of "your love in the spirit." And if it be suggested that the higher affections belong to the spirit and the lower to the soul, it is remarkable that the very highest of the affections, that which is the foremost of the spiritual graces, the very heart of the highest spiritual life, that which will endure when faith and knowledge shall vanish away—*love*, is a function of the soul. See Isa. xlvi. 1, "In whom my soul delighteth"; and Song of Solomon, i. 7 and iii. 1-4, where "my soul loveth" is five times repeated. Here the Septuagist uses the verb ἀγαπᾷω.

The trichotomists are understood to admit that the will belongs to the soul; and certainly the soul is represented as the active, motive

power in man. But St. Paul "purposed in the spirit" (*εθετο εν πνευματι*). The conscience might be assigned to the spirit, but it includes a *sentiment* as well as a judgment; and, besides, the soul ~~is~~ the person, the ego,—as it is admitted to be,—must be the subject of the whole consciousness.

The spirit, as we have seen, may be used for the person also; but when the Divine Spirit is said to "witness with our spirits that we are the Sons of God," it does not appear that the sense is anywise different from what it would be if the apostle had said "with our minds," "our hearts," or "our souls." For the same apostle says that "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts" (not into our spirits); and the Spirit thus imparted begets, or becomes, in us "the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba Father."

The general conclusion, therefore, is, that:

(1) The words soul and spirit are generally employed in the Scriptures in an indiscriminate way, each as denoting the whole mind or inner man.

(2) In some few cases *spirit* may be used to denote especially the higher faculties or functions of the mind or soul, but even then not in direct contrast with the soul itself.

(3) In some other cases *spirit* is used for what does not at all belong to man in his natural state; but, for a certain temper, disposition and direction of the heart, imparted by the Divine Spirit in the life of Christ, by virtue of which Christians are called spiritual (or pneumatic) men.

But (4) there is no ground in the Scripture use of the words soul and spirit to furnish the foundation for the trichotomistic doctrine of a sharp and radical distinction between the two, as co-ordinate parts of man's nature,—much less as distinct substances in his constitution.

NOTE.—In the second Scripture quotation, p. 74, from Isa. lvii. 6, the original word for "souls" is נֶפֶשׁ :

## On the Construction of Romans ix. 5.

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We shall understand better the passage to be discussed if we consider its relation to what precedes and follows, and the circumstances under which it was written.

In the first eight chapters of the Epistle to the Romans the Apostle has set forth the need and the value of the gospel, as “the power of God unto salvation to *every one that believeth*; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.” In view of the present blessings and the glorious hopes of the Christian believer he closes this part of the Epistle with an exultant song of triumph.

But the doctrine of Paul was in direct opposition to the strongest prejudices of the Jews, and their most cherished expectations. It placed them on a level as to the conditions of salvation with the despised and hated Gentiles. The true Messiah, the king of Israel, the spiritual king of men, had come; but the rulers of their nation had crucified the Lord of glory, and the great mass of the people had rejected him. They had thus placed themselves in direct opposition to God: they had become ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ, outcasts from the Messiah and his kingdom. Christians, a large majority of them Gentiles by birth, were now the true Israel. No rite of circumcision, no observance of the Jewish Law was required, as the condition of acceptance with God, and the enjoyment of the Messianic blessings; no sacrifice but self-sacrifice: the only condition was *faith*, as Paul uses the term,—a *practical* belief and trust in Christ, and thus in God revealed in his paternal character; a faith that carried with it the affections and will, πίστις δὲ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη.

How could these things be? How was this gospel of Paul to be reconciled with the promises of God to the “holy nation”? how with his justice, wisdom, and goodness? Had God cast off his people,

"Israel his servant, Jacob his chosen, the seed of Abraham his friend"? These are the great questions which the Apostle answers in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of this Epistle. The first five verses are to be regarded as a *conciliatory introduction* to his treatment of this subject, on which he had so much to say that was not only hard for the unbelieving Jews, but for Jewish Christians, to understand and accept.

The unbelieving Jews regarded the Apostle as an apostate from the true religion, and as an enemy of their race. Five times already he had received from them forty stripes save one; he had been "in perils from his own countrymen" at Damascus, at Antioch in Pisidia, at Iconium and Lystra, at Thessalonica, Berea, and Corinth,—often in peril of his life. By a great part of the believing Jews he was regarded with distrust and aversion. (See Acts xxi. 20, 21.) His doctrines were indeed revolutionary. Though he was about to go to Jerusalem to carry a liberal contribution from the churches of Macedonia and Achaia to the poor Christians in that city, he expresses in this Epistle great anxiety about the reception he should meet with (anxiety fully justified by the result), and begs the prayers of the brethren at Rome in his behalf. (Rom. xv. 30-32.) As the Jews hated Paul, they naturally believed that he hated them.

These circumstances explain the exceedingly strong asseveration of his affection for his countrymen, and of his deep sorrow for their estrangement from God, with which this introduction begins. So far from being an enemy of his people, he could make any sacrifice to win them to Christ. They were his brethren, his kinsmen as to the flesh; he gloried in sharing with them the proud name of Israelites; he delights to enumerate the magnificent privileges by which God had distinguished them from all other nations,—"the adoption, and the glory, and the giving of the Law, the covenants, the temple-service, and the promises"; theirs were the fathers, and from among them, as the crowning distinction of all, the Messiah was born, the supreme gift of God's love and mercy not to the Jews alone, but to all mankind. All God's dealings with his chosen people were designed to prepare the way, and had prepared the way, for this grand consummation. How natural that when, in his rapid recital of their historic glories, the Apostle reaches this highest distinction of the Jews and greatest blessing of God's mercy to men he should express his overflowing gratitude to God as the Ruler over All; that he should "thank God for his unspeakable gift"! I believe that he has done so; and that the fifth verse of the passage we are considering should be translated,—"whose are the fathers, and from whom is the Mes-

iah as to the flesh: he who is over all, God, be blessed for ever. Amen.,” or, “he who is God over all be blessed for ever. Amen.” The doxology springs from the same feeling and the same view of the gracious providence of God which prompted the fuller outburst at the end of the eleventh chapter, where, on completing the treatment of the subject which he here introduces, the Apostle exclaims, “O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and untraceable his ways! . . . For from Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things: to Him be (*or is*) the glory forever. Amen.”

I believe that there are no objections to this construction of the passage which do not betray their weakness when critically examined; and that the objections against most of the other constructions which have been proposed are fatal.

The passage is remarkable for the different ways in which it has been and may be punctuated, and for the consequent variety of constructions which have been given it. The Greek is as follows:

———*καὶ οὗ ὁν δ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σύρχα δ ὁν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός εὐλογηθὸς εἰς τὸν αἰώνας. Ἀμήν.*

It grammatically admits of being punctuated and construed in at least seven different ways.

1. Placing a comma after *σύρχα*, and also after *θεός*, we may translate the last clause:—“who (*or* he who) is God over all, blessed for ever.”

2. Putting the second comma after *πάντων* instead of *θεός*:—“who (*or* he who) is over all, God blessed for ever.”

3. With a comma after *πάντων* and also after *θεός*:—“who (*or* he who) is over all, God, blessed for ever.” So Morus, Gess (*Christi Person und Werk*, II. i. 207 f., Basel, 1878).

4. Placing a comma after *δ ὁν*, and also after *θεός*:—“He who is, God over all, blessed for ever.”—See Wordsworth’s note, which however is not consistent throughout; and observe the mistranslation at the end of his quotation from Athanasius (*Orat. cont. Arianos*, i. § 24, p. 338).\*

5. Placing a comma after *σύρχα*, and a colon after *πάντων*, the last part of the verse may be rendered:—“and from whom is the Messiah as to the flesh, who (*or* he who) is over all: God be blessed for ever. Amen.”

\*Perhaps I ought to add here as a curiosity a construction proposed in the *Record* newspaper, in an article copied in *Christian Opinion and Revisionist* for March 11, 1882, p. 222. The writer would translate: “Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God. Blessed be He for ever! Amen.”

6. Placing a *colon* after *σάρκα, θεύτ* may be taken as predicate, thus:—"he who is over all is God, blessed for ever"; so Professor B. H. Kennedy, D. D., Canon of Ely; or thus:—"he who was over all being (*literally*, was) God, blessed for ever." So Andrews Norton.

7. With a colon after *σάρκα, ὁ ὡν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός* may be taken as the subject, and *εὐλογητός* as predicate, with the ellipsis of *εἰη* or *εστιν*, making the last part of the verse a doxology, thus:—"he who is over all, God, be blessed (or is to be praised) for ever"; or, "he who is God over all be blessed (or is to be praised) for ever"; or, "God, who is over all, be blessed (or is to be praised) for ever."

I pass over other varieties of translation and interpretation, depending on the question whether *πάντων* is to be taken as masculine or neuter, and on the wider or narrower application of the word in either case.

In Nos. 1-4 inclusive, it will be seen that the *οὐών* with all that follows, including the designation *θεός*, is referred to *οὐχιστός*; in Nos. 6 and 7, *οὐών* introduces an independent sentence, and *θεός* denotes God, the Father. No. 5 refers the first part of the sentence in debate to *οὐχιστός*, the last part to God.

The question of chief interest is whether in this passage the Apostle has called Christ *God*. Among those who hold that he has done so, the great majority adopt one or the other of the constructions numbered 1 and 2; and it is to these, and especially to No. 2, followed both in King James's version and the Revised Version (text), that I shall give special attention. Among those who refer the last part of the sentence to God and not Christ, the great majority of scholars adopt either No. 5 or No. 7. I have already expressed my preference for the latter construction, and it is generally preferred by those who find here a doxology to God.

I. We will first consider the objections that have been urged against the construction which makes the last part of the sentence, beginning with *οὐών*, introduce a doxology to God. I shall then state the arguments which seem to me to favor this construction, and at the same time to render the constructions numbered 1 to 4 each and all untenable. Other views of the passage will be briefly noticed. Some remarks will be added on the history of its interpretation, though no full account of this will be attempted.

1. It is objected that a doxology here is wholly out of place; that the Apostle is overwhelmed with grief at the Jewish rejection of the Messiah and its consequences, and "an elegy or funeral discourse cannot be changed abruptly into a hymn."—He is indeed deeply

grieved at the unbelief and blindness of the great majority of his countrymen; but his sorrow is not hopeless. He knows all the while that "the word of God hath not failed;" that "God hath not cast off his people whom he foreknew"; that at last "all Israel shall be saved"; and nothing seems to me more natural than the play of mingled feelings which the passage presents; grief for the present temporary alienation of his countrymen from Christ; joy and thanksgiving at the thought of the priceless blessings of which Christ was the minister to man, and in which his countrymen should ultimately share.

Flatt, Stuart, and others put the objection in a very pointed form. They represent a doxology as making Paul say, in effect: "The special privileges of the Jews have contributed greatly to enhance the guilt and punishment of the Jewish nation; God be thanked that he has given them such privileges!"—But they simply read into the passage what is not there. There is nothing in the context to suggest that the Apostle is taking this view of the favor which God had shown the Jewish nation. He is not denouncing his countrymen for their guilt in rejecting the Messiah, and telling them that this guilt and its punishment are aggravated by the privileges they have abused. So tender is he of their feelings that he does not even name the cause of his grief, but leaves it to be inferred. He is assuring his countrymen, who regarded him as their enemy, of the sincerity and strength of his love for them. They are his brethren; the very name "Israelite" is to him a title of honor,\* and he recounts in detail, certainly not in the manner of one touching a painful subject, the glorious distinctions which their nation had enjoyed through the favor of God. Calvin, who so often in his commentaries admirably traces the connection of thought, here hits the nail on the head: "Haec dignitatis elogia *testimonia sunt amoris*. Non enim solemus adeo benigne loqui, nisi de iis quos amamus."†

At the risk of being tedious, I will take some notice of Dr. Gifford's remarks in his recent and valuable Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. He says: "Paul's anguish is deepened by the memory of their privileges, most of all by the thought that their race gave birth to the Divine Saviour, whom they have rejected."—But in Paul's

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\*See ch. xi. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 22.

†The view which I have taken accords with that of Dr. Hodge. He says:—"The object of the Apostle in the introduction to this chapter, contained in the first five verses, is to assure the Jews of his love and of his respect for their peculiar privileges."—*Comm. on the Ep. to the Romans*, new ed. (1864), note on ix. 4, p. 469; see also p. 463.

enumeration of the privileges of the Jews he has in view not merely their present condition but their whole past history, illuminated as it had been by light from heaven. Will it be seriously maintained that Paul did not regard the peculiar privileges which the Jewish nation had enjoyed for so many ages, as gifts of God's goodness for which eternal gratitude was due?—But "his anguish was deepened most of all by the thought that their race gave birth to the Divine Saviour"! Paul's grief for his unbelieving countrymen, then, had extinguished his gratitude for the inestimable blessings which he personally owed to Christ; it had extinguished his gratitude for the fact that the God who rules over all had sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world! The dark cloud which hid the light just then from the mass of his countrymen, but which he believed was soon to pass away, had blotted the sun from the heavens. The advent of Christ was no cause for thanksgiving; he could only bow his head in anguish, deepened most of all by the thought that the Messiah had sprung from the race to which he himself belonged!

"His anguish was deepened by the memory of their privileges." Paul does not say this; and is Dr. Gifford quite sure that this was the way in which these privileges presented themselves to his mind? May we not as naturally suppose that the thought of God's favor to his people in the past, whom he had so often recalled from their wanderings, afforded some ground for the hope that they had not stumbled so as to fall and perish, but that their present alienation from Christ, contributing as it had done, in the overruling providence of God, to the wider and more rapid spread of the gospel among the Gentiles, was only temporary? If we will let Paul be his own interpreter, instead of reading unnatural thoughts between his lines, we shall take this view. "God hath *not* cast off HIS PEOPLE, whom he foreknew," "whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the promises." "A hardening in part hath befallen Israel," but only "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so (*or then*) all Israel shall be saved." It is not for nothing that "theirs are the fathers"; that they had such ancestors as Abraham, "the friend of God," and Isaac, and Jacob; "as touching the gospel, they are enemies for the sake of the Gentiles, but as touching the election," as the chosen people of God, "they are beloved for the fathers' sake." "If the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump; and if the root is holy, so are the branches." "God doth not repent of his calling and his gifts." "God hath shut up all [Jews and Gentiles] unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all." For the ancient prophecy is now fulfilled; the Deliverer hath come out of Zion, and "he shall

turn away ungodliness from Jacob." "O the depth of the riches," &c. Such were the thoughts which the past privileges of the Jews, in connection with the advent of Christ, as we see from the eleventh chapter of this Epistle, *actually suggested* to the mind of Paul.\*

Can we then reasonably say, that when in his grand historic survey and enumeration of the distinctive privileges of the Jews, the Apostle reaches the culminating point in the advent of the Messiah, sprung from that race, a devout thanksgiving to God as the beneficent ruler over all is wholly out of place? Might we not rather ask, How could it be repressed?

We may then, I conceive, dismiss the *psychological* objection to the doxology, on which many have laid great stress, as founded on a narrow and superficial view of what we may reasonably suppose to have been in the Apostle's mind. And I am happy to see that so fair-minded and clear-sighted a scholar as Professor Dwight takes essentially the same view of the matter. (See above, p. 41.)

2. A second objection to a doxology here is founded on the relation of the first five verses of the chapter to what follows. A doxology, it is thought, unnaturally breaks the connection between the sixth verse and what precedes.

This argument is rarely adduced, and I should hardly have thought it worthy of notice were it not that Dr. Dwight seems to attach some weight to it, though apparently not much. (See above, p. 41 f.)

The first five verses of the chapter, as we have seen, are a conciliatory introduction to the treatment of a delicate and many-sided subject. This treatment begins with the sixth verse, which is introduced by the particle δέ, "but." Whether the last part of verse 5 is a doxology to God, or simply the climax of the privileges of the Jews, the δέ cannot refer to what *immediately* precedes. In either case, it refers to what is implied in verses 2 and 3, and meets the most prominent objection to the doctrine set forth by the Apostle in the preceding part of the Epistle. The thought is, The present condition of the great mass of my countrymen is indeed a sad one, and not the Jews as a nation, but Christians, are the true people of God; *but* it is not as if the promises of God have failed. (Comp. iii. 3, 4.) This simple statement of the connection of ver. 6 with what precedes seems to me all that is needed to meet the objection. The argument that a

\*This appreciative recapitulation of the distinctions of the Jewish people would also serve to check the tendency of the Gentile Christians to self-conceit, and would lead them to recognize the important part of the despised Hebrews in the drama of the world's history. It would virtually say to them, "Glory not over the branches; but if thou gloriest, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee." (Rom. xi. 18.)

doxology is inconsistent with the Apostle's state of mind has already been answered.

3. A third objection, urged by many, is founded on the alleged abruptness of the doxology, and the absence of any mention of God in what precedes. Some also think that a doxology here would need to be introduced by the particle δέ.

I cannot regard this objection as having any force. It is quite in accordance with the habit of Paul thus to turn aside suddenly to give expression to his feelings of adoration and gratitude toward God.\* See Rom. i. 25; vii. 25 (where the genuineness of δέ is very doubtful); 2 Cor. ix. 15, where note the omission of δέ in the genuine text; 1 Tim. i. 17, where the doxology is suggested by the mention of Christ. The doxology xi. 36, as has already been noticed (p. 89), is completely parallel in thought. Far more abrupt is the doxology 2 Cor. xi. 31, ὁ θεός καὶ πατὴρ τωῦ χωρίου Ἰησοῦ οἰδεν, ὁ ᾧ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι οὐ φεύδομαι, where the ascription of praise is interposed between οἰδεν and ὅτι in an extraordinary manner.

It is very strange that it should be urged as an argument against the doxology that God is not mentioned in the preceding context. The name does not occur, but almost every word in verses 4 and 5 suggests the thought of God. So, to a Jew, the very name "Israelites"; so "the adoption, and the glory, and the giving of the Law, and the covenants, and the service, and the promises"; and so above all ὁ χριστός, the Anointed of God, the Messiah; as to the flesh, sprung from the Jews, but as to his holy spirit the Son of God, the messenger of God's love and mercy, not to the Jews alone, but to all the nations of the earth.

That the mention of Christ in such a connection as this should bring vividly to the mind of the Apostle the thought of God and his goodness, and thus lead to a doxology, is simply in accordance with the conception of the relation of Christ to God which appears everywhere in this Epistle and in all his Epistles. While Christ, οὐδὲ τὰ πάντα, is the medium of communication of our spiritual blessings, Paul constantly views them in relation to God, εἰς οὐδὲ τὰ πάντα, as the original Author and Source. The gospel is "the gospel of God,"

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\* "Ad hæc annotatum est hoc in scriptis beati Pauli, quod aliquoties in medio sermonis cursu veluti raptus orat, aut adorat, aut gratias agit, aut glorificat Deum, præsertim ubi commemoratum est aliquid de mysteriis adorandis, aut ineffabili bonitate Dei."—Erasmus, *Apol. adv. monachos quosdam Hispanos*, Opp. ix. (Lugd. Bat. 1706), col. 1044. On this subject, and on the position of εὐλογητός, see the valuable note of the Rev. Joseph Agar Beet, *Comm. on St. Paul's Ep. to the Romans*, 2d ed. (Lond. 1881), p. 269 f., 271.

"a power of God unto salvation"; the righteousness which it reveals is "a righteousness which is of God"; it is God who has set forth Christ as *iλαστήριον*, who "commendeth his love toward us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us"; who "spared not his own Son, but freely gave him for us all"; it is "God who raised him from the dead"; "what the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and on account of sin," has done; the glory to which Christians are destined, as sons and heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ, is "the glory of God"; in short, "all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself through Jesus Christ," and "nothing shall separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

Though no one can doubt that Paul was full of love and gratitude to Christ, so that we might expect frequent ascriptions to him of praise and glory, it is a remarkable fact that there is no doxology or thanksgiving to Christ in any of his Epistles except those to Timothy, the genuineness of which has been questioned by many modern scholars. These Epistles, at any rate, present marked peculiarities of style and language, and if written by Paul, were probably written near the close of his life. And in them there is but one doxology to Christ, and that not absolutely certain, on account of the ambiguity of the word *κύριος* (2 Tim. iv. 18); while the thanksgiving is a simple expression of thankfulness (1 Tim. i. 12), *χάριν ἔχω, gratias habeo* (not *ago*). One reason for this general absence of such ascriptions to Christ on the part of the Apostle seems to have been that habit of mind of which I have just spoken, and which makes it *a priori* more probable that the doxology in Rom. ix. 5 belongs to God. But this is a matter which will be more appropriately treated in another place.

As to the δέ, which Schultz insists would be necessary,\* one needs only to look fairly at the passage to see that it would be wholly out of place; that a doxology to God involves no antithetic contrast between God and Christ, as Schultz and some others strangely imagine. Nor does δέ as a particle of transition seem natural here, much less required. It would make the doxology too formal.

4. It is urged that "δέ ὅν, grammatically considered, is more easily and naturally construed in connection with *χριστός*, than as the subject of a new and doxological clause." (See Dr. Dwight's article, pp. 24, 25, above.)

Much stronger language than this is often used. Dr. Hodge, for

\**Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol.*, 1868, xiii. 470 f., 477.

example, assuming that  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu$  must be equivalent to  $\delta\varsigma\ \dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ , says that the interpretation which refers the words to Christ is the only one — “which can, with the least regard to the rules of construction, be maintained.” (*Comm.* in loc., p. 472.)

Dr. Dwight, whose article is in general so admirable for the fairness, clearness, and moderation of its statements, has expressed himself here in such a way that I cannot feel perfectly sure of his meaning. He says, speaking of the connection of  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu$  with  $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ , “This construction of  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu$ , in cases similar to that which is here presented, is the almost universal one both in the New Testament and in other Greek.”—If “cases similar to that which is here presented” means cases in which  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu$  (or any participle with the article) is preceded by a noun to which it may be easily joined, while it also admits of being regarded as the subject of an independent sentence, and it is affirmed that in such grammatically ambiguous cases it almost invariably *does* refer to the preceding subject, the argument is weighty, if the assertion is true. But not even *one* such case has ever, to my knowledge, been pointed out. Till such a case, or rather a sufficient number of such cases to serve as the basis of a reasonable induction, shall be produced, I am compelled to consider the statement as resting on no evidence whatever. Yet that this is what is meant by “similar cases” seems necessarily to follow from what is said further on (p. 24) about “the peculiarity of Rom. ix. 5.” Cases in which  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu$ , grammatically considered, *can* only refer to a preceding subject, are certainly not “similar cases to that which is here presented,” in which, as Dr. Dwight admits, “there is, at the most, only a presumption in favor of this construction of the clause as against the other” (p. 25).

But if Dr. Dwight’s statement means, or is intended to imply, that  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu$  with its adjuncts, or, in general, the participle with the article, almost universally forms a descriptive or a limiting clause referring to a preceding subject, while its use as the independent subject of a sentence is rare, the assertion is fatally incorrect. The latter use is not only very common, but in the New Testament, at least, is more frequent than the former. We have (a)  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu$ , or  $\delta\ \dot{\omega}\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ , in the nominative, as the subject of an independent sentence, Matt. xii. 30 = Mark xiii. 16 (text. rec.); Luke vi. 3 (t. r., Tisch.); xi. 23; John iii. 31; vi. 46; viii. 47; ix. 40; Acts xxii. 9; Rom. viii. 5, 8. *Contra* (b), referring to a preceding subject, and forming, as I understand it, an *oppositional* clause, John i. 18; iii. 13 (text. rec.); (Acts v. 17;) 2 Cor. xi. 31; Rev. v. 5 (t. r.); a *limiting* clause, John xi. 31; xii. 17; Acts xi. 1. To these may be added 2 Cor. v. 4; Eph. ii. 13, where the clause is in apposition with or describes  $\dot{\chi}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ; or  $\delta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,

expressed or understood; and perhaps John xviii. 37 ( $\pi\acute{a}\varsigma \delta \check{\omega}\nu x.$  τ. λ.).\*

It is uncertain whether Col. iv. 11 belongs under (a) or (b); see Meyer *in loc.* For the examples of  $\check{\omega}\nu$  I have relied on Bruder's Concordance, p. 255, No. VI. But as there is nothing peculiar in the use of this particular participle with the article, so far as the present question is concerned, I have, with the aid of Bruder,† examined the occurrences of the participle in general, in the nominative, with the article, in the Gospel of Matthew, the Epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. I find in Matthew 86 examples of its use (a) as the subject, or in a very few cases (9) as the predicate, of a verb expressed or understood, and only 38 of its use (b) in a descriptive or limiting clause, annexed to a preceding subject; in the Epistle to the Romans 28 examples of the former kind against 12 of the latter; and in the First Epistle to the Corinthians 39 of the former against 4 of the latter, one of these being a false reading.‡

In general, it is clear that the use of the participle with the article, as the subject of an independent sentence, instead of being exceptional in the New Testament, is far more common than its use as an attributive. Nor is this strange; for  $\delta \check{\omega}\nu$  properly signifies not "who is," but "he who is." The force of the article is not lost.§ While

\*The examples of  $\delta \check{\omega}\nu$  and other participles with  $\pi\acute{a}\varsigma$  belong perhaps quite as properly under (a). Without  $\pi\acute{a}\varsigma$ , the  $\delta \check{\omega}\nu x.$  τ. λ. is the subject of the sentence, and the meaning is the same;  $\pi\acute{a}\varsigma$  only strengthens the  $\delta \check{\omega}\nu$ . See Krüger, *Gr. Sprachlehre*, 5te Aufl. (1875), § 50. 4. Anm. 1.

†*Concordantiae*, etc., p. 586, No. 2; p. 598, No. VII. 1; comp. p. 603, No. VIII.; 604, No. IX.

‡In this reckoning, to prevent any cavil, I have included under (b) all the examples of  $\pi\acute{a}\varsigma \delta$  or  $\pi\acute{a}\varsigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma ol$ , of which there are 8 in Matthew, 2 in Romans, and 1 in 1 Cor.; also the cases of the article and participle with  $\sigma\acute{u}$  or  $\delta\mu\epsilon\varsigma$  as the subject of the verb, expressed or understood, of which there are 4 in Matthew and 7 in Romans. I have not counted on either side Rom. viii. 33, 34, and ix. 33; the first two, translated according to the text of the Revised Version, belong under (a), according to its margin, under (b); Rom. ix. 33, if we omit  $\pi\acute{a}\varsigma$ , with all the critical editors, would also belong under (a).

§"Participles take the article only when some relation already known or especially noteworthy (*is qui, quippe qui*) is indicated, and consequently the idea expressed by the participle is to be made more prominent."—Winer, *Gram.* 7te Aufl., § 20, 1. b. a. c. p. 127 (p. 134 Thayer).

in some of its uses it may seem interchangeable with  $\delta\zeta\ \varepsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ , it differs in this, that it is generally employed either in appositional or in limiting clauses, in distinction from descriptive or additive clauses, while  $\delta\zeta$  with the finite verb is appropriate for the latter. For examples of the former, see John i. 18; xii. 17; of the latter, Rom. v. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 4. To illustrate the difference by the passage before us: if  $\delta\ \check{\omega}\nu$  here refers to  $\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\zeta$ , the clause would be more exactly translated as appositional, not "who is," &c., but "*he who* is God over all, blessed for ever," implying that he was well known to the readers of the Epistle as God, or at least marking this predicate with special emphasis; while  $\delta\zeta\ \varepsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  would be more appropriate if it were simply the purpose of the Apostle to predicate deity of Christ, and would also be perfectly unambiguous.

There is nothing, then, either in the proper meaning of  $\delta\ \check{\omega}\nu$ , or in its usage, which makes it more easy and natural to refer it to  $\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\zeta$ , than to take it as introducing an independent sentence. It is next to be observed, that there are circumstances which make the latter construction easy, and which distinguish the passage from nearly all others in which  $\delta\ \check{\omega}\nu$ , or a participle with the article, is used as an attributive. In all the other instances in the New Testament of this use of  $\delta\ \check{\omega}\nu$  or  $\delta\ \check{\omega}\nu\ \varepsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\zeta$  in the nominative, with the single exception of the parenthetic insertion in 2 Cor. xi. 31 (see above, page 94), it immediately follows the subject to which it relates. The same is generally true of other examples of the participle with the article. (The strongest cases of exception which I have noticed are John vii. 50 and 2 John 7.) But here  $\delta\ \check{\omega}\nu$  is separated from  $\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\zeta$  by  $\tau\bar{v}\ \chi\alpha\tau\bar{a}\ \sigma\acute{a}\rho\chi\alpha$ , which in reading must be followed by a pause, a pause which is lengthened by the special emphasis given to the  $\chi\alpha\tau\bar{a}\ \sigma\acute{a}\rho\chi\alpha$  by the  $\tau\bar{v}$ ;<sup>\*</sup> and the sentence which precedes is complete in itself grammatically, and requires nothing further logically, for it was only as to the flesh that Christ was from the Jews. On the other hand, as we have seen (p. 88) the enumeration of blessings which imme-

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\* If  $\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\zeta$  were placed after  $\chi\alpha\tau\bar{a}\ \sigma\acute{a}\rho\chi\alpha$ , the ambiguity would not indeed be wholly removed, but it would be much more natural to refer the  $\delta\ \check{\omega}\nu$  to Christ than it is now. Perhaps the feeling of this led Cyril of Alexandria to make this transposition, as he does in quoting the passage against the Emperor Julian, who maintained that "neither Paul dared to call Christ God, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark,  $\delta\ll\alpha\ll\delta\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\zeta\ 'Iw\acute{a}n\gamma\zeta$ ." (See Cyril *cont. Julian.* lib. x. *Opp.* vi. b. p. 328 b ed. Aubert.) In two other instances Cyril quotes the passage in the same way; *Opp.* v. b. pp. 118 a, 148 e; though he usually follows the order of the present Greek text.

~~d~~iately precedes, crowned by the inestimable blessing of the advent ~~of~~ Christ, naturally suggests an ascription of praise and thanksgiving ~~to~~ God as the Being who rules over all; while a doxology is also suggested by the *Aμήν* at the end of the sentence.\* From every point of view, therefore, the doxological construction seems easy and natural. The ellipsis of the verb *εστί* or *εἰη* in such cases is simply according to rule. The construction numbered 6 above (see p. 90) is also perfectly easy and natural grammatically; see 2 Cor. i. 21; ~~V-~~ 5; Heb. iii. 4.

The naturalness of a pause after *σάρπα* is further indicated by the fact that we find a point after this word in all our oldest MSS. that testify in the case, namely, A B C L, and in at least eight cursives, though the cursives have been rarely examined with reference to their punctuation. †

It has been urged (see above, p. 24), that if the writer did not intend that *οὐ* should be referred to Christ, he would have adopted another construction for his sentence, which would be exposed to no such misapprehension. But this argument is a boomerang. Mr. Beet in his recent Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (2d ed., p. 271 f.) well says, on the other hand:—

"Had Paul thought fit to deviate from his otherwise unvarying custom and to speak of Christ as *God*, he must have done so with a serious and set purpose of asserting the divinity of Christ. And if so, he would have used words which no one could misunderstand. In a similar case, John i. 1, we find language which excludes all doubt. And in this case the words *δει λέγεται*, as in i. 25, would have given equal certainty . . . Moreover, here Paul has in hand an altogether different subject, the present position of the Jews. And it seems to me much more likely that he would deviate from his common mode of expression, and write once 'God be blessed' instead of 'to God be glory,' than that in a passage which does not specially refer to the nature of Christ, he would assert, what he nowhere else explicitly

\*In 15 out of the 18 instances in the N. T., besides the present, in which *Aμήν* at the end of a sentence is probably genuine, it follows a doxology; viz.: Rom. i. 25; xi. 36; xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17; vi. 16; 2 Tim. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 11; v. 11; (2 Pet. iii. 18.) Jude 25; Rev. i. 6; vii. 12.—*Contra*, Rom. xv. 33; Gal. vi. 18; (Rev. i. 7.)

†The MSS. & DF G cannot be counted on one side or the other; respecting K we have no information. For a fuller statement of the facts in the case, see Note A at the end of this article.

asserts, that Christ is God, and assert it in language which may — either mean this or something quite different."

Many writers, like Dr. Gifford, speak of that construction which refers *ὁ ὄν* &c., to Christ as "the natural and simple" one, "which every Greek scholar would adopt without hesitation, if no doctrine were involved."—It might be said in reply, that the natural and simple construction of words considered apart from the doctrine it involves, and with reference to merely lexical and grammatical considerations, is by no means always the true one. For example, according to the natural construction of the words *θεοὶ εἰς τοὺς πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστε* (John viii. 44), their meaning is, "you are from the father of the devil," and probably no Greek scholar would think of putting any other meaning on them, if no question of doctrine were involved. Again, in Luke ii. 38, "she gave thanks unto God, and spake of him to all them that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem," how unnatural, it may be said, to refer the "him" to any subject but "God," there being no other possible antecedent mentioned in this or in the three preceding verses! But I do not make or need to make this reply. We have already considered the grammatical side of the question, and have seen, I trust, that the construction which makes *ὁ ὄν* &c. the subject of a new sentence is perfectly simple and easy. I only add here that the meaning of words often depends on the way they are read; on the pauses, and tones of voice. (If we could only have heard Paul dictate this passage to Tertius!) And it is a matter of course, that when a person has long been accustomed, from whatever cause, to read and understand a passage in a particular way, any other mode of reading it will seem to him unnatural. But this impression will often be delusive. And it does not follow, that a mode of understanding the passage which was easy and natural in the third and fourth centuries, or even earlier, when it had become common to apply the name *θεός* to Christ, would have seemed the most easy and natural to the first readers of the Epistle. I waive here all considerations of doctrine, and call attention only to the use of language. When we observe that everywhere else in this Epistle the Apostle has used the word *θεός* of the Father in distinction from Christ, so that it is virtually a proper name; that this is also true of the Epistles previously written, those to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians; how can we reasonably doubt that if the verbal ambiguity here occasioned a momentary hesitation as to the meaning, a primitive reader of the Epistle would naturally suppose that the word *θεός* designated the being everywhere else denoted by this name in the Apostle's writings, and would give the passage

the construction thus suggested? But this is a point which will be considered more fully in another place.

The objection that, if we make the last clause a doxology to God, "the participle *ων* is superfluous and awkward," will be noticed below under No. 6.

5. It is further urged that *τὸ κατὰ σάρξα* requires an antithesis, which is supposed to be supplied by what follows. Some even say that *κατὰ σάρξα* must mean "according to his human nature," and therefore requires as an antithesis the mention of the divine nature of Christ. But the proper antithesis to *κατὰ σάρξα* is *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, not *κατὰ τὴν θεότητα*, which there is nothing in the phrase itself to suggest: *κατὰ σάρξα*, as will at once appear on examining the cases of its use in the New Testament, does not refer to a distinction of *natures*, but often denotes a physical relation, such for example as depends on birth or other outward circumstances, in contrast with a spiritual relation. We need only refer to the 3d verse of this very chapter, which certainly does not imply that Paul or his "kinsmen *κατὰ σάρξα*" had a divine nature also. The phrase *κατὰ σάρξα* undoubtedly implies an antithesis; "as to the flesh," by his natural birth and in his merely outward relations the Messiah, the Son of David, was from the Jews, and in this they might glory; but as Son of God and in his higher, spiritual relations, he belonged to all mankind. It was not to the Apostle's purpose to describe what he was *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, as he is speaking of the *peculiar* distinctions of the Jews. Indeed, the antithesis to *κατὰ σάρξα* is very often not expressed; see, for example, Rom. iv. 1; ix. 3; 1 Cor. i. 26; x. 18; 2 Cor. v. 16; Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 22; so that Alford judiciously says: "I do not reckon among the objections the want of any antithesis to *κατὰ σάρξα*, because that might have well been left to the readers to supply." We have an example strikingly parallel to the present in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (c. 32), first adduced so far as I know by Dr. Whitby in his *Last Thoughts*, which at least demonstrates that in a case like this the expression of an antithesis is not required. Speaking of the high distinctions of the patriarch Jacob, Clement says: "For from him were all the priests and Levites that ministered to the altar of God; from him was the Lord Jesus *as to the flesh* (*τὸ κατὰ σάρξα*); from him were kings and rulers and leaders in the line of Judah."

The eminent Dutch commentator, Van Hengel, maintains in an elaborate note on this passage, citing many examples, that the form of the restrictive phrase here used, *τὸ κατὰ σάρξα*, with the neuter article prefixed, absolutely requires a pause after *σάρξα*, and does not admit, according to Greek usage, of the expression of an antithesis

after it, so that the following part of the verse must be referred to God. (Comp. Rom. i. 15; xii. 18.) He represents his view as supported by the authority of the very distinguished Professor C. G. Cobet of Leyden, who as a master of the Greek language has perhaps no superior among European scholars.\*

It may be true that Greek usage in respect to such restrictive expressions, when τό or τά is prefixed, accords with the statement of Van Hengel, endorsed by Cobet. In my limited research I have found no exception. The two passages cited by Meyer in opposition (see above, p. 27) seem to me wholly irrelevant; the former, because we have μέν with the τὸ ἐπὶ ἐμοῖ, which of course requires an antithetic clause with δὲ; the latter, because the essential element in the case, the τό or τά, does not stand before κατὰ τὸ ἄστο. But I must agree with Dr. Dwight (p. 28) that Van Hengel's argument is not conclusive. On the supposition that ὁ ὢν, &c., refers to Christ, we have not a formal antithesis, such as would be excluded by Van Hengel's rule, but simply an appositional, descriptive clause, setting forth the exalted dignity of him who as to the flesh sprang from the Jews. I cannot believe that there is any law of the Greek language which forbids this.

We may say, however, and it is a remark of some importance, that the τό before κατὰ σάρκα, laying stress on the restriction, and suggesting an antithesis which therefore did not need to be expressed, indicates that the writer has done with that point, and makes a pause natural; it makes it easy to take the ὁ ὢν as introducing an independent sentence, though it does not, as I believe, make it necessary to take it so.

I admit further, that if we assume that the conception of Christ as God was familiar to the readers of the Epistle, and especially if we suppose that they had often heard him called so by the early preachers of Christianity, the application of the ὁ ὢν, &c., to Christ here would be natural, and also very suitable to the object of the Apostle in this passage. I am obliged to say, however, that this is assuming what is not favored by Paul's use of language, or by the record of the apostolic preaching in the book of Acts.

On the other hand, there was no need of such an appendage to ὁ χριστός. We have only to consider the glory and dignity with

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\*See Van Hengel, *Interp. Ep. Pauli ad Rom.* tom. ii. (1859), pp. 348-353, and pp. 804-813. Speaking of his citations, he says (p. 350), "Allatorum unum alterumque mecum communicavit COBETIUS noster, se multo plura, quibus interpretatio mea confirmaretur, suppeditare posse dicens."

which the name of the Messiah was invested in the mind of a Jew, and the still higher glory and dignity associated with ὁ χριστός in the mind of a Christian, and especially in the mind of Paul.

6. It is further objected that in sentences which begin with a doxology or an ascription of blessing εὐλογητός (or εὐλογημένος) always precedes the subject; and that "the laws" or "rules of grammar" (Stuart, Alford) require that it should do so here to justify the construction proposed. So in the N. T. εὐλογητός stands first in the doxologies Luke i. 68; 2 Cor. i. 3; Eph. i. 3; 1 Pet. i. 3; and so εὐλογητός and εὐλογημένος precede the subject in a multitude of places in the Septuagint. (See Tromm's Concordance, and Wahl's *Clavis librorum Vet. Test. apocryphorum*.)

Great stress has been laid on this objection by many; but I believe that a critical examination will show that it has no real weight.

We will begin by considering a misconception of the meaning of ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός which has led to untenable objections against the doxological construction, and has prevented the reason for the position of εὐλογητός from being clearly seen. It has been assumed by many that the phrase is simply equivalent to "the Supreme God" (so Wahl, s. v. ἐπί, *omnibus superior, omnium summus*)\*, as if the Apostle was contrasting God with Christ in respect to dignity, instead of simply describing God as the being who rules over all. This misunderstanding of the expression occasioned the chief difficulty felt by De Wette in adopting the construction which places a colon or a period after σάρκα; it seemed to him like "throwing Christ right into the shade," without any special reason, when we should rather expect something said in antithesis to τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, to set forth his dignity; though he admits that this objection is removed, if we accept Fritzsche's explanation of the passage.† On this false view is founded Schultz's notion (see above, p. 95) that δέ would be needed here to indicate the antithesis. On it is also grounded the objection of Alford, Farrar,

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\*Wahl gives a more correct view of the use of ἐπί in his *Clavis libr. Vet. Test. apocr.* (1853), p. 218, col. 1, C. b., where εἰπὲ ἐπί with the genitive is defined, *prae sum alicui rei, moderor s. administro aliquam rem.* Comp. Grimm's *Lexicon Gr.-Lat. in libros N. T.*, ed. 2da, s. v. ἐπί, A. 1. d. p. 160, col. 2; Rost and Palm's *Passow*, vol. i. p. 1035, col. 1, 3; and the references given by Meyer and Van Hengel *in loc.* See Acts viii. 27; xii. 20; Gen. xliv. 1; Judith xiv. 13, εἰπὼν τῷ ὄντι ἐπὶ πάντων αὐτοῦ.

†De Wette, *Kurze Erklärung des Briefes an die Römer*, 4te Aufl. (1847), p. 130.

and others, that the *ων* is "perfectly superfluous," as indeed it would be, if that were simply the meaning intended. To express the idea of "the God over all," "the Supreme God," in contrast with a being to whom the term "God" might indeed be applied, but only in a lower sense, we should need only δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, a phrase which is thus used numberless times in the writings of the Christian Fathers; see, for examples, Wetstein's note on Rom. ix. 5. But, as I understand the passage, the *ων* is by no means superfluous. It not only gives an impressive fulness to the expression, but converts what would otherwise be a mere epithet of God into a *substantive* designation of him, equivalent to "the Ruler over All," on which the mind rests for a moment by itself, before it reaches the *θεός* qualified by it; or *θεός* may be regarded as added by way of apposition or more precise definition. The *position* of this substantive designation of *θεός*, between the article and its noun, gives it special prominence. Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 7, οὕτε δὲ φυτεύων ἔστι τι, οὕτε δὲ ποτίζων, ἀλλ' δὲ αὐξάνων θεός; Addit. ad Esth. viii. l. 39, δὲ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεός, cf. ll. 8, 35, Tisch.; δὲ πάντων δεσπόζων θεός, Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 15; δὲ παιητής τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς θεός, *ibid.* i. 26. In expressions of this kind the definite article fulfills, I conceive, a double function: it is connected with the participle or other adjunct which immediately follows it, just as it would be if the substantive at the end were omitted; but at the same time it makes that substantive definite, so that the article in effect belongs to the substantive as well as to the participle. Thus δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός is equivalent to δὲ θεός δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων in everything except the difference in *prominence* given to the different parts of the phrase in the two expressions. In the latter, δὲ θεός is made prominent by its position; in the former, prominence is given to the particular conception expressed by δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων, "the Ruler over All."\*

Let us look now for a moment at the connection of thought in the passage before us, and we shall see that this distinction is important. The Apostle is speaking of the favored nation to which it is his pride to belong. Its grand religious history of some two thousand years

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\*If this account is correct it follows that neither of the renderings which I have suggested above (p. 89) as expressing my view of the meaning represents the original perfectly; nor do I perceive that the English idiom admits of a perfect translation. If we render, "he who is over all, God, be blessed for ever," we make the word "God" stand in simple apposition to "he who is over all," which I do not suppose to be the *grammatical* construction; if on the other hand we translate, "he who is God over all be blessed for ever," we lose in a great measure the effect of the position of the δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων before θεός.

passes rapidly before his mind as in a panorama. Their ancestors were the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; theirs were "the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the temple-service, and the promises." But God's choice and training of his "peculiar people," and the privileges conferred upon them, were all a providential preparation for the advent of the Messiah, whose birth from among the Jews was their highest national distinction and glory, while his mission as the founder of a spiritual and *universal* religion was the crowning manifestation of God's love and mercy to mankind. How could this survey of the ages of promise and preparation, and the great fulfilment in Christ, fail to bring vividly before the mind of the Apostle the thought of God as *the Being who presides over all things*,—who cares for all men and controls all events?\* Because this conception is prominent in his mind he places the *ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντων* first in the sentence. A recognition of his fact removes all the difficulty about the position of *εὐλογητός*. There is no "law of grammar" bearing on the matter except the law that the predicate, when it is more prominent in the mind of the writer, precedes the subject. In simply exclamatory doxologies, the *εὐλογητός* or *εὐλογημένος* comes first, because the feeling that prompts its use is predominant, and can be expressed in a single word. But here, where the thought of the overruling providence of God is prominent, the *ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντων must stand first in the sentence*, to express

\*Erasmus has well presented the thought of the Apostle:—"Ut enim haec omnia, quae commemorat de adoptione, gloria, testamentis, legislatione, cultibus, ac promissis, deque patribus, ex quibus Christus iuxta carnem ortus est, declarat non fortuito facta, sed admirabili Dei providentia, qui tot modis procuravit salutem humani generis, non simpliciter dicit Deus, sed is qui rebus omnibus praeest, omnia suo divino conilio dispensans moderansque, cui dicit deberi laudem in omne aevum, et insigem erga nos charitatem, cui maledicebant Judaei, dum Filium nuncum blasphemii impeterent."—Note *in loc.*, in his *Oph.* vi. (Lugd. at. 1705), col. 611.

So Westcott and Hort in their note on this passage in vol. ii. of their Greek Testament, remarking on the punctuation which places a colon after *σάρπα* as "an expression of the interpretation which implies that special force was intended to be thrown on *ἐπὶ πάντων* by the interposition of *ὅτι*," observe:—"This emphatic sense of *ἐπὶ πάντων* (cf. i. 16; ii. 9; iii. 29 f.; x. 12; xi. 32, 36) is fully justified if St. Paul's purpose is to suggest that the tragic apostacy of the Jews (vv. 2, 3) is itself part of the dispensations of "Him who is God over all," over Jew and Gentile alike, over past present and future alike; so that the ascription of blessing to Him is a homage to His Divine purpose and power of bringing good out of evil in the course of the ages (xi. 13-16; 25-36)."—Dr. Hort remarks that "this punctuation alone seems adequate to account for the whole of the language employed, more especially when it is considered in relation to the context."

that prominence; and the position of *εὐλογητός* after it is required by the very same law of the Greek language which governs all the examples that have been alleged against the doxological construction of the passage. This thought of God as the Ruler over All reappears in the doxology at the end of the eleventh chapter (xi. 36), where the Apostle concludes his grand Theodicy: "For from Him, and through Him, and to Him, are ALL THINGS: to Him is the glory for ever! Amen." Compare also Eph. i. 11, cited by Mr. Beet: "foreordained according to the purpose of him who worketh ALL THINGS after the counsel of his will;" and so in another doxology (1 Tim. i. 17) suggested by the mention of Christ, the ascription is *τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων*, "to the King of THE AGES."\*

I prefer, on the whole, to take *πάντων* as neuter; but much might be said in favor of the view of Fritzsche, whose note on this passage is especially valuable. He, with many other scholars, regards it as masculine: "*Qui omnibus praeest hominibus* (i. e. qui et Judaeis et gentilibus consultit Deus, der ueber allen Menschen waltende Gott) *sit celebratus perpetuo, amen.*" (C. F. A. Fritzsche, *Pauli ad Rom. Epist.*, tom. ii. [1839], p. 272.) He refers for the *πάντων* to Rom. x. 12; xi. 32; iii. 29.

We may note here, that while the Apostle says *ἄνθρωποι πατέρες*, he does not say *ἄντροι*, but *εἰς ἄντρον χριστόν*. He could not forget the thought, which pervades the Epistle, that the Messiah was for *all* men alike. Nor does he forget that while by natural descent, *χατὰ σάρκα*, Christ was "from the Jews," he was *χατὰ πνεῦμα*, and in all that constituted him the Messiah, "from God," who "anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power," who "made him both Lord and Christ," who marked him out as his "Son" by raising him from the dead (Acts xiii. 33; Rom. i. 4) and setting him at his right hand in the heavenly places, and giving him to be the head over all things to the Church (Eph. i. 20-22), that Church in which there is no distinction of "Greek and Jew," "but Christ is all, and in all."

That such words as *εὐλογητός*, *εὐλογημένος*, *μακάριος*, and *επιχατάρατος* should usually stand first in the sentence in expressions of benediction, macarism, and malediction, is natural in Greek for the

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\* This seems to me the true rendering, rather than "to the King eternal," though eternity is implied. Comp. Rev. xv. 3 Westc. and Hort; Sir. xxxvi. 22 (al. xxxiii. 19); Tob. xiii. 6, 10; Ps. cxliv. (cxlv.) 13; Clem. Rom. *Ep. ad Cor.* cc. 35, 3; 55, 6; 61, 2; Const. Apost. vii. 34; Lit. S. Jac. c. 13. So Exod. xv. 18, *χίριτος βασιλεύων τῶν αἰώνων*, as cited by Philo, *De Plant. Noë*, c. 12 bis (*Oppr.* i. 336, 337 ed. Mang.), *De Mondo* c. 7 (*Oppr.* ii. 608), and read in many cursive MSS.; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 18, § 6, *δέσποτα πατέρος αἰώνων*. *Contra*, Test. xii Patr., *Rubén*, c. 6.

same reason that it is natural in English to give the first place to such words as "blessed," "happy," "cursed." It makes no difference, as a study of the examples will show, whether the expression be *optative*, as is usually the case with *εὐλογημένος*, with the ellipsis of *εἰη* or *ἔστω*, or *declarative*, as in the case of *μακάριος*, and usually, I believe, of *εὐλογητός*, *ἔστι* being understood.\* The ellipsis of the substantive verb gives rapidity and force to the expression, indicating a certain glow of feeling. But in Greek as in English, if the subject is more prominent in the mind of the writer, and is not overweighted with descriptive appendages, there is nothing to hinder a change of order, but the genius of the language rather requires it.

The example commonly adduced of this variation in the case of *εὐλογητός* is Ps. lxvii. (Heb. lxviii.) 20, *Κύριος ὁ θεὸς εὐλογητός, εὐλογητὸς κύριος ἡμέραν καθ' ἡμέραν*, where we find *εὐλογητός* in both positions. This peculiarity is the result of a misconception and perhaps also of a false reading (Meyer) of the Hebrew. The example shows that the position of *εὐλογητός* after the subject violates no law of the Greek language; but on account of the repetition of *εὐλογητός* I do not urge it as a parallel to Rom. ix. 5. (See above, p. 32 f.). On the other hand, the passage cited by Grimm (see above, p. 34) from the apocryphal Psalms of Solomon, viii. 41, 42, written probably about 48 B. C., seems to me quite to the purpose :

*αινετός κύριος ἐν τοῖς χρίμασιν αὐτοῦ ἐν στύματι δσίων,  
καὶ σὺ εὐλογημένος, Ἰσραὴλ, ὅπù κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* †

Here, in the first line, *αινετός* precedes, because the predicate is emphatic; but in the second, the subject *σὺ* precedes, because it is meant to receive the emphasis. I perceive no antithesis or studied chiasmus here. The sentence is no more a "double" or "compound" one than Gen. xiv. 19, 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33; Ps. lxxi.

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\*I believe that *εὐλογητός* in doxologies is distinguished from *εὐλογημένος* as *laudandus* is from *laudatus*; and that the doxology in Rom. ix. 5 is therefore strictly a declarative, not an optative one. The most literal and exact rendering into Latin would be something like this: "Ille qui est super omnia Deus laudandus (est) in aeternum!" Where the verb is expressed with *εὐλογητός* (as very often in the formula *εὐλογητός εἰ*) it is always, I believe, in the indicative. Here I must express my surprise that Canon Farrar (*The Expositor*, vol. ix. p. 402; vol. x. p. 238) should deny that Rom. i. 25 and 2 Cor. xi. 31 are "doxologies." What is a doxology but a pious ascription of glory or praise? If δοξαν *εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰώνα*, ἀμήν, Rom. i. 25, is "not a doxology at all" on account of the *ἔστιν*, then Matt. vi. 13 (text rec.) and 1 Pet. iv. 11 are, for the same reason, not doxologies.

† See O. F. Fritzsche, *Libri apoc. V. T. Gr.* (1871), p. 579, or Hilgenfeld, *Messias Iudeorum* (1869), p. 14.

(lxxii.) 18, 19; Tob. xi. 13, and 16 (Sin.); Judith xiii. 18; Ora ~~—~~. Azar. 2; and I see no reason why the fact that the clauses are connected by *καὶ* should affect the position of *εὐλογητός* here more than in those passages—no reason why it should affect it at all.

Another example in which the subject precedes *ἐπικατάρατος* and *εὐλογημένος* in an optative or possibly a predictive sentence is Gen. xxvii. 29, ὁ καταράμενός σε ἐπικατάρατος, ὁ δὲ εὐλογῶν σε εὐλογημένος. Here the Greek follows the order of the Hebrew, and the reason for the unusual position in both I suppose to be the fact that the contrast between ὁ καταράμενος and ὁ εὐλογῶν naturally brought the subjects into the foreground. It is true that in Rom. ix. 5, as I understand the passage (though others take a different view), there is no antithesis, as there is here; but the example shows that when for any reason the writer wishes to make the subject prominent, there is no law of the Greek language which imprisons such a predicate as *εὐλογημένος* at the beginning of the sentence.

Another example, in a declarative sentence, but not the less pertinent on that account (the verb not being expressed), is Gen. xxvi. 29, according to what I believe to be the true reading, *καὶ νῦν οὐ εὐλογητός οὐπὸν κυρίου*, where the *οὐ* being emphatic, as is shown by the corresponding order in Hebrew, stands before *εὐλογητός*. Contrast Gen. iii. 14; iv. 11; Josh. ix. 29 (al. 23). This reading is supported by *all* the uncial MSS. that contain the passage, viz., I. Cod. Cotton. (cent. v.), III. Alex. (v.), X. Coislin. (vii.), and Bodl. (viii. or ix.) ed. Tisch. *Mon. Sacr. Ined.* vol. ii. (1857), p. 234, with at least 25 cursives, and the Aldine edition, also by all the ancient versions except the Ethiopic, and the Latin, which translates freely, against the *καὶ νῦν εὐλογημένος οὐ* of the Roman edition, which has very little authority here.

Still another case where in a declarative sentence the usual order of subject and predicate is reversed, both in the Greek and the Hebrew, is 1 Kings ii. 45 (al. 46), *καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμὼν εὐλογημένος*, the ellipsis being probably *ἔσται*. Here I suppose the reason for the exceptional order to be the contrast between Solomon and Shimei (ver. 44).

It is a curious fact that *μακαριστός*, a word perfectly analogous to *εὐλογητός*, and which would naturally stand first in the predicate, happens to follow the subject in the only instances of its use in the Septuagint which come into comparison here, viz.: Prov. xiv. 21; xvi. 20; xxix. 18. The reason seems to be the same as in the case we have just considered; there is a contrast of subjects. For the same reason *ἐπικατάρατος* follows the subject in Wisd. xiv. 8 (comp. ver. 7).

These examples go to confirm Winer's statement in respect to contrasted subjects. And I must here remark, in respect to certain passages which have been alleged in opposition (see above, p. 36), that I can perceive no contrast of subjects in Gen. xiv. 19, 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33; and still less in Ps. lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 53, where the doxology appears to have no relation to what precedes, but to be rather the formal doxology, appended by the compiler, which concludes the Third Book of the Psalms (comp. Ps. xl. (xli.) 14).

It may be said that none of the examples we have been considering is *precisely* similar to Rom. ix. 5. But they all illustrate the fact that there is nothing to hinder a Greek writer from changing the ordinary position of *εὐλογητός* and kindred words when from any cause the subject is naturally more prominent in his mind. They show that the *principle* of the rule which governs the position may authorize or require a deviation from the common order. I must further agree with Meyer and Ellicott on Eph. i. 3, and Fritzsche on Rom. ix. 5, in regarding as not altogether irrelevant such passages as Ps. cxii. (cxiii.) 2, *εἰη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον*, where, though *εἰη* precedes, as a copula it can have no emphasis, and the position of *εὐλογημένον* is determined by the fact that the subject rather than the predicate here naturally presents itself first to the mind. The difference between such a sentence and *εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου* is like that in English between "May the name of the Lord be blessed" and "Blessed be the name of the Lord." It is evident, I think, that in the latter sentence the predicate is made more prominent, and in the former the subject; but if a person does not *feel* this, it cannot be proved. Other examples of this kind are Ruth ii. 19; 1 Kings x. 9; 2 Chron. ix. 8; Job i. 21; Dan. ii. 20; Lit. S. Jac. c. 19; Lit. S. Marci, c. 20, a. (Hammond, pp. 52, 192.) In Ps. cxii. (cxiii.) 2 and Job i. 21 the prominence given to the subject is suggested by what precedes.

I will give one example of the fallacy of merely empirical rules respecting the position of words. Looking at Young's *Analytical Concordance*, there are, if I have counted right, 138 instances in which, in sentences like "Blessed be God," "Blessed are the meek," the word "blessed" precedes the subject in the common English Bible. There is no exception to this usage in the Old Testament or the New. "Here," exclaims the empiric, "is a law of the language. To say 'God be blessed' is not English." But if we look into the Apocrypha, we find that our translators *have* said it, namely in Tobit xi. 17, and so it stands also in the Genevan version, though the Greek reads *εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός*. Why the translators changed the

order must be a matter of conjecture; perhaps it was to make a *contrast* with the last clause of the sentence.

There is a homely but important maxim which has been forgotten in many discussions of the passage before us, that "circumstances alter cases." I have carefully examined all the examples of doxology or benediction in the New Testament and the Septuagint, and in other ancient writings, as the Liturgies, in which εὐλογητός or εὐλογημένος precedes the subject; and there is not one among them which, so far as I can judge, justifies the assumption that because εὐλογητός precedes the subject there, it would probably have done so here, had it been the purpose of Paul to introduce a doxology. The cases in which a doxology begins without a previous enumeration of blessings, but in which the *thought* of the blessing prompts an exclamation of praise or thanksgiving,—“Blessed be God, who” or “for he” has done this or that,—are evidently not parallel. All the New Testament doxologies with εὐλογητός, and most of those in the Septuagint, are of this character.\* In all these cases, we perceive at once that any other order would be strange. The expression of the *feeling*, which requires but one word, naturally precedes the mention of the ground of the feeling, which often requires very many. But there is a difference between εὐλογητός and εὐλογητὸς εἰς τὸν αἰώνας. Where it would be natural for the former to precede the subject, it might be more natural for the latter to follow. In the example adduced by Dr. Dwight in his criticism of Winer (see above, pp. 36, 37), it is evident that εὐλογητός more naturally stands first in the sentence; at the end it would be abrupt and unrhythymical. But I cannot think that a Greek scholar would find anything hard or unnatural in the sentence if it read, ὁ διετηρήσας τὸν ἔαυτον τόπον ἀμίαντον εὐλογητὸς εἰς τὸν αἰώνας, ἀμήν.

To make the argument from usage a rational one, examples sufficient in number to form the basis of an induction should be produced in which in passages like the present εὐλογητός precedes the subject. Suppose we should read here εὐλογητὸς ὁ ἀν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰώνας, we instantly see that the reference of εἰς τὸν αἰώνας becomes, to say the least, ambiguous, the “for ever” grammatically connecting itself with the phrase “he who is God over all” rather than with “blessed.” If to avoid this we read, εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰώνας ὁ ἀν-

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\* See Luke i. 68; 2 Cor. i. 3; Eph. i. 3; 1 Pet. i. 3.—Gen. xiv. 20; xxiv. 27; Ex. xviii. 10; Ruth iv. 14; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 39; 2 Sam. xviii. 28; 1 Kings i. 48; v. 7; viii. 15, 56; 2 Chr. ii. 12; vi. 4; Ezr. vii. 27; Ps. xxvii. (Sept.) 6; xxx. 22; lxv. 20; lxxi. 18; cxxiii. 6; cxxxiv. 21; cxliii. 1; Dan. iii. 28 Theodot., 95 Sept.

ἐπὶ πάντων θεούς, we have a sentence made unnaturally heavy and clumsy by the interposition of εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας before the subject, a sentence to which I believe no parallel can be produced in the whole range of extant doxologies. Wherever εὐλογητός precedes, the subject *directly* follows. These objections to the transposition appear to me in themselves a sufficient reason why the Apostle should have preferred the present order. But we must also consider that any other arrangement would have failed to make prominent the particular conception of God, which the context suggests, as the Ruler over All. If, then, the blessings mentioned by the Apostle suggested to his mind the thought of God as εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, in view of that overruling providence which sees the end from the beginning, which brings good out of evil and cares for all men alike, I must agree with Winer that "the present position of the words is not only altogether suitable, but even necessary." (Gram., 7te Aufl., § 61. 3. e. p. 513; p. 551 Thayer, p. 690 Moulton.) Olshausen, though he understands the passage as relating to Christ, well says:—"Rückert's remark, that εὐλογητός, when applied to God, must, according to the idiom of the Old and New Testament, always precede the noun, is of no weight. Köllner rightly observes, that the position of words is altogether [everywhere] not a mechanical thing, but determined, in each particular conjuncture, by the connexion, and by the purpose of the speaker."\*

7. The argument founded on the notion that the Apostle here had in mind Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 20, and was thereby led to describe Christ as θεούς εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, is one which so far as I know never occurred to any commentator ancient or modern before the ingenious Dr. Lange. It is evidently so fanciful, and has been so completely demolished by Dr. Dwight (see above, p. 33, note), that any further notice of it would be a waste of words.

8. The argument for the reference of the ὁ ἦν, &c., to Christ, founded on supposed patristic authority, will be considered below under IV., in connection with the history of the interpretation of the passage.

II. I HAVE thus endeavored to show that the construction of the last part of the verse as a doxology suits the context, and that the principal objections urged against it have little or no weight.

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\* Olshausen, *Bibl. Comm. on the N. T.*, vol. iv. p. 88, note, Kendrick's trans.—The remark cited from Rückert belongs to the first edition of his *Commentary* (1831). In the second edition (1839) Rückert changed his view of the passage, and adopted the construction which makes the last part of the verse a doxology to God.

But the construction followed in the common version is also grammatically objectionable; and if we assume that the Apostle and those whom he addressed believed Christ to be God, this construction likewise suits the context.

How then shall we decide the question? If it was an ambiguous sentence in Plato or Aristotle, our first step would be to see what light was thrown on the probabilities of the case by *the writer's use of language elsewhere*. Looking then at the question from this point of view, I find three reasons for preferring the construction which refers the last part of the verse to God.

i. The use of the word *εὐλογητός*, "blessed," which never occurs in the New Testament in reference to Christ. If we refer *εὐλογητός* to God, our passage accords with the doxologies Rom. i. 25; 2 Cor. i. 3; xi. 31; and Eph. i. 3. In Rom. i. 25 we have *εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰῶνας*, as here; and 2 Cor. xi. 31, "The God and Father [or God, the Father] of the Lord Jesus knows—he who is blessed for ever!—that I lie not," strongly favors the reference of the *εὐλογητός* to God.\* It alone seems to me almost decisive. The word *εὐλογητός* is elsewhere in the New Testament used in doxologies to God (Luke i. 68; 1 Pet. i. 3); and in Mark xiv. 61, *ὁ εὐλογητός*, "the Blessed One," is a special designation of the Supreme Being, in accordance with the language of the later Jews, in whose writings God is often spoken of as "the Holy One, blessed be He!"

I have already spoken (see above, p. 95) of the rarity of doxologies to Christ in the writings of Paul, the only instance being 2 Tim. iv. 18, though here Fritzsche (*Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 268) and Canon Kennedy (*Ely Lectures*, p. 87) refer the *χύριος* to God. Doxologies and thanksgivings to God are on the other hand very frequent in his Epistles. Those with *εὐλογητός* are given above; for those with *δόξα*, see Rom. xi. 36; xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17 (*τιμὴ καὶ δόξα*);—*τιμὴ καὶ χράτος*, 1 Tim. vi. 16. (Comp. *δοξάζω*, Rom. xv. 6, 9.) Thanksgivings, with *χάρις* first, Rom. vi. 17; vii. 25 (Lachm., Tisch., Treg., WH.); 2 Cor. viii. 16; ix. 15; *τῷ θεῷ* first, 1 Cor. xv. 57; 2 Cor. ii. 14; *εὐχαριστῶ*, Rom. i. 8; 1 Cor. i. 4; (14.) xiv. 18; Eph. i. 16; Phil. i. 3; Col. i. 3, 12; 1 Thess. i. 2; ii. 13; 2 Thess. i. 3; ii. 13; Philem. 4. Note especially the direction, "*giving thanks always* for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ *to God*, even the Father," Eph. v. 20; comp. Col. iii. 17, "*do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God*

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\*For the way in which the Rabbinical writers are accustomed to introduce doxologies into the middle of a sentence, see Schoettgen's *Horae Hebraicae* on 2 Cor. xi. 31.

the Father through him." These facts appear to me to strengthen the presumption founded on the usage of *εὐλογητός*, that in this passage of ambiguous construction the doxological words should be referred to God rather than to Christ.

It may be of some interest to observe that in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, probably the earliest Christian writing that has come down to us outside of the New Testament, there are eight doxologies to God, namely cc. 32, 38, 43, 45, 58, 61, 64, 65, and none that clearly belong to Christ. Two are ambiguous, viz. cc. 20, 50, like Heb. xiii. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 11, which a majority of the best commentators refer to God as the leading subject; see above, p. 46. The clear cases of doxologies to Christ in the N. T. are Rev. i. 6; 2 Pet. iii. 18 (a book of doubtful genuineness); and Rev. v. 13, "to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb;" comp. vii. 10. But our concern is chiefly with the usage of Paul.

The argument from the exclusive use of the word *εὐλογητός* in reference to God has been answered by saying that *εὐλογητός* is also applied to man; and Deut. vii. 14; Ruth ii. 20; and 1 Sam. xv. 13 are cited as examples of this by Dr. Gifford. But he overlooks the fact that *εὐλογητός* is there used in a totally different sense, viz. "favored" or "blessed" by God. To speak of a person as "blessed" by God, or to pray that he may be so, and to address a doxology to him, are very different things.

Note further that *εὐλογημένος* δὲ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὄντι ματὶ χωρίῳ Ps. cxvii. (cxviii.) 26, applied to Christ in Matt. xxi. 9 and the parallel passages, is not a doxology; comp. Mark xi. 10; Luke i. 28, 42.

On the distinction between *εὐλογητός* and *εὐλογημένος* see Note B, at the end of this article.

2. The most striking parallel to *εἷναι ἕπεται πάντων* in the writings of Paul is in Eph. iv. 5, 9, where Christians are said to have "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one *God* and Father of all, *who is over all* (ὑπὲν πάντων), and through all, and in all." Here it is used of the one *God*, expressly distinguished from Christ.

3. The Apostle's use of the word *θεῖς*, "God," throughout his Epistles. This word occurs in the Pauline Epistles, not including that to the Hebrews, more than 500 times; and there is not a single clear instance in which it is applied to Christ. Alford, and many other Trinitarian commentators of the highest character, find no instance except the present. Now, in a case of ambiguous construction, ought not this *uniform* usage of the Apostle in respect to one of the most common words to have great weight? To me it is absolutely decisive.

It may be said, however, that Paul has nowhere declared that Christ is *not* God; and that even if he has not happened to give him this title in any other passage he must have believed him to be God, and therefore might have so designated him if occasion required.

As to the statement that Paul has nowhere expressly affirmed that Christ was *not* God, it does not appear that, supposing him to have believed this, he ever had occasion to say it. It is certainly a remarkable fact that, whatever may have been the teaching of Paul concerning the nature of Christ and the mode of his union with God, it appears, so far as we can judge from his writings, to have raised no question as to whether he was or was not God; jealous as the Jews were of the Divine unity, and disposed as the Gentiles were to recognize many Gods beside the Supreme.

It is important to observe, in general, that in respect to the application to Christ of the *name* "God," there is a very wide difference between the usage not only of Paul, but of all the New Testament writers, and that which we find in Christian writers of the second and later centuries. There is no clear instance, in which any New Testament writer, speaking in his own person, has called Christ God. In John i. 18 the text is doubtful; and in 1 John v. 20 the *οὐτος* more naturally refers to the leading subject in what precedes, namely, *τὸν ἀληθινόν*, and is so understood by the best grammarians, as Winer and Buttmann, and by many eminent Trinitarian commentators (see above, p. 19). In John i. 1 *θεός* is the predicate not of the historical Christ, but of the antemundane Logos. The passages which have been alleged from the writings of Paul will be noticed presently.\*

But it may be said that even if there is no other passage in which Paul has called Christ God, there are many in which the works and the attributes of God are ascribed to him, and in which he is recognized as the object of divine worship; so that we ought to find no difficulty in supposing that he is here declared to be "God blessed for ever." It may be said in reply, that the passages referred to do not authorize the inference which has been drawn from them; and that if they are regarded as doing so, the unity of God would seem to be infringed. A discussion of this subject would lead us out of the field of exegesis into the tangled thicket of dogmatic theology; we should

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\* On John xx. 28 and Heb. i. 8, 9, which do not belong to the category we are now considering, I simply refer, for the sake of brevity, to Norton's *Statement of Reasons*, &c., new edition (1856), p. 300 ff., and the note of E. A., or to the note of Lücke on the former passage, and of Prof. Stuart on the latter.

have to consider the questions of consubstantiality, eternal generation, the hypostatic union, and the *kenosis*. Such a discussion would here be out of place. But it is certainly proper to look at the passages where Paul has used the clearest and strongest language concerning the dignity of Christ and his relation to the Father, and ask ourselves whether they allow us to regard it as probable that he has here spoken of him as "God over all, blessed for ever," or even as "over all, God blessed for ever."

In the Epistles which purport to be written by Paul there is only one passage besides the present in which any considerable number of respectable scholars now suppose that he has actually called Christ *God*, namely, Titus ii. 13. Here the new Revised Version, in the text, makes him speak of "our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." But the uncertainty of this translation is indicated by the marginal rendering, "the great God and our Saviour"; and in a former paper I have stated my reasons for believing the latter construction the true one. (See above, p. 3 ff.) This latter construction was preferred by a large majority of the American Company of Revisers, and it has the support of many other eminent Trinitarian scholars. Surely so doubtful a passage cannot serve to render it probable that Christ is called "God blessed for ever" in Rom. ix. 5.

Acts xx. 28 has also been cited, where, according to the *textus receptus*, Paul, in his address to the Ephesian elders, is represented as speaking of "the Church of God, which he purchased with his own blood." This reading is adopted by the English Revisers, in their text, and also by Scrivener, Alford, and Westcott and Hort; but its doubtfulness is indicated by the marginal note against the word "God," in which the Revisers say, "Many ancient authorities read the *Lord*." Here again the marginal reading is preferred by the American Revisers, as also by Lachmann, Tregelles, Green, Davidson and Tischendorf. I have given my reasons for believing this the true reading in an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1876, pp. 313-352. And although Westcott and Hort adopt the reading *God*, Dr. Hort well remarks that "the supposition that by the precise designation τοῦ θεοῦ, standing alone as it does here, with the article and without any adjunct, St. Paul (or St. Luke) meant Christ, is unsupported by any analogies of language." Calling attention to the fact that the true text has the remarkable form διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἴδιου, he would understand the passage, "on the supposition that the text is incorrupt," as speaking of the Church of God which he purchased "through the blood that was His own," i. e. as being his Son's. "This conception," he remarks, "of the death of Christ as a price

paid by the Father is in strict accordance with St. Paul's own language elsewhere (Rom. v. 8; viii. 32). It finds repeated expression in Apostolic Constitutions in language evidently founded on this passage (ii. 57. 13; 61. 4; vii. 26. 1; viii. [11. 2.] 12. 18; 41. 4)." On the position that θεοῦ is the true reading, the passage has been understood in a similar manner not merely by Socinian interpreters, as Wolz and Enjedinus, but by Erasmus (in his *Paraphrase*), Pellican,\* Iborch (though he prefers the reading κυρίου), Milton (*De Doctrina Christiana*, Pars I. c. v. p. 86, or Eng. trans. p. 148 f.), Lenfant Beausobre as an alternative interpretation (*Le Nouveau Test.*, no loc.), Doederlein (*Inst. Theol. Christ.* ed. 6ta, 1797, § 105, Obs. 387), Van der Palm (note in his Dutch translation), Granville Penn (*The Book of the New Covenant*, London, 1836, and *Annotations*, 1 p. 315), and Mr. Darby (*Trans. of the N. T.*, 2d ed. [1872]). Hort however is disposed to conjecture that ΥΙΟΥ dropped out ΤΟΥΙΔΙΟΥ "at some very early transcription, affecting all existing documents." Granville Penn had before made the same suggestion. It is obvious that no argument in support of any particular construction of Rom. ix. 5 can be prudently drawn from such a passage as this.

A few other passages in which some scholars still suppose that the name *God* is given to Christ by Paul have been examined in the journal *Titus* ii. 13; see above, notes to pp. 3, 10, also p. 44.

Let us now look at the passages in which Paul has used the exalted language respecting the person and dignity of Christ, and consider how far they afford a presumption that he might have written him as "God blessed for ever."

The passage in this Epistle most similar to the present is ch. i. 3, 4, where Christ is said to be "born of the seed of David as to the flesh," but "declared to be the Son of God with power as to the spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead," or more exactly "by the resurrection of the dead." Here the antithesis to κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν is supplied. It is not, however, κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, or κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, but κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης, "as to his holy spirit,"—his spiritual nature, distinguished especially by the characteristic of *holiness*. There are many nice and difficult questions connected with this passage, which need not be here discussed; I will only say that I see no ground for finding in it a presumption that the Apostle would

\*"Erga congregationem dei quae vobis oscitanter curanda non ut quam deus adeo charam habuit, ut unigeniti sui sanguine eam verit." *Comm.* in loc., Tiguri, 1537, fol.

nate Christ as "God blessed for ever." Some, however, suppose that the title "Son of God" is essentially equivalent to θεός, and that the resurrection of Christ as an act of his own divine power is adduced here as a proof of his deity. I do not find the first supposition supported by the use of the term in the Old Testament or in the New (see John x. 36), and as to the second, it may be enough to say that it contradicts the uniform representation of the Apostle Paul on the subject, who everywhere refers his resurrection to the power of "God, the Father"; see Gal. i. 1; Eph. i. 19, 20; Rom. iv. 24; vi. 4; viii. 11; x. 9; 1 Cor. vi. 14; xv. 15; 2 Cor. iv. 14; xiii. 4; 1 Thes. i. 10; Acts xiii. 30-37; xvii. 31.

Another striking passage is Phil. ii. 6-11, where the Apostle says that Christ, "existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God\* a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." Without entering into any detailed discussion of this passage, it may be enough to remark that being in the form of God, as Paul uses the expression here, is a very different thing from being God; that the μορφή cannot denote the nature or essence of Christ, because it is something of which he is represented as emptying or divesting himself. The same is true of the τὸ εἶναι ὡν θεῷ, "the being on an equality with God," or "like God," which is spoken of as something which he was not eager to *seize*, according to one way of understanding ἀρπαγμόν, or not eager to *retain*, according to another interpretation.† The Apostle goes on to say that on account of this self-abnegation and his obedience even unto death "God highly exalted him and gave him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow . . . and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God, the Father." I cannot think that this passage, distinguishing Christ as it does so clearly from God, and representing his present exaltation as a reward bestowed upon him by God, renders it at all likely that Paul would call him "God blessed for ever."

We find a still more remarkable passage in the Epistle to the Colossians, i. 15-20, where it is affirmed concerning the Son that "he

\*Or, as the Rev. Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, translates it, "the being like God"; compare Whitby's note on the use of ὡν. See Kennedy's *Occasional Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge*, London, 1877, p. 62, or *Ely Lectures* (1882), p. 17 f.

†See Grimm's *Lexicon Novi Testamenti*, ed. 2da (1879), s. v. μορφή, for one view; for another, Weiss's *Biblische Theol. des N. T.*, § 103 c, p. 432 ff., 3te Aufl. (1880).

is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for in him were all things created, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist [or hold together]. And he is the head of the body, the Church, who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence [more literally, "become first"]. For it was the good pleasure [of the Father] that in him should all the fulness dwell; and through him to reconcile all things unto himself." In this passage, and in Col. ii. 9, 10 where the Apostle says of Christ "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in him are ye made full, who is the head of all principality and power," we find, I believe, the strongest language which Paul has anywhere used concerning Christ's position in the universe, and his relation to the Church. I waive all question of the genuineness of the Epistle. Does then the language here use render it probable that Paul would, on occasion, designate Christ as "over all, God blessed for ever"?

Here certainly, if anywhere, we might expect that he would call him God; but he has not only not done so, but has carefully distinguished him from the being for whom he seems to reserve that name. He does not call him God, but "the *image* of the invisible God" (comp. 2 Cor. iv. 4, and 1 Cor. xi. 7). His agency in the work of creation is also restricted and made secondary by the use of the prepositions *ἐν* and *διὰ*, clearly indicating that the conception in the mind of the Apostle is the same which appears in the Epistle to the Hebrews, i. 3; that he is not the primary source of the power exerted in creation, but the being "through whom God made the worlds" δι' οὗ ἐποίησεν τὸν αἰώνα; comp. also 1 Cor. viii. 6, Eph. iii. (though here διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is not genuine), and the well-known language of Philo concerning the Logos.\* Neither Paul nor at

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\* Philo calls the Logos the "Son of God," "the eldest son," "the first-begotten," and his representation of his agency in creation is very similar to that which Paul here attributes to "the Son of God's love" (ver. 13). He describes the Logos as "the *image* of God, *through* whom the whole world was framed," εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κ. τ. λ. (*De Monarchia* ii. 5, Opp. ii. 225 ed. Mangey); "the instrument, through which [whom] the world was built," ὄργανον δι' οὗ κ. τ. λ. (*De Cherubim* c. 3 Opp. i. 162, where note Philo's distinction between τὸ δόφον, τὸ ἐξ οὗ, δι' οὗ, and τὸ δι' οὗ); "the shadow of God, using whom as an instrument he made the world" (*Legg. Allegor. iii. 31*, Opp. i. 106). In two or three places he exceptionally applies the term Θεός to the Logos, professedly using it in a lower sense (*ἐν καταχρήσει*), and making a distinction between Θεός, without the article, "a divine being," and ὁ Θεός, "the

other New Testament writer uses the preposition *διπό*, "by," in speaking of the agency of the Son or Logos in creation. The designation "firstborn of all creation" seems also a very strange one to be applied to Christ conceived of as God. Some of the most orthodox Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, as Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Augustine, were so perplexed by it that they understood the Apostle to be speaking here of the new, spiritual creation,\* and the passage has been explained as relating to this by some eminent modern interpreters, as Grotius, Wetstein, Ernesti, Noesselt, Heinrichs, Schleiermacher, Baumgarten-Crusius, Norton, though, I believe, erroneously. But I shall not discuss here the meaning of *πρωτότοχος πάσης κτίσεως*. I would only call attention to the way in which the Apostle speaks of the *good pleasure* of God, the Father, as the *source* of Christ's fulness of gifts and powers. "For it was the good pleasure [of God] that in him should all the fulness dwell" (ver. 19).† This declaration explains also Col. ii. 9; compare Eph. iii. 19; iv. 13; John i. 16. See also John xiv. 10; iii. 34(?).

It thus appears, I think, first, that there is no satisfactory evidence that Paul has elsewhere called Christ *God*; and secondly, that in the passages in which he speaks of his dignity and power in the most exalted language, he not only seems studiously to avoid giving him this appellation, but represents him as *deriving* his dignity and power from the being to whom, in distinction from Christ, he everywhere gives that name,—the "one God, the Father."

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Divine Being." (See *De Somn.* i. 38, Opp. i. 655, and comp. Legg. *Alleg.* iii. 73, Opp. i. 128, l. 43.) In a fragment preserved by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* vii. 13, or *Philonis Opp.* ii. 625) he names the Logos *ὁ δεύτερος θεός*, "the second [or inferior] God," distinguished from "the Most High and Father of the universe," "the God who is before [or above, *πρό*] the Logos." So he applies the term to Moses (comp. Exod. vii. 1,) and says that it may be used of one who "procurcs good (*τὸ ἀγαθὸν*) for others," and is "wise." *De Mut. Nom.* c. 22, Opp. i. 597, 598; see also *De Mos.* i. 28, Opp. ii. 106 [misprinted 108], where Moses is called *ὁ λοῦ τοῦ ἔθνους θεός*: *καὶ βασιλεὺς*; *Quod det. pot. insid.* c. 44, Opp. i. 222; *De Migr. Abr.* c. 15, Opp. i. 449; Legg. *Alleg.* i. 13, Opp. i. 151; *Quod omn. prob. liber.* c. 7, Opp. ii. 452; *De Decem. Orac.* c. 23, Opp. ii. 201. But though he speaks of the Logos in language as exalted as Paul uses concerning the Son, he would never have dreamed of calling him *ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εἰδώλητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*.

\*See Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, p. 214 ff.

†*ὁ θεός* (or *ὁ πατήρ*) must be supplied as the subject of *εἰδόντησεν*; comp. ver. 20, and Lightfoot's note. So Meyer, De Wette, Alford, Eadie, and the great majority of expositors.

We have considered the strongest passages which have been add<sup>t</sup> to justify the supposition that Paul *might* apply this title to Ch I have already intimated that they do not seem to me to auth<sup>t</sup> this supposition. But admitting, for the sake of argument, tha must infer from these and other passages that he really held the trine of the consubstantiality and co-eternity of the Son with Father, and that on this account he would have been *justified* in ing him God, this does not remove the great improbability tha has so designated him, incidentally, in Rom. ix. 5, in oppositio a usage of the term which pervades all his writings. The ques still forces itself upon us, What was the ground of this usage? has he elsewhere avoided giving him this title? In answering question here, wishing to avoid as far as possible all dogm discussion, and to confine myself to exegetical considerati I shall not transgress the limits of recognized orthodoxy. doctrine of the *subordination* of the Son to the Father, in divine as well as his human nature, has been held by a very l number, and if I mistake not, by a majority, of professed belie in the deity of Christ. The fourth and last Division or "Secti of Bishop Bull's famous *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae* is entitled *De Subordinatione Filii ad Patrem, ut ad sui originem ac principium*. He m tains and proves that the Fathers who lived before and many, at l of those who lived after the Council of Nice unequivocally ackn edged this subordination (though the post-Nicene writers were i guarded in their language), and that on this account, while ca the Son θεός, and θεὸς ἐξ θεοῦ, as begotten from the substance of Father, they were accustomed to reserve such titles as ὁ θεός absolutely, εἰς θεός, and ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων or ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεός for the Fa alone. The Father alone was "uncaused," "unoriginated," "fountain of deity" to the Son and Spirit.\* Now the word was often used by the Fathers of the second and later centuries as a proper, but as a common name; angels, and even Christi especially in their beatified state, might be and were called θεοί. had also a metaphorical and rhetorical use, quite foreign from style of the New Testament.† All this made it easy and nat

\* "The ancient doctors of the church," as Bishop Pearson rema "have not stuck to call the Father 'the origin, the cause, the author root, the fountain, and the head of the Son,' or the whole Divin *Exposition of the Creed*, Chap. I. p. 38, Nichols's ed.

†For proof and illustration of what has been stated, see Norton's *Oneness of the Gospels*, 2d ed., vol. iii. Addit. Note D, "On the Use of the Words θεός and deus"; *Statement of Reasons*, 12th ed., pp. 113, note, 120 note, 300 f., 314, 319 f., 365 note, 468; Sandius, *Interpretatio*

especially for the Fathers who were converts from heathenism, to apply the title in a relative, not absolute, sense to the Son, notwithstanding the pre-eminence which they ascribed to the Father. We find traces of this loose use of the name in Philo, as I have observed (see p. 118, note). But there is no trace of such a use in the writings of Paul.—The points, then, which I would make are these: that even granting that he believed in the deity of the Son as set forth in the Nicene Creed, he yet held the doctrine of the *subordination* of the Son so strongly in connection with it, that we cannot wonder if *on this account* he reserved the title *θεός* exclusively for the Father; and that the way in which he has expressed this subordination, and the way in which he has used this title, render it incredible that he should in this single instance (Rom. ix. 5) have suddenly transferred it to Christ, with the addition of another designation, “blessed for ever,” elsewhere used by him of the Father alone.

I do not see how any one can read the Epistles of Paul without perceiving that, in speaking of the objects of Christian faith, he constantly uses *θεός* as a *proper name*, as the designation of the Father in distinction from Christ. See, for example, Rom. i. 1–3, “the gospel of *God*, which he had before promised . . . concerning his Son”; ver. 7, “*God* our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ”; ver. 8, “I thank my *God*, through Jesus Christ”; ver. 9, “*God* is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit in the gospel of his Son”; and so all through the Epistle;—2 Cor. v. 18, 19, “All things are of *God*, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that *God* was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses”; Eph. v. 20, “giving thanks always for all things, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to *God*, even the Father;” though among the heathen there are gods many, and lords many (1 Cor. viii. 6) “to us there is *one God*, the Father, from whom are all things, and we unto him; and *one Lord*, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him”; Eph. iv. 5, 6, There is “*one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in you all*”; 1 Tim. ii. 5, “There is *one God*, one mediator also between *God* and men, [himself] a man, Christ Jesus”; v. 21, “I charge thee before *God*, and Christ Jesus, and the elect angels”; Tit.

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*Paradoxa* (1669), p. 227 ff.; Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, vol. iv. p. 100 ff.; Le Clerc (*Clericus*), *Ars Critica*, Pars II. Sect. I. c. III., vol. i. p. 145 ff., 6th ed., 1778; *Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria*, by John [Kaye], *Bp. of Lincoln*, 1835, p. 253.

iii. 4-6, “*God our Saviour*” poured out upon us the Holy Spirit “*through Jesus Christ our Saviour*.” Observe how strongly the subordination of the Son is expressed in passages where his dignity and lordship are described in the loftiest strain: Eph. i. 16-23, “—in my prayers, that the *God of our Lord Jesus Christ*, the Father of glory, may give unto you a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him; . . . that ye may know what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to that working of the strength of his might which he wrought in Christ when *he raised him from the dead*, and *made him to sit at his right hand* in the heavenly places, far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: and *he put all things in subjection under his feet*, and *gave him to be head over all things to the Church*; 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23, “all things are yours; and ye are Christ’s; and Christ is *God’s*”; xi. 3, “the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is *God*;” xv. 24, “Then cometh the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to *God*, even the Father; ver. 27, 28, “But when he saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that He is excepted who did subject all things unto him. And when all things have been subjected unto him, THEN shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that *God* may be all in all.”

Can we believe that he who has throughout his writings placed Christ in such a relation of *subordination* to the Father, and has habitually used the name *God* as the peculiar designation of the Father in distinction from Christ, who also calls the Father the one God, the only wise God (Rom. xvi. 27), the only God (1 Tim. i. 17), and the God of Christ, has here, in opposition to the usage elsewhere uniform of a word occurring 500 times, suddenly designated *Christ* as “over all, God blessed for ever”? At least, should not the great improbability of this turn the scale, in a passage of doubtful construction?

4. There is another consideration which seems to me to render it very improbable that Paul has here deviated from his habitual restriction of the name *God* to “the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.” If he has spoken of Christ in this passage as “God blessed for ever” he has done it *obiter*, as if those whom he addressed were familiar with such a conception and designation of him. But can this have been the case with the Roman church at so early a stage in the development of Christian doctrine?

It is the view of many Trinitarians that the doctrine that Christ is God was not *explicitly* taught in the early preaching of the Apostles. We find no trace of such teaching in the discourses of Peter or of Stephen in the book of Acts, and none in those of the Apostle Paul (the passage Acts xx. 28 has already been examined), as we find none in the Synoptic Gospels, which represent the instruction concerning Christ given by the Apostles and their companions to their converts.\* Nor does it appear in the so-called Apostles' Creed. When we consider further the fact already mentioned above (see p. 114) that Christ is nowhere called God in any unambiguous passage by any *writer* of the New Testament,† and that it is nowhere recorded that he ever claimed this title, we cannot reasonably regard this abstinence from the use of the term as accidental. In reference to the early apostolic preaching in particular, many of the Christian Fathers, and later Trinitarian writers, have recognized a prudent reserve in the communication of a doctrine concerning Christ and the application of a title to him which would at once have provoked vehement opposition

\* "There is nothing in St. Peter's Sermon upon the day of Pentecost, which would not, in all probability, have been acknowledged by every Ebionite Christian down to the time when they finally disappear from history. Yet upon such a statement of doctrine, miserably insufficient as all orthodox churches would now call it, three thousand Jews and proselytes were, without delay, admitted to the Sacrament of Baptism."

... "We must carefully bear in mind what was St. Peter's object. It was to convince the Jews that Jesus Christ was the great appointed Teacher whom God had sent—the true spiritual Prince whom they were to obey. The Apostle felt that if they acknowledged these great truths, everything else would follow in due time." T. W. Mossman, B.A., Rector of Torrington, *A History of the Cath. Church of Jesus Christ*, etc., Lond. 1873, pp. 192, 190. Gess naively asks, "Wie dürfte man von dem galiläischen Fischer, welcher der Wortführer der junger Gemeinde war, eine befriedigende Dogmatik erwarten?" *Christi Person und Werk*, II. i. 13. See also Dr. John Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, Book III. Cap. V. (Vol. II. p. 151, ff., 5th ed.)

† I speak of the historical Christ, which is the subject in Rom. ix. 5. The unique Prologue of John's Gospel, in which the *Logos* or Word is once called *θεός* (i. 1, comp. ver. 18 in the text of Tregelles and Westcott and Hort), cannot reasonably be regarded as parallel to the present Passage. This is candidly admitted by Schultz, who has most elaborately defended the construction which refers the last part of Rom. ix. 5 to Christ. He says: "Nach unseren Prämissen versteht sich von selbst, dass wir nicht etwa daraus, dass der *λόγος θεός* genannt wird, Beweise ziehen wollen für die Zulässigkeit des Namens *θεός* für den verklärten Jesus." (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theol.*, 1868, xiii. 491.) I of course do not enter here into the difficult questions as to what was precisely John's conception of the Logos, and in what sense he says "the Word became flesh," language which no one understands literally. We must consider also the late date of the Gospel of John as compared with the Epistle to the Romans.

on the part of the unbelieving Jews, which would have been particularly liable to be misunderstood by the Gentiles, and must have required much careful explanation to reconcile it with the unity of God and the humanity of Christ.\* We nowhere find either in the Acts or the Epistles any trace of the controversy and questionings which the direct announcement of such a doctrine must have excited. The one aim of the early apostolic preaching was to convince first the Jews, and then the Gentiles, that Jesus, whose life and teaching were so wonderful, whom God had raised from the dead, was the Messiah, exalted by God to be a Prince and a Saviour. To acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, or Jesus as Lord, which is essentially the same thing, was the one fundamental article of the Christian faith.† Much, indeed, was involved in this confession; but it is now, I suppose, fully established, and generally admitted, that the Jews in the time of Christ had no expectation that the coming Messiah would be an incarnation of Jehovah, and no acquaintance with the mystery of the Trinity.‡ Such being the state of the case, it seems to me that, on

\*For superabundant quotations from the Christian Fathers confirming the statement made above, notwithstanding a few mistakes, see Priestley's *History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ*, Book III. Chap. IV.-VII. (Vol. III. p. 86 ff. ed. of 1786.) Or see Chrysostom's Homilies on the Acts, *passim*. How this doctrine would have struck a Jew, may be seen from Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*.

† See Neander, *Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*, Book I. Chap. II. Comp. Matt. xvi. 16; Mark viii. 29; Luke ix. 20; John vi. 69; xx. 31; Acts ii. 36; v. 42; viii. 5; ix. 20, 22; xvii. 3; xviii. 5, 28; Rom. x. 9, *nota bene*; 1 Cor. xii. 3; 2 Cor. iv. 5; 1 John iv. 2; v. 1.

‡See the art. *Messias*, by Oehler, in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie der prot. Theol. und Kirche*, ix. 437 ff., or in the new ed. of Herzog and Plitt, vol. ix. (1881), p. 666 ff.; Ferd. Weber, *System der altsyndagogalen palästin. Theol.* (1880), p. 146 ff., 339 ff.—Passages from the Rabbinical writings are sometimes adduced by commentators on Rom. ix. 5 in which the name Jehovah, or Jehovah our righteousness, is said to be given to the Messiah. But the irrelevance of these citations has been repeatedly exposed; see Fritzsche, *Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 269, note; Weber, *ut supra*, p. 342. Weber says:—"Und wenn Baba bathra 75<sup>b</sup> gesagt wird, der Messias werde nach dem Namen Jehovah's זְהָבָה genannt, so stehen an dieser Stelle in gleicher Beziehung die Gerechten und Jerusalem." Comp. Jer. xxiii. 6 with xxxiii. 16, and on this passage see Oehler, *Theol. des A. T.* ii. 263; Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 262, note 36; Schultz, *Alttest. Theol.*, 2te Aufl. (1878), p. 740. On Is. ix. 6 see Schultz, p. 727; Hitzig, *Vorlesungen über bibl. Theol.*, u. s. w. (1880), p. 206 ff., and the commentators, as Gesenius, Knobel, Ewald, Cheyne. That the *Memra da Yeya* or "Word of Jehovah" is not identified in the Targums with the Messiah is certain; see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Word*, vol. iv. p. 3557 b, Amer. ed., and Weber, *ut supra*, p. 339. It is time that the book Zohar, which figures so conspicuously in Schoettgen, Bertholdt, and other writers, but is now proved to be a pseudograph of the thirteenth century, should cease to be quoted as an

the supposition that the Apostles were fully enlightened in regard to the mystery of the Trinity and the hypostatic union, the only tenable ground to be taken is, that they wisely left these doctrines to develop themselves gradually in “the Christian consciousness.” As Dr. Pye Smith remarks, “The whole revelation of the Christian system was given by an advancing process. It cannot, therefore be a matter of surprise, that the doctrine concerning the person of the Messiah was developed gradually, and that its clearest manifestation is to be found in the latest written books of the New Testament.” (*Uit supra*, p. 155.) Canon Westcott observes, “The study of the Synoptists, of the Apocalypse and of the Gospel of St. John in succession enables us to see under what human conditions the full majesty of Christ was perceived and declared, not all at once, but step by step, and by the help of the old prophetic teaching.” (*Introd. to the Gospel of St. Jhn*, in the so-called “Speaker’s Commentary,” p. lxxxvii.) Canon Kennedy even says:—“I do not think that any apostle, John, or Peter, or Paul, was so taught the full *μυστήριον θεότητος* as that they were prepared to formulate the decrees of Nicæa and Constantinople, which appeared after 300 years and more, or the Trinitarian exegesis, which was completed after 600 years and more. But they, with the other evangelists, guided by the Holy Spirit, furnished the materials from which those doctrines were developed.” (*Ely Lectures*, p. xix.)

Taking all these facts into consideration, is it probable that at this early day the Jewish Christians and Gentile believers at Rome, who needed so much instruction in the very elements of Christianity, were already so fully initiated into the mysterious doctrine of the deity of Christ, that the application of the term God to him, found in no Christian writing that we know of till long after the date of this Epistle, could have been familiar to them? Accustomed to the representation of him as a being distinct from God, would they not have been startled and amazed beyond measure by finding him described as “over all, God blessed for ever”?—But if so, if this was a doctrine and a use of language with which they were not familiar, it is to me wholly incredible that the Apostle should have introduced it abruptly in this incidental manner, and have left it without remark or explanation.

Dr. Hermann Schultz, whose elaborate dissertation on Rom. ix. 5 has been already referred to, admits that if *επί πάντων θεός* was used

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authority for Jewish opinions in the time of Christ. See Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah* (Lond. 1865), p. 78 ff., espec. p. 90 ff.—One who is disposed to rely on Hengstenberg’s *Christology* in relation to this subject, should compare the review of it by Dr. Noyes in the *Christian Examiner* (Boston) for Jan., May, and July, 1836.

here to designate the *λόγος*, the eternal Son of God, in other words, if *θεός* was used here in reference to the nature of Christ, "the strict monotheism of Paul would certainly require an intimation that the honor due to God alone was not here trench'd upon" (*beeinträchtigt*).<sup>\*</sup> The expression, he maintains, describes "the dignity conferred upon him by God"; the *θεός* here is essentially equivalent to *χύριος*. "The predicate *θεός* must be perfectly covered by the subject *Xpιστός*, i.e. the Messianic human King of Israel."<sup>†</sup>

But these concessions of Schultz seem to me fatal to his construction of the passage. If *θεός* used in the metaphysical sense, describing the *nature* of Christ, would confessedly need explanation, to guard against an apparent infringement of the Divine unity, would not Paul's readers need to be cautioned against taking it in this sense, the sense which it has everywhere else in his writings?—Again, if Paul by *θεός* here only meant *χύριος*, why did he not say *χύριος*, this being his constant designation of the glorified Christ (comp. Phil. ii. 9–11)?

This leads me to notice further the important passage 1 Cor. viii. 6, already quoted (see above, p. 121). It has often been said that the mention here of the Father as the "one God" of Christians no more excludes Christ from being God and from receiving this name, than the designation of Christ as the "one Lord" excludes the Father from being Lord and receiving this name. But in making this statement some important considerations are overlooked. In the first

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\*Schultz, *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theol.*, 1868, xiii. 484.

†This view of Schultz appears to be that of Hofmann (*Der Schriftbeweis*, 2te Aufl., 1857, i. 143) and Weiss (*Bibl. Theol. d. N. T.*, 3te Aufl., 1880, p. 283, note 5), as it was formerly of Ritschl (*Die Entstehung der alkath. Kirche*, 2te Aufl., 1857, p. 79, f.). This is the way also in which the old Socinian commentators understood the passage, as Socinus, Crell, Schlichting, Wolzogen. They did not hesitate to give the name "God" to Christ, any more than the ancient Arians did, understanding it in a lower sense, and referring especially in justification of this to John x. 34–36, and various passages of the Old Testament. So it appears to have been taken by some of the Ante-Nicene Fathers who referred the last clause of the verse to Christ, as probably by Novatian, who quotes the passage twice as proof that Christ is *Deus* (*De Regula Fidei* or *De Trin.* cc. 13, 30), but who says "Dominus et Deus constitutus esse reperitur" (c. 20); "hoc ipsum a Patre proprio consecutus, ut omnium et Deus esset et Dominus esset" (c. 22); "omnium Deus, quoniam omnibus illum *Deus Pater praeposuit quem genuit*" (c. 31). So Hippolytus (*Cont. Noët.* c. 6) applies the verse to Christ, and justifies the language by quoting Christ's declaration, "All things have been delivered to me by the Father." He cites other passages in the same connection, and says: "If then all things have been subjected unto him with the exception of Him who subjected them, he rules over all, *but the Father rules over him*."

place, the title “god” is unquestionably of far higher dignity than the title “lord”; and because godship *includes* lordship with all the titles that belong to it, it by no means follows that lordship includes godship and has a right to its titles; in other words, that one who is properly called a *lord* (*xύπτος*), as having servants or subjects or possessions, may therefore be properly called a *god* (*θεός*). In the second place, the lordship of Christ is everywhere represented not as belonging to him by *nature*, but as conferred upon him by the one God and Father of all. This lordship is frequently denoted by the figurative expression, “sitting on the right hand of God.”\* The expression is borrowed from Ps. cx., so often cited in the New Testament as applicable to Christ, and particularly by Peter in his discourse on the day of Pentecost, who, after quoting the words, “The Lord [Jehovah] said unto my Lord [Adoni], ‘Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thy foes thy footstool,’ ” goes on to say, “Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that God hath MADE him both *Lord* and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified” (Acts ii. 35, 36). It is he to whom “all authority was given in heaven and on earth,” whom “God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour”; “the God of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . put all things in subjection under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church”; “gave unto him the name which is above every name . . . that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is *Lord*, to the glory of God, the Father.” Such being Paul’s conception of the relation of Christ to God, is it not the plain meaning of the passage, that while the heathen worship and serve many beings whom they call “gods” and “lords,” to Christians there is but one God, the Father,—one being to whom they give that name, “from whom are all things,” and who is the subject of supreme worship; and one being “through whom are all things,” through whom especially flow our spiritual blessings, whom “God hath made both Lord and Christ, and whom Christians therefore habitually call “the Lord.” The fact that this appellation of Christ, under such circumstances, does not debar the Supreme Being from receiving the name “Lord,” obviously affords no countenance to the notion that Paul would not hesitate to give to Christ the name “God.” As a matter of fact “the Lord” is the common designation of Christ in the writings of Paul, and is seldom used of God, except in quotations from or references to the

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\*See Knapp, *De Jesu Christo ad dextram Dei sedente*, in his *Scripta variis Argumenti*, ed. 2da (1823), i. 39–76.

language of the Old Testament.\* There, in the Septuagint, *Kύπτος* is used of God sometimes as a proper name, taking the place of Jehovah (Yahweh), on account of a Jewish superstition, and sometimes as an appellative.

GLANCING back now, for a moment, over the field we have traversed, we may reasonably say, it seems to me, *first*, that the use of *εὐλογητός*, elsewhere in the New Testament restricted to God, the Father,—in connection with the exceeding rarity, if not absence, of ascriptions of praise and thanksgiving to Christ in the writings of Paul, and their frequency in reference to God,—affords a pretty strong presumption in favor of that construction of this ambiguous passage which makes the last clause a doxology to the Father; *secondly*, that some additional confirmation is given to this reference by the *εἰς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, δὲπὶ πάντων*, in Eph. iv. 6; and *thirdly*, that the at first view overwhelming presumption in favor of this construction, founded on the uniform restriction of the designation *θεός*, occurring more than five hundred times, to God, the Father, in the writings of Paul, is not weakened, but rather strengthened, by our examination of the language which he elsewhere uses respecting the dignity of Christ and his relation to God. And though our sources of information are imperfect, we have seen that there are very grave reasons for doubting whether the use of *θεός* as a designation of Christ belonged to the language of Christians anywhere, at so early a period as the date of this Epistle (cir. A. D. 58).

Beyond a doubt, all the writers of the New Testament, and the early preachers of Christianity, believed that God was *united with* the man Jesus Christ in a way unique and peculiar, distinguishing him from all other beings; that his teaching and works and character were divine; that God had raised him from the dead, and exalted him to be a Prince and a Saviour; that he came, as the messenger of God's love and mercy, to redeem men from sin, and make them truly sons of God; that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." But no New Testament writer has *defined the mode* of this union with God. How much real light has been thrown upon the subject by the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, and the so-called Athanasian Creed, is a question on which there may be differences of opinion. The *authority* of councils is another question. But it has been no part of my object in

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\* "On the meaning of *ΚΥΡΙΟΣ* in the New Testament, particularly on the manner in which this word is employed by Paul in his Epistles," see the valuable article of Prof. Stuart in the *Biblical Repository* (Andover) for Oct. 1831, i. 733-776. His view is that the *κυριάτης* which Christ has as the Messiah is a delegated dominion.

discussing the construction of the passage before us, to argue against the doctrine of the Nicene Creed; my point is simply the *use of language* at the time when this Epistle was written. The questions of doctrine and language are of course closely connected, but are not identical. It seems to me that a believer in the deity of Christ, admitting the fact that we have no clear evidence that the "mediator between God and men" was ever *called* "God" by any New Testament writer, or any very early preacher of Christianity, may recognize therein a wise providence which saved the nascent Church from controversies and discussions for which it was not then prepared.

III. We will now consider some other constructions of the passage before us. (See above, p. 89 f.)

1. I refrain from discussing in detail the comparative merits of Nos. 1 and 2. The advocates of No. 1 observe, correctly, that it describes Christ as only ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, not ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, which they say would identify him with the Father. But if the Father is "God over all," and Christ is also "God over all," the question naturally arises, how the Father can be "*the* God over all," unless the term "God" as applied to Christ is used in a lower sense. The answers to this question would lead us beyond the sphere of exegesis, and I pass it by. Meyer thinks that if we refer the *οὐ* to Christ this is the most natural construction of the words, and it seems to have been adopted by most of the ancient Fathers who have cited the passage, at least after the Council of Nicea, and in nearly all the generally received modern translations, from Luther and Tyndale downwards.

2. Construction No. 2 aims to escape the difficulty presented by No. 1, but involves some ambiguities. Does the sentence mean, "who is over all (Jews as well as Gentiles), and who is also God blessed for ever" (so Hofmann, Kahnis, *Die luth. Dogm.* i. 453 f.)? or does it mean "celui qui est élevé sur toutes choses, comme Dieu bénit éternellement"? as Godet translates it (*Comm.* ii. 256), contending that ἐπὶ πάντων is not to be connected with θεός, but with *οὐ*, though he had before translated, inconsistently it would seem, "lui qui est Dieu au-dessus de toutes choses bénit éternellement" (pp. 248, 254). Lange finds in the last clause "a quotation from the synagogical liturgy," together with "a strong Pauline breviloquence," the ellipsis in which he supplies in a manner that must always hold a high place among the curiosities of exegesis. He says, however, that "every exposition is attended with great difficulties." I cannot discover that "God blessed for ever" as a kind of compound name of the Supreme Being occurs in Jewish liturgies or anywhere else.

3. Construction No. 3 is defended particularly by Gess, who maintains in opposition to Schultz and others that θεός here "nicht Christi Machtstellung sondern seine Wesenheit bezeichnet." (*Christi Person und Werk*, II. i. 207.) But on this supposition he admits that the connecting of θεός with δέντι πάντων would present a serious difficulty. "The care with which Paul elsewhere chooses his expressions in such a way that the supreme majesty of the Father shines forth would be given up." Meyer thinks that the punctuation adopted by Morus and Gess makes "die Rede" "noch zerstückter, ja kurzathmiger" than construction No. 5. But this is rather a matter of taste and feeling. The objections which seem to me fatal to all the constructions which refer the name θεός here to Christ have been set forth above, and need not be repeated.

If the view of Westcott and Hort is correct, the construction of this passage adopted by Hippolytus (*Cont. Nöet.* c. 6) agrees with that of Gess in finding three distinct affirmations in the clause beginning with δέντι, in opposition to those who would read it μονοχώλως. But the passage in Hippolytus is obscure. See below, under IV.

4. Under No. 4 I have noticed a possible construction, for which, as regards the essential point, I have referred to Wordsworth's note, in his *N. T. in Greek*, new ed., vol. ii. (1864). He translates, in his note on ver. 5: "He that is existing above all, God Blessed for ever," and remarks: "There is a special emphasis on δέντι. He that *is*; He Who is the *being One*; JEHOVAH. See John i. 18; Rev. i. 4, 8; iv. 8; xi. 17; xvi. 5, compared with Exod. iii. 14, ἐγώ εἰμι, δέντι. And compare on Gal. iii. 20." . . . "He Who *came* of the Jews, according to the *flesh*, is no other than δέντι, the *BEING ONE*, JEHOVAH." . . . We have an assertion of "His *Existence* from Everlasting, in δέντι." He mistranslates the last part of Athanasius, *Orat. cont. Arian.* i. § 24, p. 338, thus: "Paul asserts that He is the splendour of His Father's Glory, and is the Being One, over all, God Blessed for ever." In his note on ver. 4, 5, on the other hand, he translates the present passage: "Christ came, Who is over all, God Blessed for ever."

There is some confusion here. The verb εἰμί may denote simple existence; it may (in contrasts) denote *real* in distinction from *seeming* existence; it may be, and commonly is, used as a mere copula, connecting the subject with the predicate. As applied to the Supreme Being in Exod. iii. 14 (Sept.), Wisd. Sol. xiii. 1, etc., δέντι, "He who Is," describes him as possessing not only real, but independent and hence eternal existence. This latter use is altogether peculiar. To find it where δέντι is used as a *copula*, or to suppose that the two

uses can be combined, is purely fanciful and arbitrary. It was not too fanciful and arbitrary, however, for some of the Christian Fathers, who argue Christ's eternal existence from the use of ὁ or εἰς ὁ (or *qui est*) in such passages as John i. 18; iii. 13 (t. r.); vi. 46; Rom. ix. 5; Heb. i. 3. So Athanasius, as above; Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* c. 5; Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Eunom.* lib. x., Opp. (1638) ii. 680–82; Pseudo-Basil, *Adv. Eunom.* iv. 2, Opp. i. 282 (399); Chrysostom, Opp. i. 476 f., viii. 87, ed. Montf.; Hilary, *De Trin.* xii. 24. So Proclus of Constantinople, *Ep. ad Armen.* de *Fide* c. 14, quoting Rom. ix. 5, says: εἶπεν αὐτὸν ὅντα, ἵνα ἀναρχῶν βροῦταισι; “he spoke of him as *being*, that he might declare in thunder his existence without beginning.” (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxv. 872c.)

5. The construction, “from whom is the Messiah as to the flesh, he who is over all: God be blessed for ever!”, has found favor with some eminent scholars (see below under IV.), and deserves consideration. If adopted, I think we should understand εἰς ἐπὶ πάντων not as meaning “he who is superior to all the patriarchs” (Justi and others), which is tame, and would hardly be expressed in this way; nor “he who is over all things,” which, without qualification, seems too absolute for Paul; but rather, “who is Lord of *all* (Jews and Gentiles alike), comp. Acts x. 36; Rom. x. 12; xi. 32; who, though he sprang from the Jews, is yet, as the Messiah, the ruler of a kingdom which embraces all men. (See Wetstein's note, near the end.) The natural contrast suggested by the mention of Christ's relation to the Jews *κατὰ σάρκα*, may justify us in assuming this reference of πάντων, which also accords with the central thought of the Epistle. The doxology, however, seems exceedingly abrupt and curt; and we should expect εἰς θεός instead of θεός as the subject of the sentence, though in a few cases the word stands in the nominative without the article. Grimm compares θεός μάρτυς, 1 Thess. ii. 5, with μάρτυς εἰς θεός, Rom. i. 9; also 2 Cor. v. 19; Gal. ii. 6; vi. 7; Luke xx. 38 (?). We should also rather expect εὐλογητός to stand first in the doxology; but the position of words in Greek is so largely subjective, depending on the feeling of the writer, that we cannot urge this objection very strongly. The thought, so frequent in Paul, of God as the *source*, in contrast with, or rather in distinction from, Christ as the *medium* of the Messianic blessings, may have given the word θεός prominence. (See above, p. 108 f., in regard to the position of the subject in contrasts.) Gess accordingly dismisses the objection founded on the position of εὐλογητός, remarking, “die Voranstellung von θεός hätte durch den Gegensatz gegen Christum ein zureichendes Motiv” (*ubi*

*supra*, p. 206). Still, on the whole, construction No. 7 seems to me much easier and more natural.

6. The construction numbered 6 was, I believe, first proposed by Professor Andrews Norton,<sup>9</sup> in his review of Prof. Stuart's *Letters to Dr. Channing*. This was published in the *Christian Disciple* (Boston) for 1819, new series, vol. i. p. 370 ff.; on Rom. ix. 5 see p. 418 ff. The passage is discussed more fully in his *Statement of Reasons, &c.* Cambridge and Boston, 1833, p. 147 ff.; new ed. (ster. 1856), p. 203 ff. 470 ff., in which some notes were added by the writer of the present essay. There, after giving as the literal rendering, "He who was over all was God, blessed for ever," Mr. Norton remarks: "'He who was over all,' that is, over all which has just been mentioned by the Apostle." . . . "Among the privileges and distinctions of the Jews, it could not be forgotten by the Apostle, that God had presided over all their concerns in a particular manner."

There is no grammatical objection to this construction of the passage. (See above, p. 99, 1st paragr.) Mr. Norton, in translating ver. 4 and 5, uses the *past* tense in supplying the ellipsis of the substantive verb. This is done by other translators, e. g. Conybear and Howson. It may be questioned, however, whether this is fully justified here. Canon Kennedy uses the present tense, but seems to take the same general view of the bearing of the passage as Mr. Norton. See his *Occasional Sermons*, pp. 64, 65, and *Ely Lectures*, pp. 88, 89.

As regards this view of the passage, I will only say here, that the thought presented in Mr. Norton's translation did not need to be expressed, as it is fully implied in the nature of the privileges and distinctions enumerated. (See above, p. 94.) Taking Professor Kennedy's rendering, I doubt whether the Apostle would have used this language in respect to the relation existing between God and the Jewish people at the time when he was writing. The Jews gloried in God as their God in a special sense (Rom. ii. 17); but in Paul's view it was *Christians*, now, who rightfully gloried in God through our Lord Jesus Christ (Rom. v. 11; comp. iii. 29).

7. I add a single remark, which might more properly have been made before. I have rendered ὁ χριστός here not "Christ," as mere proper name, but "the Messiah." Not only the use of the article, but the context, seems to me to require this. Westcott and Hort observe in regard to the word χριστός: "We doubt whether the appellative force, with its various associations and implications, is ever entirely lost in the New Testament, and are convinced that the number of passages is small in which Messiahship, of course in th

enlarged apostolic sense, is not the principal intention of the word." (*The N. T. in Greek*, vol. ii., *Introd.*, p. 317.)

IV. We will now take notice of some points connected with the history of the interpretation of Rom. ix. 5. The fullest account of this is perhaps that given by Schultz in the article already repeatedly referred to; but he is neither very thorough nor very accurate.

The application of the passage by the Christian Fathers will naturally come first under consideration.

The fact that the great majority of the Fathers whose writings have come down to us understood the last part of the verse to relate to Christ has been regarded by many as a very weighty argument in favor of that construction. I have before had occasion to consider the value of this argument in connection with another passage. (See above, p. 8.) The remarks there made apply equally to the present case. The fact that the Fathers in quoting a passage grammatically ambiguous have given it a construction which suited their theology, does not help us much in determining the true construction. We must remember also the looser use of the term *θεός* which prevailed in the latter part of the second century and later. (See above, p. 120 f.) Those in the second and third centuries who held strongly the doctrine of the inferiority of the Son, and the Arians in the fourth, like the Socinians at a later period, did not hesitate to apply the name "God" to Christ, and would find little difficulty in a construction of the passage which involved this. They might hesitate about the expression "God over all;" but, as we have seen, though natural, it is not necessary to connect the *ἐπὶ πάντων* with *θεός*.

The specimen of patristic exegesis in the construction given to Cor. iv. 4, where so many of the Fathers make the genitive *τοῦ αἰώνος* depend not on *ὁ θεός*, but *τῶν ἀπίστων* (see above, p. 8), will be sufficient for most persons who wish to form an estimate of their authority in a case like the present. I will only ask further, taking the first examples that occur to me, how much weight is to be attributed to the judgment of Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Isidore of Pelusium, Gennadius, Theodorus Monachus, Joannes Damascenus (?), Photius, Ecumenius (or what passes under his name), and Theophylact, when, in their zeal for the freedom of the will, they explain *πρόθεσις* in Rom. viii. 28 (*τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς*), not as denoting the Divine purpose, but the purpose or choice of the subjects of the call? (Cyril of Alexandria gives the words both meanings at the same time.) What is the value of the opinion of Chrysostom, Joannes Damascenus, Ecumenius, and Theophylact

that διὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ in Rom. xvi. 27 is to be construed with πίστιν in ver. 25? Shall we accept the exegesis of Chrysostom and Theophylact when they tell us that in the injunction of Christ in Matt. v. 39 not to resist τῷ πονηρῷ, τῷ πονηρῷ means the devil?

Dean Burgon, in his article on "New Testament Revision" in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1882, has given perhaps the fullest enumeration yet presented of Christian writers who have referred the δῶν x. τ. λ. in Rom. ix. 5 to Christ. He counts up "55 illustrious names," 40 of Greek writers from Irenæus in the latter part of the second century to John of Damascus in the eighth, and 15 of Latin writers, from Tertullian at the beginning of the third century to Facundus in the sixth, "who all see in Rom. ix. 5 a glorious assertion of the eternal Godhead of CHRIST." An examination of his list will show that it needs some sifting. Most of the Latin writers whom he mentions, as Augustine, knew little or nothing of Greek, and their authority cannot be very weighty in determining the construction of an ambiguous Greek sentence. Of his illustrious names 6 are unfortunately unknown, being writers, "of whom," as Mr. Burgon mildly puts it, "3 have been mistaken for Athanasius, and 3 for Chrysostom." Another is the illustrious forger of the Answers to Ten Questions of Paul of Samosata, fathered upon Dionysius of Alexandria, "certainly spurious," according to Cardinal Newman and the best scholars generally, and marked as pseudonymous by Mr. Burgon himself. Cæsarius should also have been cited as Pseudo-Cæsarius. Among the other illustrious names we find "6 of the Bishops at the Council of Antioch, A. D. 269." On looking at the names as they appear in Routh's *Rell. Sacrae*, ed. alt. (1846), iii. 289, I regret my inability to recall the deeds or the occasion that made them "illustrious," unless it is the fact that, as members of that Council, about half a century before the Council of Nicaea, they condemned the use of the term ὁμοούσιος, "consubstantial," which was established by the latter as the test and watchword of orthodoxy.

Next to the six Bishops and "ps.-Dionysius Alex." in Mr. Burgon's list of the illustrious Fathers "who see in Rom. ix. 5 a glorious assertion of the eternal Godhead of Christ," we find "Constitutio App.," that is, the Apostolical Constitutions, with a reference to "vii c. 26." He does not quote the passage. It reads as follows:—"Some of the heretics imagine the Christ [so Lagarde; or "the Lord, Cotelier and Ueltzen] to be a mere man . . . ; but others among them suppose that Jesus himself is the God over all, glorifying himself as his own Father, supposing him to be Son and Paraclete; than which doctrines what can be more abominable?" Compare Constitutio

Apost. iii. 17:—"The Father is the God over all, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός; Christ is the only-begotten God, the beloved Son, the Lord of glory." See also vi. 18.

One is surprised, after this, to find that Mr. Burgon did not cite for the same purpose Pseudo-Ignatius *ad Tars.* cc. 2, 5, and *ad Philip.* c. 7, where it is denied emphatically that Christ is ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός; and also Origen, *Cont. Cels.* viii. 14, who says:—"Grant that there are some among the multitude of believers, with their differences of opinion, who rashly suppose that the Saviour is the Most High God over all; yet certainly we do not, for we believe him when he said, *The Father who sent me is greater than I.*" The very strong language which Origen uses in many other places respecting the inferiority of the Son, renders it unlikely that he applied the last part of this verse to Christ. See, e. g. *Cont. Cels.* viii. 15; *De Principiis* i. 3. § 5; *In Ioann.* tom. ii. cc. 2, 3, 6; vi. 23; xiii. 25. Rufinus's Latin version of Origen's Comm. on Romans, which is the only authority for ascribing to Origen the common interpretation of this passage, is no authority at all. He, according to his own account of his work, had so transformed it by omissions, additions, and alterations, that his friends thought he ought to claim it as his own.\* It was in accordance with his professed principles to omit or alter in the works which he translated whatever he regarded as dangerous, particularly whatever did not conform to his standard of orthodoxy. His falsification of other writings of Origen is notorious. Westcott and Hort remark that in the Rufino-Originian commentary on this verse "there is not a trace of Originian language, and this is one of the places in which Rufinus would not fail to indulge his habit of altering an interpretation which he disapproved on doctrinal grounds." They also remark, "it is difficult to impute Origin's silence to accident in the many places in which quotation would have been natural had he followed the common interpretation."

Origen should therefore be henceforth excluded from the list of Fathers cited in support of the common punctuation. It is even "probable," as Westcott and Hort maintain, though "not certain," that he and Eusebius gave the passage a different construction.

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\*See his *Peroratio* at the end of the Epistle; Origenis *Opp.* iv. 688 f., ed. Delarue. Matthaei remarks: "Rufini interpretatio, quæ parum fidei habet, in epistola ad Romanos, quod quilibet ipse intelligit, non tam pro Originis opere, quam pro compendio Rufini haberi debet, quod haud dubie alia omisit, alia, sicut in ceteris libris, invito Origene admisit."—*Pauli Epp. ad Thess.*, etc. (Rigae, 1785), Praefatio, sig. b 2. See more fully to the same purpose Redepenning's *Origenes*, ii. 189 ff., who speaks of his "Ausscheidung ganzer Stücke," and "Umgestaltung des Heterodoxen in der Trinitätslehre."

As regards Eusebius, the presumption is perhaps even stronger than in the case of Origen. He has nowhere quoted the passage; but in very numerous places in his writings he uses ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός as a title exclusively belonging to the Father, and insists upon this against the Sabellians.\* I admit that these considerations are not decisive; he and Origen may have given the passage an interpretation similar to that of Hippolytus; but if they understood it to relate to Christ it is certainly strange that they have nowhere quoted it in their numerous writings.

The assumption that Irenæus referred the last part of this verse to Christ must be regarded as doubtful. The only place where he has quoted it is *Haer.* iii. 16. (al. 18.) § 3, where his text is preserved only in the old Latin version, which of course cannot determine the construction which Irenæus put upon the Greek. He does not quote it to prove that Christ is θεός; the Gnostics gave the name θεός to their Aéons, and also to the Demiurgus; but to prove the unity of the *Christ* with the man Jesus, in opposition to the Gnostics who maintained that the Aeon Christ did not descend upon Jesus till his baptism. He had just before (§ 2) quoted Matt. i. 18 for this purpose (reading τὸν δὲ χριστὸν); he now quotes Rom. i. 3, 4; ix. 5; and Gal. iv. 4, 5, for the same purpose. His argument rests on the ἐξ ὃν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, and not on the last part of the verse, on which he makes no remark. Throughout his work against Heresies, and very often, Irenæus uses the title "the God over all" as the exclusive designation of the Father.†

The passage in which Hippolytus quotes Rom. 5 (*Cont. Noēd.* c. 6) has already been noticed. (See above, pp. 126, 130.). The Noetians and Patripassians, according to him, quoted the text to prove the identity of Christ with the Father. (*Ibid.* cc. 2, 3.) He complains that they treat the words μονοχώλως (or μονόχωλα); comp. Epiph. *Haer.* lvii. 2. Westcott and Hort understand this to mean

\* See, for example, *De Eccl. Theol.* i. 3, 7, 8, 11, 20; ii. 1, 4, 5 (pp. 62 c, 65 a, 66 c, 70 d, 93 c, 104 a, 107 c d), and a multitude of other places, some of which are quoted in Wetstein's note. The apparent exception, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 11, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν χριστὸν ἐπιβομβένος (ed. Vales.), is a false reading: Burton, Schwegler, Læmmer and Dindorf omit χριστὸν on the authority of important MSS.; on the other hand Heinichen in his recent edition (1868) omits ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν, and reads τὸν χριστὸν simply.

† Semler, *Ep. ad Griesbachium*, 1770, p. 77 ff.; *Antwort* etc. 1770, p. 45), and Whitby (*Disq. modestæ*, p. 125 f.) take the above view of this passage of Irenæus. For the use of the designation "God over all," see Iren. *Haer.* ii. 5. § 4; 6. (al. 5.) §§ 2, 3; 11. (al. 12.) § 1 bis; 13. (al. 18.) § 8; 24. (al. 41.) § 2; 28. (al. 49.) § 8; iii. 8. § 3; iv. 5. (al. 10.) § 1; v. 18. § 1, and many other passages.

that they read all the words from  $\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\sigma$  to  $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha\zeta$  "as a single clause." Semler once took nearly the same view (*Hist. Einl. zu S. J. Baumgarten's Unters. theolog. Streitigkeiten*, 1762, i. 217, n. 205), but was afterwards doubtful about it (*ibid.* p. 236, n. 235). Fabricius in his note on the passage, and Salmond in his translation of Hippolytus in the *Ante-Nicene Christ. Library* ix. 53, give a very different explanation. To discuss the matter here would require too much space, but it seemed well to mention it. Possibly in *Cont. Noët.* c. 6  $\tau\iota\lambda\mu\gamma\gamma\tau\acute{o}\zeta$  is misplaced through the mistake of a scribe, and should stand before  $\epsilon\iota\zeta\tau\omega\zeta\alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha\zeta$ .

Dean Burgon refers also to "Phil. 339," that is to the *Philosophumena* or *Ref. omn. Haer.* x. 34, *ad fin.* But  $\delta\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omega\theta\omega\zeta$  there should not, I think, be alleged as a quotation of Rom. ix. 5 applied to Christ. Bunsen's easy emendation of the passage (*Anal. Ante-Nic.* i. 392; comp. his *Hippolytus*, 2d ed., i. 413) seems to me the true reading, and is supported by x. 33 *ad init.* (p. 334), where  $\nu\delta\omega\zeta\mu\omega\zeta\kappa\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omega\theta\omega\zeta$  is distinguished from the Logos. Hippolytus could hardly have called Christ "*the God over all.*"

I note in passing that Tischendorf cites incorrectly for the reference of the  $\delta\omega\zeta$  &c. to Christ "Meth. conviv 805 (Gall 3)." The passage referred to is not from the *Convivium*, but from the discourse of the Pseudo-Methodius *De Simeone et Anna*, c. 1 *ad fin.*, where we have the mere expression  $\tau\iota\zeta\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\chi\tau\omega\delta\iota\zeta\gamma\zeta\tau\omega\delta\pi\alpha\tau\omega\theta\omega\iota\sigma\omega\chi\iota\alpha\iota\sigma\omega$ . This is also one of Dean Burgon's authorities; but, as the writer explains himself (c. 2 *ad fin.*), he seems to mean by "the glory of the God over all" not the glory of the Son considered by himself, but the glory of the whole Trinity. There is no quotation of Rom. ix. 5 here.

The passage of Amphilius (Gallandi vi. 409, or Migne xxxix. 101) which Tischendorf adduces, with a *videtur*, as a reference of Rom. ix. 5 to the Father, seems analogous to the above, and hardly proves anything on one side or the other.

In the quotation of Rom. ix. 5 in the Antiochene Epistle to Paul of Samosata (see above, p. 134) it is probable that the six Bishops made a slight pause at  $\pi\alpha\tau\omega\omega$ . The subordination of the Son is very strongly expressed in the Epistle. Among other things it is said, "To think that the God of the universe is called a messenger ( $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\zeta$ ) is impious; but the Son is the messenger of the Father, being himself Lord and God." (Routh, *ut supra*, p. 294.)

The Emperor Julian has already been referred to. (See above, p. 98, note.) He was as good a judge of the construction of a Greek sentence as Cyril of Alexandria, or any other of the Fathers, and

quite as likely to interpret impartially. Well acquainted with writings of the Christians, he could hardly have overlooked passage so frequently quoted in the controversies on the nature of Christ Rom. ix. 5 and Tit. ii. 13. But he did not find the title θεοῦ γὰρ to Christ in these or any other places (e. g., 1 Tim. iii. 16) in writings of Paul.

Among the orthodox Greek Fathers, Diodorus (of Antioch Tarsus) and Photius appear to have understood the ὁ ἦν, &c., to God. The comment of Diodorus on this passage is preserved the important Catena on the Epistle to the Romans published Cramer from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (Cramer's *Catena in Novum Testamentum*, vol. iv. Oxon. 1844). The essential part of it reads:—*καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς, τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. ἐξ αὐτῶν, φησίν, ὁ χριστός. Θεὸς οὐδὲ μόνων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ἐπὶ πάντων ἔστι θεός.* (p. 162.) It appears to mean, “From them, he says, is the Messiah. But belongs not to them alone, but is God over all men alike.” Me Tholuck, Philippi, and Schultz understand it as relating to Father. I do not perceive that this reference is affected by the that Theodore of Mopsuestia, a pupil of Diodorus, who has borrowed much of the language of this comment, gives the last part a different turn:—*καὶ τὸ δῆμον μέγιστον, ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁς θεός οὐδὲ μόνον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ πάντων.* (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 1 833.) Had it been the purpose of Diodorus to express this meaning he would probably have inserted ἔστιν after θεός δέ, or have written οὐδὲς ἔστιν. The omission of the article before θεός creates no difficulty in taking θεός as the subject of the sentence. It is often omitted in such a case by these later Greek writers.\*

Diodorus, it will be remembered, was the founder of a comparatively rational, grammatico-historical and logical school of interpretation, in opposition to the arbitrary exegesis of Scripture which had prevailed among the Fathers.

The passage in Photius (*Cont. Manich.* iii. 14) appears to be unequivocal:—“He cries with a loud voice,—whose are the covenants, and the laws (αἱ νομοθεσίαι), and the promises, and the holy services (αἱ λατρεῖαι); and showing most clearly whence these things are, and on whose providence they have depended [he adds], ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός εἰλιγητός εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας. Αμήν.” “So the laws and the holy services and the promises, in the observance of which the fathers pleased God,

\*See, for example, Theodore of Mopsuestia on Rom. ii. 15; viii. 28; ix. 10, 14 *bis*, 22–24, 25; xi. 2. (Migne, lxvi. coll. 789<sup>b</sup>, 832<sup>a</sup>, 833<sup>d</sup>, 836<sup>c</sup>, 840<sup>b</sup>, 841<sup>c</sup>, 841<sup>d</sup>, 852<sup>a</sup>.) See also Cramer, p. 11, l. 30; 15, l. 15; 27, l. 24; 54, l. 22, etc.

and from whom as to his humanity sprang the Messiah, are from the God over all, τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ." (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* cii. 157.)

Schultz, in the essay so often referred to (p. 480, note 2), says that *Theodulus in loc.* seems to refer the last part of our verse to God. He misapprehends the meaning of the passage in *Theodulus*, and does not observe that it is taken from *Cœcumenius*.\* The *Enarratio in Ep. ad Romanos* which, in a Latin translation, passes under the name of *Theodulus*, does not belong to the presbyter or bishop in Cœle-Syria of that name, who died A. D. 492, but is a very late *Catena*. (See *Cave*.)

A few words now respecting the Latin Fathers who have quoted Rom. ix. 5.

*Tertullian* is the first. He quotes it once as below, and once (*Prax. c. 15*) with *super omnia* before *deus*.† *Cyprian* simply cites the passage to prove that Christ is *deus* (*qui est super omnia deus benedictus in seculo*), without remark. (*Testim. ii. 6.*) *Novatian* has already been spoken of. (See above, p. 126.)

I know of no trace of the reference of the last part of the verse to God among the Latin writers, except what may be implied in the language of the *Pseudo-Ambrosius* (*Ambrosiaster*), commonly identified with *Hilary the deacon*, in his commentary on the Epistle. He remarks:—"Si quis autem non putat de Christo dictum, *qui est Deus*, det personam de qua dictum est. De patre enim Deo hoc loco mentio facta non est." This is repeated in the commentary of *Rabanus Maurus* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxi. col. 1482). The same in substance appears in the *Quaest. Vel. et Nov. Test.*, qu. 91, formerly ascribed to *Augustine*, and printed in the Benedictine edition of his

\*See *Biblioth. max. vel. Patrum*, viii. 605, or the *Monumenta S. Patrum Orthodoxographa* of *Grynæus*, ii. 1163.

†After remarking that he never speaks of Gods or Lords, but following the Apostle, when the Father and Son are to be named together, calls the Father God, and Jesus Christ Lord, he says:—"Solum autem Christum potero deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus. *Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, deus super omnia benedictus in seculo omne*. Nam et radium solis seorsum solem vocabo; solem antem nominans, cuius est radius, non statim et radium solem appellabo." (*Prax. c. 13.* ed. Oehler.) This accords with his language elsewhere:—"Protulit deus sermonem . . . sicut radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radius." (*Prax. c. 8.*) "Cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio . . . nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur." (*Apologet. c. 21.*) "Pater tota substantia est; filius vero derivatio totius et portio; sicut ipse profitetur, *Quia pater maior me est.*" (*Prax. c. 9.*) "Sermo deus, quia ex deo . . . Quodsi deus dei tanquam substantiva res, non erit ipse deus [*αὐτός*], sed hactenus deus, qua ex ipsis substantia, ut portio aliqua totius." (*Prax. c. 26.*)

works, *Opp.* III. ii. 2915, ed. Bened. alt.: "Sed forte ad Patris personam pertinere dicatur. Sed hoc loco nulla est paterni nominis mentio. Ideoque si de Christo dictum negatur, persona cui competit detur."—This work is generally ascribed to the Hilary mentioned above.—The writer seems to have heard of those who interpreted the passage of God; and relying apparently upon the Latin version, he meets their interpretation of the Greek with a very unintelligent objection.

The Greek Fathers in Mr. Burgon's list who have not already been mentioned are the following:—Athanasius, Basil, Didymus, **Gregory** of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Theodorus Mops., Eustathius, Eulogius. Theophilus Alex., Nestorius, Theodosius of Ancyra, Chrysostom, Theodore, Amphilochius, Gelasius Cyz., Anastasius Ant., Leontius Byz., Maximus. Of the Latins, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Victorinus, the Breviarium, Marius Mercator, Cassian, Alcimus Avit., Fulgentius, Ferrandus.

"Against such a torrent of Patristic testimony," says Mr. Burgon, "it will not surely be pretended that the Socinian interpretation, to which our Revisionists give such prominence, can stand."

But to what does it all amount? Simply to the fact that a mass of writers, to the judgment of most of whom an intelligent scholar would attach very little weight in any question of exegesis, have followed that construction of an ambiguous passage which suited their theological opinions. Out of the whole list, the two, I suppose, who would be most generally selected as distinguished from the rest for sobriety and good sense in interpretation, are Chrysostom and Theodore. Yet both of them adopted that excessively unnatural if not impossible construction of 2 Cor. iv. 4 of which I have spoken above. (See p. 8, also p. 133 f.)

The same general considerations apply to the ancient versions, some of which are ambiguous here, as Westcott and Hort remark, though the translators probably intended to have the last part of the verse understood of Christ.

(I now observe, too late for correction in the printed sheet, that, in citing the opinion of the eminent scholars just named respecting the construction given to Rom. ix. 5 by Origen and Eusebius, I have represented them as regarding it as "probable though not certain" that these Fathers understood the last clause as relating to God. Their note does imply that they are inclined to this view; but I now suppose that the words quoted were intended to apply to the Apostolic Constitutions and the Pseudo-Ignatius. Westcott and Hort also refer, for the application of the phrase ὁ επὶ πάντων θεός, to the Father

in distinction from Christ, to 'Melito p. 413 Otto,' i. e. to his *Apol.* fragm. 2; comp. Routh, i. 118 ed. alt.

We will now dismiss the Fathers, and notice some facts belonging to the more recent history of the interpretation of our passage.\* I notice the different constructions in the order in which they are numbered above, pp. 89, 90.

The three most important recent discussions of the passage outside of the commentaries, before that of Dr. Dwight, are by Dr. Hermann Schultz, in the *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theol.*, 1868, pp. 462-506, who defends constructions Nos. 1-3, with a slight preference for No. 1 (p. 483); Dr. C. L. Wilibald Grimm, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1869, pp. 311-322, who adopts No. 5; and Pastor Ernst Harmsen, *ibid.* 1872, pp. 510-521, who adopts No. 7. There is a brief discussion of the passage by Dr. G. Vance Smith, Canon Farrar, and Dr. Sanday, in *The Expositor* for May, 1879, ix. 397-405, and Sept., 1879, x. 232-238. There was a more extended debate in *The Independent* (New York) for Aug. 12, Oct. 14, 21, 28, and Nov. 18, 1858, in which Dr. John Proudfit (anonymously), the Rev. Joseph P. Thompson (the editor), Dr. Z. S. Barstow, and E. A. took part.

1-3. It would be idle to give a list of the supporters of Nos. 1-3, who refer the clause in question to Christ. Among the commentators, perhaps the more eminent and best known are Calvin, Beza, Hammond, Le Clerc, Limborch, Bengel, Michaelis, Koppe, Flatt, Tholuck, Olshausen, Stuart, Hodge, Philippi, Lange (with Schaff and Riddle), Hofmann, Weiss, Godet, Alford, Vaughan, Sanday (very doubtfully), Gifford. That the Roman Catholic commentators, as Estius, Klee, Stengel, Reithmayr, Maier, Beelen, Bisping (not very positively), Jatho, Klofutar (1880), should adopt this explanation, is almost a matter of course. This construction of the verse is accepted by all the *Fratres Poloni*, who did not hesitate to give the name God to Christ, and to worship him, recognizing of course the supremacy of the Father, to whom they applied the name God in a higher sense;

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\*Literature.—The older literature is given by Wolf (*Curae*) and Lilienthal (*Biblischer Archivarius*, 1745). For the more recent, see Danz, and especially Schultz in the article so often referred to; also among the commentators, Meyer and Van Hengel. E. F. C. Oertel (*Christologie*, Hamb. 1792, p. 216 ff.) gives a brief account of the controversy excited by Semler (1769-71); see also the works named by Schultz, especially Hirt's *Orient. u. exeg. Bibliothek*, 1772, 1773. The name Bremer (Schultz, p. 462, note 2) is a misprint for Benner;

so Socinus,\* *Opp.* ii. 581, 582, 600 a; cf. ii. 377 f.; John Crell, in ~~the~~ *Opp.* i. 147; also *Respons. ad Grotium*, *Opp.* iv. 230 b; *De Uno Deo Patre*, p. 23 a; *De Deo ejusque Attrib.*, p. 35 b; *Eth. Christ.*, p. 348 2; Schlichting (*Lat. Slichtingius*), *Comm. post.* i. 254; Wolzogen, *Opp.* i. 710, 712; ii. 301; iii. 5; Sam. Przypcovius or Przpkowsky in *loc.* p. 51. So also the Racovian Catechism, §§ 159, 160.

With a singular disregard of these historical facts, Dean Burgo~~n~~ holds up his hands in holy horror at the marginal renderings of ~~the~~ Revised New Testament at Rom. ix. 5, ascribed to "some modern Interpreters," and stigmatizes them as "*the Socinian gloss*!" (*Quar. Rev.*, Jan., 1882, p. 54.) The Italics are his. He seems throughout his article to imagine himself to be writing for readers who will take an opprobrious epithet for an argument. The real "*Socinia*" gloss is adopted, and the arguments for it are repeated, as we have seen, by the latest prominent defender of the construction which M~~r~~-Burgo~~n~~ himself maintains; among English commentators compare Macknight on the passage.

A slight qualification, or supplement, of the above statement is however, required. Schlichting, though he does not object to the common construction, misled by Erasmus, is inclined to suspect the genuineness of the word *θεοῦ*. It is important in reference to the history of the interpretation of this passage, to observe that the statement of Erasmus in regard to the omission of this word in the quotations by some of the Fathers, led many astray, among others Grotius, who also incorrectly represents the word God as wanting in the Syriac version. Schoettgen misrepresented the case still worse, saying, by mistake of course, "Hoc verbum quamplurimi Codice quidam etiam ex Patribus, non habent."

Schlichting also suggests, as what "venire alicui in mente posset," the somewhat famous conjecture of *ων* for *εις*, but rejects it. It was taken up afterwards, however, by a man far inferior in judgment, Samuel Crell (not to be confounded with the eminent commentator), in the "*Initium Ev. S. Joannis restitutum*" (1726), published under the pseudonym of L. M. Artemonius. Its superfici-

\* Socinus speaks of the punctuation and construction proposed by Erasmus, a believer in the deity of Christ, which makes the *εις ων*, etc. a doxology to God, the Father, and says:—"Non est ulla causa, cur haec interpretatio, vel potius lectio et interpunctio Erasmi rejici posse videtur; nisi una tantum, quam Adversarii non afferunt; neque enim illa animadverterunt. Ea est, quod, cum simplex nomen Benedictus id significat quod Benedictus sit, semper tere solet anteponi ei, ad quem refertur, perraro autem postponi."

Some of those who are so shocked at what they call "Socinian glosses" might perhaps learn a lesson of candor and fairness from this heretic.

plausibility seems to have fascinated many, among them Whitby (*Last Thoughts*), Jackson of Leicester (*Annot. ad Novat.* p. 341), John Taylor of Norwich, Goadby, Wakefield (*Enquiry*), Bishop Edmund Law (Wakefield's *Memoirs*, i. 447), Belsham (*Epistles of Paul*), John Jones, and David Schulz (so says Baumgarten-Crusius). Even Doddridge and Harwood speak of it as "ingenious," and Olshausen calls it "scharfsinnig." It does not deserve the slightest consideration.

Among the writers on Biblical Theology, Usteri (*Paulin. Lehrbegr.*, 2te Ausg., 1834, p. 324 f.) refers the clause in question to Christ, but strongly expresses his sense of the great difficulties which this involves. He is influenced especially by Rückert (1831), who afterwards changed his mind. Messner (1856, p. 236 f.) regards this reference as probable, though not certain; somewhat more doubtful is C. F. Schmid (2d ed., 1859, p. 540 f., or p. 475 f., Eng. trans.). Dorner in his recent work, *System der christl. Glaubenslehre* (1879), i. 345, only ventures to say that the reference to Christ is "the most natural." Schott, August Hahn, De Wette, Reuss, Ritschl, are sometimes cited as supporting this construction; but later they all went over to the other side. See below, under No. 7.

For the most elaborate defences of the construction we are considering, besides those which have already been mentioned, one may consult Dr. John Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, 5th ed. (1859), vol. ii. pp. 370-377, 401-405; and the commentaries of Flatt (from whom Prof. Stuart has borrowed largely) and Philippi.

4. Construction No. 4 has already been sufficiently noticed. (See above, p. 130.)

5. The construction which puts a colon or a period after πάντων, making the clause beginning with θεοῦ a doxology to God, seems to have been first suggested by ERASMI in the Annotations to his 3d edition of the Greek Testament (1522), repeated in the 4th (1527). In his later writings, and in the note in his last edition (1535), while recognizing the possibility of this construction, he gave the preference to No. 7.\* It was adopted by LOCKE in his posthumous *Paraphrase*, etc. (Lond. 1705, and often):—"and of them, as to his fleshly extraction, Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever, Amen." Locke's construction was preferred by WETSTEIN in the important note on the passage in his Greek Testament, vol. ii. (1752), and was adopted by Prof. L. J. C. JUSTI in Paulus's *Memorabilien*, 1791, St. i. pp. 1-26; treated more fully in his *Vermischte Abhandlungen*, 2te Samml., 1798, pp. 309-346; also by E. F. C.

\* Erasmi *Opp.*, Lugd. Bat. 1703 ff., vol. vi. 610 f.; ix. 1002 f., 1045 f.

OERTEL, *Christologie* (1792), p. 209 f. He has a pretty full discussion of the passage (pp. 195–218). So by G. L. BAUER, *Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, Bd. iv. (1802), pp. 10–14; and by C. F. AMMON, for though in his *Bibl. Theol.*, 2te Ausg. (1801), pp. 220–222, he does not decide between constructions No. 5 and No. 7, he favors the former in his note on the passage in the third edition of Koppe on Romans (1824). J. J. STOLTZ adopts it in the 4th ed. of his *Uebersetzung des N. T.* (1804) and the 3d ed. of his *Erläuterungen* (1808), iii. 170–191. He gives there an interesting extract from Semler's *Hist. u. krit. Sammlungen über die sogenannten Beweisstellen in der Dogmatik*, St. ii. pp. 284–287. So DE WETTE in the text of the 3d ed. of his German translation of the Bible (1839), though he gives constructions Nos. 1 and 7 as alternative renderings; in the note in the 4th and last edition of his commentary on the Epistle (1847), though undecided, he seems on the whole rather inclined to No. 7. This construction (No. 5) is supported also by BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS, a scholar to be spoken of with high respect, in his *Comm.* on the Epistle (Jena, 1844), comp. his *Grundzüge der biol. Theol.* (1828), p. 385 f., and his *Exeg. Schriften zum N. T.*, II. i. (Jena, 1844) p. 266, the latter cited by ERNESTI. So by SCHUMANN in his *Christus* (1852), ii. 545, note; H. FR. TH. L. ERNESTI, *Vom Ursprunge d. Sunde nach paulin. Lehrgehalle*, i. (1855) pp. 197–204; MARCKER (cited by MEYER), whose work I have not seen, and REUSS, *Les Epîtres pauliniennes* (1878), ii. 88.

The best defence of this view, perhaps, is to be found in the article of GRIMM, referred to above.

6. On construction No. 6 see above, p. 132.

7. ERASMUS in his *translation* renders the words of the last part of our verse thus:—“et ii, ex quibus est Christus quantum attinet ad carnem, qui est in omnibus deus laudandus in secula, amen,” which he perhaps intended for an ambiguous rendering, as *et* might be supplied after *laudandus*. His *paraphrase* also seems ambiguous.\* Be this as it may, in the note in his last edition (1535), and in his later writings, he clearly indicates his preference for construction No. 7.†

\* “At Christus sic est homo, ut idem et Deus sit, non huius aut illius gentis peculiaris, sed universorum Deus, et idem cum patre Deus, qui [Christus? pater? or Pater cum Christo?] praesidet omnibus, cuiusque inscrutabili consilio geruntur haec omnia, cui soli . . . debetur laus” &c. One suggestion of Erasmus is that the word “God” in the last clause may denote the whole Trinity.

† See especially his *Apol. adv. monachos quosdam Hispanos* (written in 1528), *Opp. ix.* 1043–47:—“Ego coram Deo profiteor mihi videri *Paulum* hoc sensisse, quod modo significavimus, nec hunc sermonem proprie ad *Christum* pertinere, sed vel ad Patrem, vel ad totam Trinitatem” (col. 1045): comp. *Resp. ad Juvenem Gerontodidascalum* (writ-

**BUKER** (or Butzer) *in loc.* (1536?) as quoted by Wetstein, suggests this construction as an alternative rendering. **CURCELLÆUS** (Courcelles) in his edition of the Greek Testament published in 1658 (also 1675, 85, 99) notes that "Quidam addunt punctum post vocem *αἴρεται*, quia si id quod sequitur cum præcedentibus connecteretur, potius dicendum videatur *οὐς ἐστιν*, vel *δεῖν*, quam *δένεται*.

Others who have adopted or favored this construction are WHISTON, in his *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, vol. iv. (1711), p. 13 ff.; Dr. Samuel CLARKE, in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, Lond. 1712, 3d ed., 1732, p. 85 ff. He gives also as admissible constructions No. 5 and No. 2, but places No. 7 first. He was, as is well known, one of the best classical scholars of his day, as well as one of the ablest metaphysicians and theologians. So John JACKSON of Leicester, in his *Annot. ad Novatianum* (1727), p. 341, though captivated by the specious but worthless conjecture of *δένεται*; WETSTEIN, as an alternative rendering, but rather preferring to place the stop after *πάντων* (see the end of his note); SEMLER, *Paraph. Ep. ad Rom.* (1769), p. 114 ff., and in many other writings; on the literature of the Semler controversy see the references given above, p. 141. Semler was not so well acquainted with the writings of the later, as with those of the earlier Fathers, and in this part of the field of debate his adversaries had the advantage. But he gave a stimulus to a freer and more impartial treatment of the question. ECKERMANN adopted the construction we are now considering in the second edition (1795) of his *Theologisch-Beyträge*, Bd. I. St. iii. pp. 160-162, though in the first edition he had opposed it.

Coming now to the present century, we find this construction adopted by the commentators C. F. BOEHME (Lips. 1806), and H. E. G. PAULUS, *Des Apostels Paulus Lehr-Briefe an die Galater- und Römer-Christen* (Heidelb. 1831), where he translates (p. 102): "Der über alle (Juden und Heiden) seyende Gott sey gepriesen auf (alle) die Zeitalter hinaus"; by Prof. J. F. WINZER of Leipzig in a *Programma* on Rom. ix. 1-5 (Lips. 1832), which I have not seen, but find highly praised; and Karl SCHRADER, *Der Apostel Paulus*, Theil iii. (1833), p. 75, and Theil iv. (1835), p. 355. He translates, "Der über Allem Seiende (der welcher über Allem ist,) Gott, gelobt (sei gelobt) in Ewigkeit!" It is adopted in three commentaries of remarkable independence and ability which appeared in 1834, namely

<sup>ten</sup> 1532), col. 1002:—"ipsa res loquitur, verba Pauli nullum sensum evidentius reddere quam hunc: *Deus, qui est super omnia, sit benedictus in secula. Cui precatio accinitur, Amen.*" See also above, under No. 5.

those of Prof. J. G. REICHE of Göttingen, whose note (Theil ii. p. 268-278) is one of the fullest and best discussions of the passage, though he makes some mistakes about the Fathers; Prof. Eduard KOELLNER of Göttingen, and Dr. Conrad GLÖCKLER, whom Prof. Stuart calls "a Nicenian" as regards his theological position. In the 4th edition of K. G. BRETSCHNEIDER's *Handbuch der Dogmatik* (1833-8) i. 604 f., he adopts our construction, though in the earlier editions this work he had referred the θεόν to Christ. He translates: "Lieber Herrüber alles, Gott, sei gepriesen in Ewigkeit." In 1839, Prof. J. RÜCKERT of Jena, in the 2d edition of his elaborate and valuable commentary (vol. ii. pp. 13-17) discusses the passage fully, and though in the first edition (1831) he had strenuously contended for the reference of the last part of the verse to Christ, now pronounces the construction which makes it a doxology to God "far more probable." This year is also signalized in the history of the interpretation of our passage by the publication of vol. ii. of the commentary of Prof. C. F. A. FRITZSCHE of Rostock, who discusses the passage in a masterly manner (pp. 260-275). His translation has been given above, p. 106. In the 4th edition of his Greek Testament with a Latin version, published in 1839, Prof. H. A. SCHOTT of Jena adopted the punctuation and construction which make the clause beginning with δέ a doxology to God, though in previous editions he had followed the common construction. In his essay *De Invocatione Jesu Christi Partic.* I. (1843), p. 8, the highly esteemed commentator Dr. Friedrich LÜCKE, Professor at Göttingen, refers the last part of our verse to God. Professor A. L. G. KREHL of Leipzig does the same in his *Der Brief an die Römer ausgelegt u. s. w.* (1845), p. 322, though in an earlier work, *Neutest. Handwörterbuch* (1843) art. *Christus*, p. 114, he had cited Rom. ix. 5 in proof that Christ is called God.

BAUR, who makes the passage a doxology to God, has some valuable remarks upon it in his *Paulus* (1845), p. 624 f., 2te Aufl. (1866-67), ii. 263 f.; comp. his *Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit* (1841), i. 84, note. ZELLER agrees with him (*Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1842, p. 55). So J. F. RÄBIGER, a believer in the divine nature of Christ, in his *De Christologia Paulina contra Baurium Commentatio* (1852), pp. 26-28.

We may notice here the great commentators DE WETTE and MEYER. De Wette, not perfectly satisfied with any view, yet wavers between constructions Nos. 5 and 7; see above under No. 5. In his *Bibl. Dogmatik*, 3te Aufl. (1831), p. 249, and in the 2d ed. of his translation of the N. T., he had taken the name "God" here as a

~~d~~e~~s~~ignation of Christ; but in the 3d ed. of his translation he makes it begin a doxology. MEYER in his *Das N. T. griechisch mit einer neuen Deutschen Uebersetzung* (1829) followed the common construction; but in the first edition of his *Comm.* (1836), and all later eds., he makes the passage a doxology to God. His collaborator, HUTHER, maintains in his note on Tit. ii. 13 that the name θεός is not given to Christ in any of the New Testament Epistles.

In 1855 appeared the first edition of JOWETT's work on four of the Epistles of Paul (2d ed., 1859). He translates: "God, who is over all, is blessed for ever. Amen." So Bp. COLENZO, *St. Paul's Ep. to the Romans, &c.*, Lond., 1861; Amer. ed., New York, 1863.

Prof. J. H. SCHOLTEN of Leyden, in his *Dogmatices Christ. Initia*, ed. 2da, Lugd. Bat. 1858, p. 193 f., adopts our construction. So Athanase COQUEREL, *Christologie* (Paris, 1858), i. 76, note. So the celebrated Dutch commentator, VAN HENGEL, who in tom. ii. of his *Interpretatio* (1859), pp. 343-360, discusses the passage very fully. He mentions some Dutch scholars that agree with him, as VISSERING and SCHEFFER (*Godgel. Bijdragen* 1853 and 1854), whose writings I have not seen. The eminent Danish commentator, Dr. H. N. CLAUSEN, *Pauli Brev til Romerne fortolket* (Copenhagen, 1863), p. 124, translates: "Han som er over Alt, Gud, (eller, "Gud, som er over Alt") være priset i Ewigheit!" (He is the author of the *Hermeneutik*—the Germans spell his name Klausen.) HOLTZMANN in his translation of the Epistle in BUNSEN'S *Bibelwerk* (1864), vol. iv., gives the same construction to the passage; and so Prof. Willibald BREY-SCHLAG of Halle, in his *Christologie des N. T.*, Berl. 1866, p. 209 f.

Prof. R. A. LIPSIUS of Jena, in the *Protestanten-Bibel Neuen Testaments* (1872-73), p. 572, translates:—"Der da ist über Alles, Gott, sei gelobt in Ewigkeit"; VOLKMAR, *Römerbrief* (Zürich, 1875), p. 32:—"Der über Allen seiende Gott sei gelobt in Ewigkeit!" His comment is (p. 97):—"Der Gott, der über allen (Völkern) walitet, sei dafür gepriesen, dass er aus Israel den Heiland (für Alle) hervorgehen liess." The Rev. John H. GODWIN, "Hon. Prof. New Coll., Lond," and Congregational Lecturer, translates, "God who is over all be praised for ever. Amen.," and has a good note. (*Ep. to Rom.*, Lond. 1873.) Prof. Lewis CAMPBELL, the editor of Sophocles, in the *Contemp. Rev.* for Aug., 1876, p. 484, adopts the rendering of Prof. Jowett. The Rev. Joseph Agar BEET, Wesleyan Methodist, in a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* of very marked ability (Lond. 1877, 2d ed., 1881), defends this view in an excellent note (pp. 267-272, 2d ed.). The same construction is followed in Herm. BARTELS'S *Exegel. Uebersetzung des Briefs*, etc. (Dessau, 1878), which

I mention because Prof. WOLDEMAR SCHMIDT of Leipzig in a notice the book (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1879, No. 22), expresses his approval of this. C. HOLSTEN, in an article in the *Jahrbücher f. pr. Theol.*, 1879, p. 683, translates:—"Der über allen Völkern walten Gott (der doch Israels Volk so begnadet hat) sei gepriesen in Ewigkeit!"

Some of the best recent *translations* adopt this construction of the passage; e. g. *Het Nieuwe Testament*, etc. (published by the authority of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church), Amst., 1868:—"Hij, die over alles is, God, zij geprezen tot in eeuwigheid!"—and the versions by Dr. George R. NOYES (Boston, 1869), *Hugues OLTRAMARE* (Genève, 1872), "Que celui qui gouverne toutes choses. Dieu, en soit bénî éternellement!" Carl WEIZSÄCKER, *Das N. T. uebersetzt*, Tübingen, 1875, and Dr. Samuel DAVIDSON, Lond., 1875, 2d ed. 1876.

No one who knew the scholarship and the impartiality of the late Dr. Noyes will wonder that I have cited him here. A dispassionate, judicial spirit in the examination of such questions as the one before us is not the exclusive posession of the Dean of Chichester and of "the Church" in distinction from "the Sects," though there are many noble examples of it in the Church of England.

Among critical *editors* of the Greek Testament who have placed a period after *σάρπα*, making the passage a doxology to God, I may mention HARWOOD (1776), LACHMANN, (1831–50), SCHOTT (4th ed., 1839), TISCHENDORF (1841–73), VON MURALT (1846–48), BUTTMANN (1856–67), Aug. HAHN, assisted by his son G. L. Hahn (1861), KUENEN and COBET (1861), and Westcott and Hort (1881) in their margin, representing the judgment of Dr. HORT.

To these authorities may be added the names of the grammarians WINER and WILKE. See Winer, *Gram.* 7te Aufl., 1867, §§ 61, 3, e., and 64, 2, b., pp. 513, 545, or 551, 586 Thayer, 690, 733 Moulton; and WILKE, *Hermeneutik* (1844), ii. 88.

It is interesting to notice that many scholars who had already in their publications adopted or even strongly contended for the common construction of this passage, afterwards saw reason to change their minds. Such was the case with Eckermann, De Wette, Meyer, Rückert, Bretschneider, Schott, Krehl, Hahn (perhaps both father and son); and it is so with Ritschl, as I am assured by a very intelligent student (the Rev. Alfred Gooding), who took full notes of his exegetical lectures on Romans in the semester of 1879–80. I know of only one instance of a conversion in the opposite direction, that of Dr. G. V. Lechler, who, in the first edition of his *Das apost. u. das*

*nachapost. Zeitaller* (1851). pp. 38, 39, made the last part of the verse a doxology to God, but in the second edition (1857), p. 63 f., applies it to Christ. He expressly admits, however, as regards the two opposing views, that "sprachlich und logisch sind beide gleichberechtigt."

"The awful blindness and obstinacy of Arians and Socinians in their perversions of this passage," says the Scotch commentator Haldane, "more fully manifest the depravity of human nature, and the rooted enmity of the carnal mind against God, than the grossest works of the flesh."\* "The dishonest shifts," says Dean Burgon, "by which unbelievers seek to evacuate the record which they are powerless to refute or deny, are paraded by our Revisionists in the following terms."† (Here Mr. Burgon quotes the margin of the Revised version at Rom. ix. 5, regarding these renderings as "not entitled to notice in the margin of the N. T.," and their admission as "a very grave offence.")

Σὺ τίς εἶ, ὁ χρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰχέτην, ὁ κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν;

In contrast with these utterances, not addressed to the reason of men, and not adapted to promote Christian charity or Christian humility, it is refreshing to read a discussion so calm, so clear, so fair, and so able as that of Professor Dwight.

\* *Exposition of the Ep. to the Romans*, Amer. reprint of the 5th Edinburgh edition, p. 454.

† *The Quarterly Review* for January, 1882, p. 54; see also the same for April, 1882, p. 370.

#### NOTE A.—(See p. 99.)

##### *On the Punctuation of Rom. ix. 5 in Ancient Manuscripts.*

In regard to the punctuation of this passage in ancient manuscripts, though the matter is in itself of little importance, it may be well to correct some current errors, especially as the supposed absence of a point after *σαΐπτα* in the manuscripts has been urged as an objection to the construction which makes the ὁ μὲν οὗτος λέγει a doxology to God. For example, Dr. Gifford, the latest commentator, speaks of the stop after *σαΐπτα* as found simply "in two or three inferior MSS."; while Mr. Burgon, in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1882, says "the oldest codices, besides the whole body of the cursives [the Italics are his],

know nothing about the method of 'some modern Interpreters' [referring to the margin of the Revised Version]; and he remarks in a note, "C alone has a point between ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ πάντων and θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. But this is an entirely different thing from what is noted in the margin." (p. 54.)

The facts of the case do not accord with these statements. In the first place, C, according to Tischendorf's very careful edition of this MS. (Lips. 1843), has no point after πάντων, and there can be little doubt that such a stop exists only in Mr. Burgon's very lively imagination; it does have, on the other hand, as Tischendorf's edition shows, both a point and a space after σάρξ, unquestionably *a prima manu*. The Alexandrian manuscript (A) has also a point after σάρξ, as appears by Woide's edition (1786), by the recent photograph published by the British Museum (1879), and by the express testimony of Dr. Vance Smith and of Dr. Sanday, who says, "The point is clearly marked, and it is evidently by the first hand." (*The Expositor*, Sept., 1879; x. 235.) This fact has been overlooked both by Tischendorf, and by Westcott and Hort. There is, moreover, a point after σάρξ in the Vatican manuscript (B), which, though it does not appear in the Roman edition, is amply attested by Dr. Vance Smith from personal inspection (*The Expositor*, May, 1879, ix. 399, comp. his *The Spirit and the Word of Christ*, Lond., 1874, p. 138), and by others. This point also, from the description of it, seems to be probably by the first hand, though more careful examination and comparison may be required to settle the question.\* The Clermont MS. (D) ends a stichometric line at σάρξ, but

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\* The facts as to the Vatican MS. are these. Tischendorf, who has given the most careful attention to its palaeography, states that "ipsam primam manum passim, in nonnullis libriss haud raro interpunctione, sine ulla dubitatione asseverandum est." (*N. T. Vat.* p. xx.; comp. p. xxi.) The later hand, of the tenth or eleventh century, has but rarely supplied points. (*Ibid.*) The original scribe indicates a pause, sometimes by a small space simply; sometimes by such a space with a point, and sometimes by a point with a very small space between the letters or none at all. Of the latter there are two unquestionable examples by the first hand in Tischendorf's facsimiles, made from parts of the MS. which, having been accidentally repeated, were wholly untouched by the corrector and freshener of the ink, namely, after the word *οφειλημα* in Rom. iv. 4 (cod. p. 1448), where there is no space, and after *κειται* in 2 Cor. iii. 15 (cod. p. 1479), where the space is exceedingly small. Tischendorf was unable to examine carefully the punctuation of the MS. beyond the end of the Gospel of Luke; but he observed that punctuation was much more frequent in the Epistles than in the Gospels. I notice that in the Roman edition there are 12 points on the page (p. 1453) that contains Rom. ix. 5, extending from Rom. viii. 23 (*εχουντες* to *μηπω γαρ* ix. 11, inclusive. There is no extra space after σάρξ, but perhaps that does not diminish the probability that the point is by the first hand. There is no extra space, as we have seen, after *οφειλημα* in Rom. iv. 4; and Tischendorf observes (*Nov. Test. Sin.* p. xix.) that there

this does not determine the construction of what follows. The Sinaitic MS. has only a single point (after οὐτως Rom. ix. 20) in the whole page containing the passage, 4 cols. of 48 lines each, from Rom. viii. 38 οὐτε εἰσερα to αγνοουσες x. 3, inclusive. It is therefore neutral. The same is true for a different reason of F and G, in which the numerous points are distributed in the most arbitrary manner, so that, although they each have a point after σάρξ, it counts for nothing. We have no report of K, collated by Matthaei, who does not record the punctuation of MSS. L, the remaining uncial, has a point after σάρξ according to Tischendorf. There is no break between οὐτως and αιτη in A B C.

As to the cursive MSS., their punctuation has been very rarely noted by collators. The sweeping statement of Mr. Burgon is made entirely at random. But a point after σάρξ is found in at least six cursives, viz. N. 5 (collated by Scholz), 47 (by Griesbach), 71, 77, 80, and 89 (by Birch); also in the beautiful Greek Praxapostolos or Lectionary of the twelfth century belonging to the Library of Harvard College (pp. 150, 151), and the fine Lectionary in the Astor Library (p. 117), assigned to the eleventh century (?), formerly in the possession of the Duke of Sussex. In the Harvard Lectionary there is also a point after θεός, which is not the case in the Astor Library manuscript.\* A point has also been noted after θεός in 17 (Griesb.), and after πάτερ in 71 (Birch).

Incorrect statements are often made in regard to the extreme rarity of punctuation in our oldest N. T. MSS. I therefore note the fact, that on the page of the Alexandrian MS. (A) which contains our passage, extending from Rom. viii. 21 ἀλλα δια τὸν υποταξιῶν to προθεσίς τὸν θυσίας . . . ix. 11, there are 64 points in Woide's edition; in the Ephrem MS. (C) from Rom. viii. 27 ο δε εμεινων to αιτη ix. 5 in Tischendorf's edition there are 45 points; for B see above. In the three pages of Paul's Epistles in B published by Tischendorf line for line in his

are points with no space in the Sinaitic MS. after the words παντηρια· κατα· πλευρεζια· Rom. i. 29. On the page of B (1453) which contains Rom. ix. 5 there is no extra space in the printed edition with the point after απειδεχομεθα, col. 1, l. 12, or after τεχνη, col. 3, l. 28. It will be observed that all the words which have been mentioned end with the letter A, which on account of its peculiar form in the uncial MSS. did not need any extra space for the insertion of a point after it at the top of the line, the shape of the letter necessarily leaving a space there. But the absence of extra space after the letter would render it less likely that the late corrector would insert a point after it.

It is expressly stated by a gentleman who recently examined the MS., and whose letter from Rome I have been permitted to see, that the point after σάρξ "is of lighter color than the adjoining letters," and that it was certainly much fainter than a point in the space after γιτων on the same page, "which was as black as the touched letters."

\*For a careful copy of that part of the Astor Library manuscript which contains Rom. ix. 4, 5, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. S. M. Jackson.

*Appendix codd. celeb. Sin. Vat. Alex.* (1867), p. 1445 (Rom. i. 1-26) ~~as~~  
 15 points which he regards as a *prima manu*; p. 1460 (Rom. xv. 2-~~17~~  
 xvi. 17) has 35; p. 1506 (Col. iv. 8-1 Thess. i. 8, with more than half  
 column blank, has 17. These pages, however, were selected partly  
 account of their exceptional frequency of punctuation.

The truth is, that this whole matter of punctuation in the ancient MSS. is of exceedingly small importance, which might be shown more fully, had not this paper already extended to an excessive length. In the first place, we cannot infer with confidence the construction given to the passage by the punctuator, the distribution of points even in the oldest MSS. is so abnormal; in the second place, if we could, to how much would his authority amount?

All that I have argued from the point after *σάρπα* in A B C L, &c., ~~is~~ is that a pause after that word was felt by ancient scribes to be natural.

#### NOTE B. (See p. 112.)

##### *On the Distinction between εὐλογητός and εὐλογημένος.*

The distinction between εὐλογητός and εὐλογημένος is dwelt upon ~~by~~ by Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.* c. 19, Opp. i. 453, in his remarks on Gen. xii. 2. The former word, according to him, describes one who by nature or character is *worthy* of praise or blessing, εὐλογίας ἄξιος; the latter one who is in fact praised or blessed, whether rightfully or otherwise. ~~In~~ In other words, εὐλογητός, in doxologies, would be *laudandus* or *laudatus*; εὐλογημένος *laudatus*. So Theodore of Mopsuestia on Eph. i. 3 explains εὐλογητός as τοῦ ἐπινεῖσθαι: καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἄξιος. (*Migne. Patrol. Gr.* lxvi. 912.) It is true that in classical Greek verbals in -τοῦ like the Latin participles in -tus, have generally a simply passive signification; but we find exceptions, particularly in the later Greek, and especially in the case of words analogous in meaning to εὐλογητός. See in the Lexicons αἰνετός, ἐπινετός, ὑπεραινετός, ἔχωμενος, θαυμαστός, μακαριστός (2 Macc. vii. 24), μεμπτός, φεκτός, μισητός, στυγητός, ὥραγτός, ὑπεριμητός. On ἐπινετός and φεκτός see Phil. ubi supra. (See also Kühner, *Ausführl. Gram.*, 2te Aufl., i. 716. 16. This view is confirmed by the fact that we never find εὐλογητός used like εὐλογημένος with εἶγι or εἴστω; wherever the verb is expressed with εὐλογητός it is always in the indicative. For example, in Rom. i. 25, τὸν κτίσαντα, δεῖ ἔστω εὐλογητός εἰς τὸν αἰώνα, it is surely more natural to take εὐλογητός as signifying "to be praised," *laudandus*, than actual "praised," *laudatus*. See Fritzsche and Van Hengel in loc., the latter of whom cites the passage of Philo referred to above. So in other

doxologies we find the indicative, εὐλογητός εἰ, Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 12; Judith xiii. 17; Tob. iii. 11; viii. 5, 15, 16, 17; xi. 13; Orat. Azar. 2; Cant. trium puer. (Fritzsche), 28, 30, 31, 32, 33; 1 Esdr. iv. 60; 1 Macc. iv. 20; Const. Apost. vii. 34, 49; Act. Phil. c. 26; Lit. S. Jac. in Hammond's *Ancient Liturgies* (Oxford, 1878), pp. 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 38, 39, 53, 54; Lit. Const. (Anaph. S. Chrys.), p. 119; (Anaph. S. Basil.) p. 128; Lit. S. Marci, p. 179; and so ὁ ἦν εὐλογητός, 2 Cor. xi. 31; Lit. S. Marci, pp. 176, 192. This is the view of many excellent scholars besides Fritzsche and Van Hengel; as Erasmus, Beza (on Mark xiv. 61), Crell on Rom. ix. 5, Tholuck, Rückert, and the lexicographers Schleusner, Wahl, Bressneider, and Robinson. On the other side there are indeed very eminent names, as Grimm in his *Lex.*, Meyer, De Wette and Philippi on Rom. i. 25, and Harless on Eph. i. 3, but I find no argument in any of them except Harless, and his arguments seem to me of little weight. They rest mainly on the assumption that εὐλογητός is taken to mean "One who *must* be praised" instead "one to whom praise is *due*." That the latter conception of God may naturally be expressed in a doxology is shown by Rev. iv. 11, ἔξιος εῖ, ὁ κύρων καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, λαζεῖν τὴν δόξαν, x. τ. λ.; comp. Rev. v. 12. See also Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, ed. Galura, ii. 186 (S. Bonifatius, § 12), ὅτι σοι πρέπει τιμὴ x. τ. λ., and iii. 62 (SS. Tarachus, Probus, etc. § 11), ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα x. τ. λ.; Const. Ap. vii. 48; Act. Barn. c. 26; Act. Joh. c. 22; Protev. Jac. c. 25, § 2, MSS.; Act. Pil. A. c. 16, § 8, MSS.; Narr. Jos. c. 5, § 4. I accordingly agree with Buttmann, *N. T. Gram.* p. 120 (137 Thayer), that in doxologies with εὐλογητός we are to supply ἐστίν rather than εἶη or ἔστω. The sentence is therefore, in these cases, grammatically considered, declarative, not optative, though the whole effect of the original is perhaps better given by rendering "be blessed" than "is to be praised." Compare further 1 Pet. iv. 11; Matt. vi. 13 (text. rec.); Clem. Rom. *Eph.* ad Cor. c. 58 (new addit.; *contra*, c. 32); and see Lightfoot's note on Gal. i. 5.

We must notice the difference in meaning, not affecting however the position of the words, between εὐλογητός in the Septuagint when applied to men, as in Gen. (xii. 2, variante lectione) xxiv. 31 (v. l.); xxvi. 29 (v. l.); Deut. vii. 14; (xxviii. 6, v. l.; xxxiii. 24, v. l.); Judg. xvii. 2 (v. l.); 1 Sam. xv. 13 (v. l.); Judith xiii. 18 (v. l.); Tob. xi. 16 (in one text), and when applied to God. In the former case it is used in the sense of "prospered," "blessed" (viz. by God), and is to be taken, probably, in a simply passive sense; εὐλογημένος often occurs as a various reading. As applied to God, I believe Philo's distinction holds good. In the particular case, however, to which he refers, Gen. xii. 2, where he reads εὐλογητός (so many other authorities, see Holmes), applied to Abraham, his exposition is fanciful. In several cases the terms may seem to be intentionally distinguished; see Gen. xiv. 19, 20; 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33; Tob. xi. 16 *Sin.*; *contra*, Judith xiii. 18.

One other remark may be made. In speaking of *εὐλογητός* and similar words in "exclamatory doxologies" (see above, pp. 31-39), we must guard against a fallacy. "Exclamatory" as applied to sentences denotes a characteristic which exists in very different degrees in different cases where one printer would use a mark of exclamation, another would often put a period. Because the placing of such a predicate as *εὐλογητός* first in the sentence gives or tends to give it an exclamatory character we cannot straightway draw the inference that in *all* doxologies in which the verb is omitted *εὐλογητός*, if used, must have the first place. One may admit that in exclamatory doxologies *εὐλογητός* always stands first, and deny that the doxology in Rom. ix. 5 is exclamatory. The elliptical word I suppose to be *ἐστι*, as in most at least of the clauses immediately preceding.

## CORRECTION.

The statement on p. 108 about the reading of the ancient versions in Gen. xxvi. 29 lacks precision. The versions made directly from the Hebrew, of course, do not come under consideration. Of those made from the Septuagint, the Armenian, the Georgian, and the Old Slavic (Cod. Ostrog.) support *σὺ εὐλογή*; the Ethiopic, *εὐλογ. σύ*; Old Latin has perished; and the Coptic, as I am informed by Prof. T. O. Paine, omits the last clause of the verse.

## Examination of Exodus xxxiii. 7-11.

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This passage has occasioned much perplexity and discussion. The difficulty is a very obvious one, when the passage is considered in connection with the context. In chh. xxiv.-xxxi. we have the account of Moses' being called up into the mount, and there receiving directions concerning the building of the tabernacle. In ch. xxxii. is narrated how the people, during Moses' long delay, had made them a golden calf, and how Moses, after administering reproof and chastisement, returned to Jehovah to intercede for the people. In ch. xxxiii. 1-3, Jehovah renews his promise that the people shall go to the land of Canaan, and says, "I will send an angel before thee and I will drive out the Canaanite," etc. . . . "for I will not go up in the midst of thee: for thou art a stiffnecked people; lest I consume thee in the way." In consequence of this utterance, it is said (ver. 4) that "the people mourned, and no man did put on him his ornaments." Then, in ver. 5, we have an apparent repetition of ver. 3, "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye are a stiffnecked people; should I for one moment go up in the midst of thee, I should consume thee: and now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what I will do with thee." This command to put off the ornaments, coming after the statement that the people did not put them on, seems to be out of place. The A. V. accordingly renders, "For the Lord *had said* unto Moses," etc. We are not warranted in so translating, though often the Vav Consecutive introduces a verb which is not consecutive to the foregoing in a strictly chronological sense. But inasmuch as ver. 5 is a repetition and enlargement of ver. 3, and is followed (ver. 6) by the statement, "And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments from Mt. Horeb on," we are compelled to hold that vers. 5 and 6 are a substantial repetition of the foregoing, with the addition that the laying off of the ornaments was in direct consequence of a divine

command, even though we assume, with some, that we have here two distinct narratives loosely put together. But, at the worst, no serious difficulty need be found here. It is when we come to the following five verses that the real puzzle is presented. After this statement about Jehovah's threat and the people's humiliation, as indicated by their not wearing their ornaments from this time on, we read (according to the usual rendering), "And Moses took the tent, and pitched it without the camp, and called it the Tent of Meeting. And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the tent, that all the people rose up and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses until he was gone into the tent. And it came to pass, as Moses entered into the tent, the pillar of cloud descended, and stood at the door of the tent; and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man at his tent door. And Jehovah spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his servant, Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the tent."

The difficulties presented by this passage are two: (1) It speaks of the Tent of Meeting (A. V., "tabernacle of the congregation") as of a structure already erected, whereas, according to the rest of the book, it was as yet only projected, but not built; (2) the passage interrupts the narrative of ch. xxxiii. itself; for ver. 12 seqq. is a direct continuation of the communication between Jehovah and Moses; and vers. 7-11 have (as usually understood) no visible connection with it.

The first of these difficulties those who hold to the unity of authorship, or at least consistency of authorship, have attempted to solve in two ways: (a) Some have thought that the tent here spoken of was Moses' own tent, which he now set apart provisionally for sacred purposes until the permanent structure should be completed. But it is hard to see why, if Moses' private tent was intended, it should not have been called "*his* tent" instead of "*the* tent." Moreover, the following verses represent Moses as being only occasionally in this tent, i. e. only for the purpose of special communication with Jehovah. Where was he to eat and sleep? What was to be his ordinary dwelling-place? This difficulty is evaded, not met, when Keil translates "*a* tent," and says that it was a tent of Moses which, on account of the divine revelations made in it, became a provisional tabernacle. If the meaning is that it was one of Moses' tents, then, to say nothing of the fact that it is a pure assumption to suppose that he had several tents of his own, the use of the definite article is unaccountable. If he had but one tent, the definite article would be less objectionable,

though even then very strange; but if he had several, and this was only one, such a construction is quite inadmissible.

(d) The other explanation is that the tent here mentioned was a ~~sanctuary~~ which from the first had been used as a central place of worship, and is therefore familiarly called "the tent." The obvious objection to this is, that there is no previous reference to any such structure, and it seems singular that in the first place where it is mentioned it should be called simply "the tent." Moreover, the paragraph before us produces the impression that this was the beginning of the religious use made of this tent. It was now taken and pitched outside of the camp, and called the tent of meeting. It may, indeed, be urged that it is intrinsically probable that there had been some ~~sanctuary~~ from the first; but this narrative can be made to refer to such a ~~sanctuary~~ only by a very strained exegesis.

But these interpretations, while they, if otherwise admissible, remove the first difficulty—the absurdity of telling what was done with a building not yet erected—do not at all relieve the second one, the interruption of the account of Moses' conversation with Jehovah. When Moses says (ver. 12), "See, thou sayest unto me, Bring up this people; and thou hast not let me know whom thou wilt send with me," there is a manifest and direct reference to Jehovah's promise (ver. 2) that "an angel" should go before them. Moses is grieved because Jehovah himself refuses to go with them, and only sends an unknown angel; and he intercedes for a modification of the divine sentence. Now, in the midst of this negotiation is inserted the account of what Moses did with this unknown tent. No one can reasonably suppose that it describes what happened at this time; it is commonly understood to describe a customary use made of the tent; but there is obviously not only no reason for interjecting the account here, but the best of all reasons why it should not have been interjected, viz., that it has nothing to do with the things related in the context, and inexcusably interrupts the narrative. And these conjectures about what this tent was—conjectures at the best without any positive support, and such as would never have been thought of except for the anachronism respecting the real tabernacle—do not at all relieve us as regards the incongruity between this passage and the rest of the chapter. On any theory of the authorship of the Exodus, here is a very serious difficulty. Such a causeless breach of continuity is quite without parallel; and the least that can be said of the paragraph in question (as commonly understood) is that it is misplaced. And this brings us to a third theory respecting the difficulty in question.

(e) It is held that these five verses refer to the same tabernacle as

the one elsewhere more largely described, but that they are by a different author, and are here inserted out of place. In confirmation of this view, we are pointed to discrepancies between this account of the tabernacle and the more detailed one, besides the one already noticed. Thus it is observed that, according to the passage before us, the only use made of the tabernacle was its occasional occupation by Moses in order to receive divine communications, whereas elsewhere little or nothing is said about Moses' being in it, the chief use of it being sacerdotal. Again, according to the section before us, Joshua was to remain permanently in the tent; whereas, according to the other accounts (Num. i. 51, iii. 10, 38, xviii. 7, 22), only Aaron and his descendants were allowed to enter it. Furthermore, the tabernacle is here said to be outside of the camp, whereas later (Num. ii. 17) the tabernacle is located in the midst of the camp. These discrepancies are thought to betray the hand of a different writer in the passage before us from that of the author of the other accounts.

This hypothesis, however, not only does nothing to relieve the first difficulty, the anachronism respecting the tabernacle, but leaves the second of the difficulties entirely untouched. The differences in the conception of the tabernacle might indeed be thus explained; but it is still left unexplained how the compiler of the book should ever have been led to insert this narrative in this place. That he might sometimes disregard or overlook discrepancies of a minor sort, in putting together writings of different authors, rather than dissect and distort the writings, is very conceivable. But there is everywhere manifest such a disposition to construct an orderly and on the whole self-consistent history, that so glaring an anachronism and contradiction as is here presented is without parallel and without excuse. He could not have been ignorant of the fact that the tabernacle which he now describes as in existence had, according to the other documents, not yet been built. Moreover, he must have seen that the present place is in every way a most inappropriate one for introducing it, inasmuch as it interrupts in an utterly impudent and irrelevant manner the account of Moses' communication with Jehovah. When we consider how freely, on the ordinary theory of compilation, the writings of the various original authors were chopped up and patched together, sometimes so that one-half of a verse is assigned to one author and all of the context to another, there would seem to be no conceivable reason why the redactor should not here, when the occasion was so urgent, have either omitted this paragraph, or else have reserved it for a later time when it would have been in place.

It is therefore no material relief to assume that this whole section

(xxxii.-xxxiv.) about the golden calf and Moses' intercession being Jehovistic, the redactor finding it in this shape did not care to detach any part of it from the rest, notwithstanding the glaring discrepancy which was thus introduced into the history. But even if this did afford some relief, there would remain unexplained why the Jehovahist himself should have put together his own material in such a way as this; for, as we have seen, irrespective of the anachronism between Ex. xxxiii. 7-11 and the longer account of the tabernacle, this section is out of place even as related to its immediate context. Dillmann, feeling this difficulty, attributes these verses (xxxiii. 7-11) not to the Jehovahist, but to the younger Elohist, to whom he also attributes mainly the first six verses also. But this is only shifting the trouble, not removing it; it rather increases it. For if the redactor had two or three narratives to make his compilation from; if Ex. xxxiii. 7-11 was not a constituent and original part of the whole section xxxii.-xxxiv; then the wonder is all the greater why the redactor should have put together the narratives of different authors so as to create such palpable confusion and contradiction, when it would have been just as easy, and every way more sensible, to insert this short paragraph, if at all, in a place where it chronologically belongs. If it is supposed that the redactor himself is not responsible for this arrangement, but found these five verses from the younger Elohist already incorporated with the Jehovahist's account of the golden calf, etc., then this only raises the question, How did such incorporation ever take place? Some one must have put together the two things in this absurd way; and go back as far as we may in our conjectures, the difficulty remains the same, and remains unsolved. There is every presumption against such a historical account of the use of the tabernacle having been interpolated into this narrative of the negotiation between Jehovah and Moses.

Delitzsch, in the second of his recent articles on the Pentateuch, which treats of the tabernacle, ranks himself among those who assume that the tabernacle of this passage is the same as the one previously described, and that this passage is from a different author from that of the other and more detailed account of the tabernacle. He thinks that the one wrote without any purpose of supplementing the other, and that the two accounts were put together by a redactor who must have had some desire to harmonize them. "Probably," says he, "he was led by this desire to give this abruptly-beginning section its present position, so that the putting of the sacred tent out of the camp, and far away from it, appears as a penal consequence of the people's sin of apostasy." This suggestion is an approach towards what I

regard as the true solution. But it does not remove the difficulties already set forth. If the redactor was influenced by a harmonistic intent here, he had very poor success in the execution of it, since, by representing Moses as removing the tabernacle at this juncture, he brings this account into the flattest contradiction with the other accounts of the tabernacle, according to which the sanctuary was not yet erected. That the removal of the tabernacle from the midst of the camp, might have served as a punishment of the people's apostasy, is very true, provided there was a tabernacle in existence; but, inasmuch as according to the rest of the book, there was none as yet, and the redactor himself has given us to understand the fact, it seems almost like satire to speak of him as attempting to harmonize the different accounts by representing the people as punished by the removal of a non-existent tabernacle. Besides all this, there remains untouched the other difficulty, that the section in question is utterly incongruous with the immediate context.

One other explanation may be mentioned, that of those who hold (*d*) that the detailed account of the tabernacle is a fiction, and that the tent in the narrative before us is a real tent, in which the ark was kept. This is the view *e. g.* of Graf, who holds moreover that the Elohistic account of the tabernacle is later than the one before us. He explains the position of the longer narratives of the tabernacle with reference to Ex. xxxiii. 7-11 as follows: "It was occasioned by the mention of the *תְּרוּמָה* in xxxiii. 7 sqq.; but the direction to build had been given to Moses on the mount, and therefore belonged to the place where his forty days' stay on the mount was told of, xxiv. 18; the execution of the command, however, had to be preceded by that which was immediately connected with his descent from the mount, xxxii.-xxxiv.; therefore the description of the structure was inserted immediately before the laws which were to be given before setting out from Sinai, with which laws this description was closely connected (*Geschichtliche Bücher des A. T.* p. 60)." But this solution is as inadequate as the others to meet the real difficulties. The whole value of it depends upon the shrewdness of the critic's guess as to the reason why these narratives are arranged as they are; but even if we assume the guess to be a shrewd one, the relief is the slightest possible. By assuming the Elohistic account to be a pure fiction we do indeed in one sense explain how the two accounts are inconsistent with one another; but inasmuch as the redactor is supposed to have had an intelligent motive in his work, the problem is not solved till we can discover both intelligence and motive. Graf has assigned a

motive, but it is at the expense of the redactor's intelligence. The redactor is supposed to have inserted the Elohistic directions concerning the tabernacle before this Jehovahistic section (xxxii.-xxxiv.) for the reason that in the latter the Tent of Meeting is mentioned, and it is mentioned in the account of what happened immediately after Moses' descent from the mount, where the directions were given. Therefore, it is further assumed that the actual erection of the tabernacle is put after this Jehovahistic narrative for the reason that immediately after Moses' descent there had been no time for the work of building. In other words, because in this Jehovahistic section the tabernacle is spoken of as an existent fact, therefore the redactor puts the Elohistic account of the command to build it before this mention, but puts the Elohistic account of the actual building of it after the Jehovahistic account which speaks of it as already built! This, then, is the solution of the first difficulty—a solution which is attained by assuming the fictitiousness of one of the narratives, the inconsistency of the fictitious narrative with the older historical one, the agency of a redactor in putting the two together as one whole, and the egregious stupidity of the redactor in that he, in doing his best to weave the narratives together, gives us to understand that the tabernacle was not built until after it had been used! As to the second difficulty, this explanation, like all the others, simply leaves it untouched.

But perhaps enough has been said in setting forth the difficulties under which the ordinary theories labor. Yet it is important to present these clearly, in order the better to justify a new attempt. Especially would I insist on the second of the two difficulties as one challenging more attention than it has yet received. As already observed, ver. 12 is immediately connected with vers. 1-6. It is manifestly a continuation of the narrative respecting Jehovah's communication with Moses. That these five verses (7-11) cannot (as Keil seems to hold) describe what happened in the course of this communication is so obvious that it hardly needs demonstration. The simple fact that these verses (if historical at all) manifestly narrate something that was customary, is the conclusive refutation of any such notion. This being so, the only refuge, on the ordinary theories, is to assume that these verses are misplaced. But how or why these verses should ever have become placed here, is more than any one has ever discovered. No parallel to such a misplacement can anywhere be found, unless perhaps the account of the adulteress in John viii. is such an instance. But that passage, whatever may be true respecting its authenticity, is without the support of good manuscript authority in this place, whereas the oldest versions and MSS. fail to

cast any suspicion on the passage in Exodus. The presumption is that the passage is in the right place. Not until it is proved impossible to justify its present position, should we resort to the hypothesis that it belongs elsewhere.

Let us now see if there is not a solution which meets both of the difficulties, and not merely one; and a solution which does not, like the most of those considered, increase the embarrassment more than it relieves it. Such a solution, as I conceive, is suggested by the remarkable fact that the verbs in this section are *Future verbs throughout*, or, what is the same thing, Perfects with the Vav Consecutive. This fact, not at all noticed by most commentators, is casually alluded to by some as an instance of the Future used to denote customary past action. The idea that the verbs may be actual Future seems not to have occurred to any of them. And yet the presumption is greatly in favor of so translating them. The Imperfect, in historical narration, is always to be rendered by the Future, unless there is evidence to the contrary. In the present case what is the evidence to the contrary? Whatever that evidence may be, is strong enough to compel us to translate the passage in such a way as to involve us in the serious perplexities which have been shown beset the ordinary translation? Are not these grave enough to warrant us in translating the passage in the simplest and grammatical most natural way, unless we are thus landed in still greater difficulties? Certain it is that by rendering these verbs as Futures we remove one stroke the two difficulties which have been considered. By understanding them we simply make these verses, not a statement what was done with an existing tabernacle, but a divine direction concerning what should be done with the future tabernacle. These are made, in short, to be the continuation of the language of Jehovah contained in ver. 5. Let us now substantiate this view more particularly.

A word first as to the grammatical question. It is of course not be denied that the Imperfect is often used with reference to past actions. But in prose such instances are rare, and are, so far as I know, nowhere else kept up through so long a section as this; and where they are so used, the reference to repeated or habitual action is clear. In the present case, it is true, many of the verbs might be understood as describing a customary action; but not all, and notably not the first three, can easily be so understood. It would be unnatural to translate, "And Moses used to take the tent, and used to pitch it without the camp, and used to call it the tent of meeting." These verbs apparently denote single actions; and what reason cou-

the writer have had for using the Future tense? It is reasonable to insist strongly on this fact, and to claim that the original presumption in favor of the Future rendering is redoubled in force by the absence of any assignable reason for using the Future tense at the opening of this section, unless the writer meant the verbs to describe something really future.

In addition to the grammatical consideration, now, we find that this construction relieves us of the whole difficulty arising from the apparent anachronism. The passage now does not imply that the tabernacle is already constructed, but it is only a direction what to do with it when it shall be constructed. We are under no necessity, therefore, of inventing a sanctuary, antecedent to the real tabernacle, and yet bearing the same name; or of supposing that Moses had to be turned out of house and home, in order to provide a place for religious worship. The Tent of Meeting is the same here as in the preceding chapters—in both cases something that is yet to be. We are also under no necessity of accounting for contradictions by assuming plurality and inconsistency in the authorship of the different narratives. If it be said that there are other marks of diverse authorship besides the anachronism and the apparent misplacement, it is enough to reply that the interpretation which I propose leaves room for as many authors as any one chooses to assume; only it does not require us to find so much contradiction between the different authors as has been heretofore found. If it is held that, in maintaining the theory of plurality of authorship, it is important to make the disagreements as great as possible, instead of seeking, so far as can be done reasonably, to reconcile them, then that may be regarded as an objection to the proposed interpretation. But I am not aware, though this seems to be the principle practically followed by many critics, that it has yet become an established canon of hermeneutics.

The presumption is that the tent called מִזְבֵּחַ לְתָנֵן is the same thing here as in the preceding chapters. On any theory but the one now propounded, these five verses appear to be entirely inexplicable. But regarded as a direction concerning what should be done, they are perfectly appropriate and intelligible where they stand. Moses had been told to say unto the people that Jehovah would not go up in the midst of them. They were commanded to put off their ornaments, that Jehovah might know what he would do unto them. In ver. 6 we are parenthetically told that the command was complied with; and then, in vers. 7-11, we are further told what Jehovah did decide to

do with them. Having declared that he could not go up in the *midst* of the people, he determines to indicate this symbolically by requiring that the Tent of Meeting, which Moses has received orders to have constructed, and which was to serve as the place of Jehovah's manifestation of himself, should be pitched, not in the *midst* of the camp, but far off, *outside* of it. Jehovah was to be distant from the people; they were to be reminded of their sin by the location of the tabernacle. These verses, instead of being an unaccountable interruption of the context, are thus in perfect keeping with it.

Not only are these two most pressing difficulties removed by this interpretation, but also the apparent discrepancies which have been mentioned between this account of the tabernacle and the other accounts of it are relieved, if not entirely done away. Thus, what is said about Joshua's remaining in the tabernacle creates a difficulty at the worst no greater when the verbs are rendered as *Futures* than when they are rendered as *Preterites*. In fact, the discrepancy is relieved. As now translated, these verses express a threat simply, and a threat which, as the following verses show, was not fulfilled. Moses' intercession (ver. 12-16) secures from Jehovah the promise (ver. 17), "I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken, for thou hast found grace in my sight." It might be said, then, that everything in this account of the tabernacle which appears to conflict with the other descriptions of its use, may be explained as a part of a threat never carried out, so that the discrepancy falls of itself. Still, as may be reasonably urged, the discrepancy respecting Joshua has been unduly magnified. The passages which forbid any but the priests to come nigh the tabernacle have reference, as Num. xvi. 40 clearly intimates, to those who come for the purpose of exercising sacerdotal functions. Moses, at all events, though not a son of Aaron, could, according to the Elohist, enter the tabernacle and there commune with Jehovah (Ex. xxv. 22, xxix. 42; xxx. 6, 36); and he is associated with Aaron and the priests in the arrangement of the encampment with reference to the tabernacle (Num. iii. 38). Now, Aaron having become himself implicated in the people's sin, it may be regarded as a part of the penalty imposed, that he is not to enter the tabernacle. That Joshua, as Moses' confidential attendant, should be with him in the tabernacle, is no stranger than that he should accompany him to the mount when he was to commune with Jehovah (Ex. xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17).

A similar remark applies to the discrepancy respecting the use made of the tabernacle. In Ex. xxxiii. 7-11 it appears to be only an oracle; nothing is said about priests or sacrifices. If Aaron, as an

accomplice in the sin of the people, was to suffer punishment with them, this would explain the absence of all mention of him. And the revocation of the threat removes all the discrepancy in any case; for even the Elohistic narrative speaks of the tabernacle as a place where God was to meet with Moses (Ex. xxv. 22) and with the people (xxix. 43).

In like manner, the difference relative to the location of the tabernacle disappears, when it is considered that the command to put it outside of the camp symbolizes Jehovah's refusal to go up in the midst of the people. If, as is the fact, this refusal was revoked, then that the tabernacle should afterwards be spoken of as in the midst of the camp is just what is to be expected.\*

It thus appears that all the difficulties which have beset the passage under consideration are either wholly removed or greatly lessened, while none of them are increased by the proposed translation. It would seem, then, that an interpretation so simple as this, one favored by grammatical idiom, and one that solves the puzzles that are created by the ordinary translation, ought to be adopted unless there are very weighty objections to it. What, then, can be said against it?

1. It may be said that ver. 6 being a historical statement, the presumption is that the language of Jehovah ends with ver. 5.—It is sufficient to reply that, though there may be such a presumption, there are yet so many instances of similar parenthetical construction, that the objection is anything but decisive. Thus, in Ex. iv. 4, 5, we read, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Put forth thy hand, and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand, and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand: that they may believe that the Lord God of their fathers . . . hath appeared unto thee." A precisely simi-

\* It may be objected to this that the discrepancy as to the location of the tabernacle is not confined to the passage before us, but recurs in Num. xi. 24-30, in the narrative concerning Eldad and Medad, where it is said of them (ver. 26) that they "remained in the camp" and "went not out unto the tabernacle." Also in Num. xii. 4 Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are commanded to "come out unto the tabernacle of the congregation." These passages, it must be admitted, make the impression that the tabernacle was outside of the camp. But these expressions might be used of those who went out of their tents to the tabernacle, even though the tabernacle was in the centre of the encampment, especially if it was separated by a considerable distance from the surrounding tents. This is confirmed by the fact that in xi. 24 it is said of Moses that he "went out, and told the people the words of the Lord," where, whether the going out was from the tabernacle, where Moses had been receiving the divine communications, (Keil), or from his own tent (Knobel), it certainly does not mean that he went out of the camp. In Ex. xxxiii. 7 the word יְמִלָּחַת is used; this is explicit; nothing of the sort is found in Numbers.

lar construction occurs in Ex. iv. 7, 8. Cf. also Matt. ix. 6, Mark ii. 10, Luke v. 24. In these cases the interruption of the grammatical construction is perhaps even more disturbing than in the one before us. It is not at all unnatural that, in immediate connection with the command concerning the ornaments, it should be parenthetically remarked that the command was obeyed. This objection, therefore, is, at the most, of little weight.

2. Again, it may be objected that, if these verses are the continuation of Jehovah's address to Moses, then Moses ought to be addressed in the second person, and Jehovah ought to speak of himself in the first, whereas both Moses and Jehovah are here spoken of in the third person. This is doubtless the chief thing which has made this section appear to be a historical statement rather than a direction concerning the future. This grammatical fact by itself certainly does favor the common translation. But every Hebrew scholar knows how frequent, and often how very abrupt, the changes of person are in that language. See a parallel construction in Ex. xxiv. 1, 2. Indeed, in the verses immediately preceding we have an illustration of this. Jehovah commands Moses to say to the people, "Ye are a stiffnecked people; should *I* go up in the midst of thee, I should consume thee." This, taken strictly, would represent Moses as the consuming one. And, what is more to the point, inasmuch as what Moses is told to say to the people has the form of a direct address of God to the people, it is in fact in perfect consistency with this, if not indeed required by it, that Moses should be spoken of in the third person. The only really strange thing is, therefore, that Jehovah should be spoken of in the third person, and not continue to use the first. But examples of this idiom are extremely numerous. E. g., xxxiv. 10-26 we find that Jehovah, in a series of commands addressed to the people, repeatedly speaks of himself as a third person. Thus (ver. 14), "Thou shalt worship no other god; for Jehovah, whose name is jealous, is a jealous God." This circumstance, therefore, of a change of persons is by no means a serious objection to the proposed construction.

3. It may be said that, if ver. 7 is a continuation of ver. 5, the verb in the Perfect with the Vav Consecutive should precede the subject, whereas the subject now stands first, with the verb following in the Imperfect. This objection (which has been privately urged by some to whom the proposed translation has been presented) I fail to see the force of. That ordinarily the subject follows the verb is very true; but here the verb certainly does follow the subject; and this position of it is no more difficult to explain on one theory than on

another. That the verb may be Jussive here is shown by the precisely parallel constructions in Gen. i. 20, 22, where Jussive verbs, following a Jussive or Imperative, are placed after the subject. If it is asked why the subject here precedes the verb, the answer must be either that the clause is a circumstantial one, or that an emphasis lies on the subject. Against the former explanation, it must be objected that circumstantial clauses should have some obvious relation to the context, whereas these verses (if historical) have none. If they described something which happened at this time, something which illustrates or explains the context, we might naturally call them circumstantial, though even then the use of the Imperfect at the outset would be unaccountable. But, as all agree, they do not describe what happened at that time, nor anything that it is important to mention as an elucidation of the context. In order to secure even any appearance of connection of thought, we are obliged to read into the passage what is not in the faintest manner suggested by it. Thus it might be imagined that the author, while telling of Moses' conference with Jehovah, was led to think of the tabernacle in which the conference took place, and threw in at that point this bit of historical information about it. But why interject this information into the very midst of the narrative? Why not at least wait till the close of the account of the conference? And then especially, why not intimate in some manner that the conference really did take place in the tabernacle? The one thing which alone would justify, or at least in some degree account for, such an interruption of the narrative, is wholly omitted. The case of ver. 6, as related to the context, is quite different. It is an interruption, indeed, in one sense; but it has an obvious connection with the context. It is, moreover, not a circumstantial clause, for it is connected with the foregoing by the Vav Consecutive.—We must, then, account for the position of the subject of the sentence by regarding it as emphatic. There may, indeed, appear to be no special need of emphasis here; but there is certainly as much as in Gen. i. 20, 22, above referred to, or as in Gen. iv. 18. The contrast is between the people who (ver. 5) are punished for their sin, and Moses, who, not having been implicated in their sin, is to enjoy the privilege of peculiar intimacy with Jehovah.

4. One more objection may be urged, viz., that there is a particularity of detail in the passage before us, which seems more appropriate as belonging to a historical narrative than as belonging to a direction or a threat, especially if, as in the present case, the threat is not to be carried out, and is revoked even before being communicated to

the people whom it concerns. This is to my mind the only serious objection to the interpretation above advocated. If there were still more serious objections to the ordinary view, this might be enough to decide the verdict in favor of the historical construction of the passage. But the weight of this objection is much diminished by the following considerations. (a) No difficulty is to be found in the mere fact that the threat is not fully executed. It might *a priori* appear to be inconsistent with the divine character to suppose that God could utter a threat which he is immediately induced to retract by human intercession. But in view of the multitude of instances which God is said to have repented of his own acts, and to have been moved by the sufferings and prayers of his children, we must relapse into the rigor of the speculative doubt. More particularly, we have instances of threats prophetically uttered, but retracted before being executed, *e. g.* the prophecies concerning Ahab (1 Kings xxi. 18-24), Rehoboam (2 Chron. xii. 5-12), Nineveh (Jonah iii.), and Mica prophecy (iii. 12), declared in Jerem. xxvi. 18, 19 not to have been executed on account of the people's repentance. The difficulty, however, is not at all in the mere fact that what is here prescribed is not carried out; it is only in the fact that there is more circumstantiality in the directions than is elsewhere found in unfulfilled threats. As to this, however, it is to be remarked (b) that there is no occasion for assuming that *all* of these directions were unfulfilled. In fact, the only particular of which it can certainly be said that it was revoked is the one concerning the pitching of the tent outside of the camp. That is said, especially, about Moses' going into it to receive divine communications was of permanent validity.

I have attempted to give full weight to all possible objections against the proposed interpretation. None of them seem to be of decisive weight, especially when compared with the much greater objections which lie against the common translation.

## “The Everlasting Father.”

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BY REV. T. W. CHAMBERS, D. D.

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In Isaiah ix. 6, 7, there is a remarkable prediction of a child who is justly to bear titles of a very extraordinary character. One of these titles is rendered in our Authorized Version, The Everlasting Father—the Hebrew being **בָּרוּךְ**. The force of this phrase, it is proposed now to consider. It is agreed by all that the first noun is in the Construct state, and that its primary meaning is *father*. The only questions that arise are as to the nature of the genitive and the meaning of the second noun.

1. An early opinion, originating with Abarbanel, and afterwards adopted by Hitzig, Knobel, and Kuennen, gives to **בָּרוּךְ** the sense of *booty*, a meaning which it certainly has in Gen. xlvi. 27, Isaiah xxxiii. 23, and Zeph. iii. 8, where, however, the connection imperatively requires it. In all other cases, nearly fifty in number, it denotes *perpetuity*. Nor is there any reason for departing from the ordinary sense here, since there is nothing in the attributes of the peaceful and righteous Ruler to suggest that he is a plundering conqueror who reigns by violence and fills his treasury with spoils, but, on the contrary, much that points in another direction.

2. A second rendering is that of the A. V., which retains the usual meaning of both words and makes the genitive one of attribute—Father of everlasting=Everlasting Father. Thus Gesenius, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and Maurer. This is certainly a possible rendering, since we have in Hab. (iii. 6) **בָּרוּךְ**, where no one doubts that the second noun represents a quality of the first, viz., *perpetuity*. The difficulty in adopting this view here is the fact that it gives to the subject of the prophecy a title which is never applied to the Messiah elsewhere in the S. S., and one which it is perplexing either to explain exegetically or to apply homiletically. Christ's relations to his

people are set forth in a vast variety of ways by the Sacred Writers— but never by any borrowed from the paternal tie—the word *father*, with all its boundless wealth of meaning, being reserved for the first person of the Godhead, the Father of all, while Messiah is over and over set forth in the New Testament as the brother of his people.

3. A third view makes the genitive one of authorship (*auctoris*).

a) Thus Grotius makes it=father of a numerous offspring.

b) The Douay version, with which Lowth agrees, identifying יְמִינָה with מִלְחָמָה, makes the phrase mean father of a new age, or, as the older version has it, father of the world to come. (LXX. [Alex. text] πατήρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰώνος. Vulg. *Pater futuri saeculi.*)

This again is a possible rendering, but certainly not probable. For it gives to the second noun a meaning which it has nowhere else in the Scriptures, and if Isaiah had intended to convey this sense he would have used מִלְחָמָה which was ready at his hand. Besides, the idea thus given makes no perceptible addition either in dignity or in efficacy to what has already been ascribed to the child whose name is wonderful. If he is mighty God, he is of course father or founder of the new age just as he was of all preceding ages.

(c) Another modification of this view regards the phrase as showing Messiah to be the author of eternity, *i. e.*, eternal life to his people. But while this is a certain and blessed truth, and one set forth with frequency and precision in the New Testament, it is not contained in the Old, except by implication. Nor does it seem natural to interject a purely spiritual conception like this into a description, which borrowing its terms from an earthly throne sets forth the inherent dignity of Messiah as a mighty, successful, peaceful and permanent monarch, the increase of whose government has no end. While the doctrine of immortality was certainly known to the ancient saints, yet it was not emphasized and repeated in such a way as to render it natural to expect that it would be identified with the person of Messiah so directly and distinctly as this interpretation would make it here.

4. A fourth view is that which makes the genitive one of possession. This is an Arabic usage of very common occurrence in ancient times and modern, but in Hebrew is found very rarely, and then only in proper names, *e. g.*, Abitub אַבִּיטָע father of goodness, *i. e.*,

the good one. In Job xvii. 14, the patient man salutes the grave, saying, “Corruption, thou art my father,” *i. e.*, corruption possesses me. And if we render טֹבָה by *pit*, as some contend that we always

should, the sense is the same. If this view be adopted then we have the phrase indicating eternity as an attribute of the Messiah. He is self-existing and ever-living—a sense which admirably accords with the whole connection, especially the preceding clause. The prophet after saying that the future deliverer is the mighty God, specifies one of the divine perfections, that incomunicable excellence by which Jehovah is the first cause and last end of all things. Father of eternity because it is He that gives substance and body to the conception of infinite duration. Duration implies something that endures. Now God is the Being who having neither beginning of days nor end of years gives to us the concrete meaning of the abstract statement. And to ascribe this attribute to the Messiah, to him who is to be born as a child, is exactly in line with the rest of the marvellous prediction, and gives increased emphasis and meaning to the startling collocation of human qualities and divine in the future ruler of Israel. Born in time and seated on the throne of David, he is yet the Everlasting One, whose goings forth have been from of old, even from the days of eternity. Of the increase of his government there shall be no end, just because of his existence there has been no beginning.

Finally, whatever be the meaning of the phrase, the English translation should be "father of eternity" in accordance with the ancient Arabic and the modern (Dr. Van Dyck's), the Syriac, ancient\* and modern, the Chaldee Paraphrase, the French of Martin and the Dutch of the States Bible.

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\*That is, in the Ambrosian Codex, for the text in the London Polyglott omits the first word of the phrase and reads "mighty God of eternity."

## The Relation of Ezekiel to the Levitical Law.

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BY PROF. FREDERIC GARDINER, D. D.

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In the discussions which have arisen of late years about the origin and date of the Mosaic legislation it has been generally recognized that the book of Ezekiel, especially in its later chapters, has a peculiar importance. The traditional view regards the laws of the Pentateuch as having been given through Moses to the Israelites soon after the Exodus from Egypt, and as having formed in all subsequent ages their more or less perfectly observed standard of ecclesiastical law and religious ceremonial; the view of several modern critics, on the other hand, is that this legislation was of gradual development, having its starting point, indeed, quite far back in the ages of Israel's history but reaching its full development only in the times succeeding the Babylonian exile. Especially, the exclusive limitation of the functions of the priesthood to the Aaronic family, and the distinction between the priests and their brethren of the tribe of Levi, as well as the cycle of the feasts and other like matters, are held by these critics to be of post-exilic origin.

The writings of a priest who lived during the time of the exile, who devotes a considerable part of his book to an ideal picture of a restored theocracy, its temple, its worship, and the arrangement of the tribes, cannot fail to be of deep significance in its bearing upon this question. Certain facts in regard to Ezekiel are admitted by all he was himself a priest (i. 3); he had been carried into captivity before he had reached early manhood; and, whether he had ministered in the priest's office at Jerusalem (as Kuenen positively asserts, *Relig. of Israel*, vol. ii. p. 105) or not, he was certainly thoroughly conversant with the ceremonial as there practiced and with the duties of the priesthood; further, he began his prophecies a few years after Zedekiah was carried into captivity, and continued them until near the middle of the Babylonian exile, the last nine chapters being dated "in the 25th year of our captivity," which corresponds with the

33d of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. If any development of Israel's religion, therefore, were going on during the captivity, it must have been already well advanced at the time of this vision. So far there is a general agreement. The main point necessarily follows:—that in such case Ezekiel's vision must present an intermediate stage on the line of progress from that which we certainly know to have existed before to that which we know, with equal certainty, was practiced afterwards.

It is indeed theoretically conceivable that in the course of this development of religion Ezekiel may have been a strange, erratic genius, who was both regardless of the traditions of his fathers and was without influence upon the course of his successors; but such strange estimation of him is entertained by no one, and needs no refutation. It would be contradicted by his birth, his position as a prophet, his evident estimation among his contemporaries, and his relations to his fellow prophet-priest, Jeremiah. It may be assumed that his writings were an important factor in whatever religious development actually occurred.

This argument is the more important on account of the great weight attached by some critics to the argument *e silentio*. This argument can be only of limited application in regard to historical books, fully occupied as they are with other matters, and only occasionally and incidentally alluding to existing ecclesiastical laws and customs; but it is plainly of great importance in this prophetic setting forth of quite a full and detailed ecclesiastical scheme. The omission of references to any ritual law or feast or ceremony in the historical books can occasion no surprise, and afford no just presumption against the existence of such rites and ceremonies, unless some particular reason can be alleged why they should have been mentioned; but a corresponding omission from the pages of Ezekiel is good evidence either that the thing omitted was too familiar to require mention, or else that he purposely excluded it from his scheme. In other words, it shows that what he omits, as compared with the mosaic law, was either already entirely familiar to him and to the people; or else that the law he sets forth was, in these particulars, different from the Mosaic law. To illustrate by an example: There can be no question that circumcision was a fundamental rite of the religion of the Israelites, practiced in all ages of their history; yet, after the Pentateuch and the few first chapters of Joshua, there is no mention of it, and the words *circumcise*, *circumcised*, *circumcision*, do not occur in the sacred literature down to the time of Jeremiah; neither does the word *foreskin*, except in connection with David's giving the foreskins of the

Philistines as dowry for Michal (1 Sam. xviii. 25, 27; 2 Sam. iii. 1  
 Even *uncircumcised*, as a designation of the enemies of Israel, occurs only nine times (Judg. xiv. 3; xv. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 6; xvii. 26, 30; xxxi. 4; 2 Sam. i. 20; 1 Chron. x. 4; Isa. lii. 1) in the intervals and several of these passages are considered by the critics to be of later date; neither is there any allusion to circumcision in Ezekiel, except the mention of the stranger "uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh" (xliv. 7, 9). Of course, the reason for this, in both cases, is that the law of circumcision was so familiar and the practice so universal that there was no occasion for its mention. On the other hand, the fast of the day of atonement is not mentioned either in the historical books or in Ezekiel. We are not surprised at its omission from the former, nor can this cast any shade of doubt on its observance, unless some passage can be shown in which it would have been likely to be spoken of; but we can only account for its being passed over in the cycle of the festivals in Ezekiel on the supposition that it formed no part of his scheme, while yet, as will be shown farther on, there are indications that he recognizes it, in his other arrangements, as existing in his time.

While abundant references to the Mosaic law may be found in every part of Ezekiel,\* it has seemed best to confine the present investigation to the last nine chapters, both because these are by far the most important in this connection, and also because these have been chiefly used in the discussion of the subject. Unfortunately, there is a difference of opinion in regard to the general interpretation of these chapters. Some will have them to be literally understood as the expression of the prophet's hope and expectation of what was actually to be; more generally the vision is looked upon as a figurative description of the future glory of the church, clothed, as all such descriptions must necessarily be, in the familiar images of the past. A determination of this question is not absolutely necessary to the present discussion, but is so closely connected with it, and the argument will be so much clearer when this has first been examined, that it will be well to give briefly some of the reasons for considering Ezekiel's language in this passage to be figurative.†

It is evident that Ezekiel's description differs too widely from the past to allow of the supposition that it is historical; and written at a

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\* For a very ample list of quotations and allusions to the law in Ezekiel, see pp. 105-110 in *A Study of the Pentateuch, for Popular Reading*, &c. By Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D. (Boston, 1881).

† This question is treated more fully in my notes upon these chapters in Bp. Ellicott's *Commentary for English Readers*.

—ne when the temple lay in ashes and the land desolate, it cannot refer to the present. It must then have reference to the future. The assumption is certainly that it portrays an ideal future, because the whole was seen "in the visions of God" (xl. 2), an expression which Ezekiel always applies to a symbolic representation rather than to an actual image of things (cf. i. 1; viii. 3; also xi. 24, and xlivi. 3). Moreover, if it is to be literally understood, it must portray a state of things to be realized either in the near future, or else at a time still in advance of our own day. If the former, as is supposed by a few commentators, it is plain that the prophecy was never fulfilled, and remains a monument of magnificent purposes unaccomplished. The attempt to explain this by the theory that the returning exiles found themselves too few and feeble to carry out the prophet's whole designs, and therefore concluded to postpone them altogether to a more convenient season, must be regarded as an entire failure. For one of two suppositions must be adopted, both of them leading to the same result: either that of the negative critics—that certain great features of the Mosaic law, such as the distinction between the priests and Levites and the general priestly legislation, had their origin with Ezekiel; and in this case it is inconceivable that, while adopting this, no attention should have been paid to the authority of this great prophet in other matters; or else we must accept the commonly received view, that the Mosaic law was earlier, and is here profoundly modified by Ezekiel. In the latter case, however much the returning exiles might have been disappointed in their circumstances, yet if they understood the prophet literally, they must have looked forward to the accomplishment of his designs in the future, and would naturally have been anxious to order the restored theocracy on his plan, as far as they could, from the first, to avoid the necessity of future changes; and a large part of the scheme, such as the cycle of the feasts, the ordering of the sacrifices, &c., was quite within their power. In either case, if the vision is to be taken literally, it is inexplicable that there should be no reference to it in the historical books of Ezra and Nehemiah and the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, which all relate to this period, and describe the return and settlement in the land, and the rebuilding of the temple.

It is scarcely necessary to speak of a literal fulfilment still in the future. Ordinarily it is difficult to say that any state of things may not possibly be realised in the future; but here there are features of the prophecy, and those neither of a secondary nor incidental character, which enable us to assert positively that their literal fulfilment would be a plain contradiction of the Divine revelation. It is impos-

sible to conceive, in view of the whole relations between the old ~~and~~ new dispensations, that animal sacrifices can ever be restored by Divine command and with acceptance to God. And, it may be added, it is equally impossible to suppose that the church of the future, progressing in the liberty wherewith Christ has made it free, should ever return to "the weak and beggarly elements" of Jewish bondage here set forth.

Having thus alluded to these general presumptions, we are prepared to look at those particular indications which have been introduced into the prophecy itself as if to show that it is to be understood ideally. I do not propose to speak of those more general indications, such as the regularity of proportions and forms, the symmetry of measurements &c., which here, as in the later chapters of the apocalypse, give to almost every reader a somewhat indefinable but very strong impression of the ideality of the whole description; but will confine myself to statements which admit of definite tests in regard to their literalness.

In the first place, the connection between the temple and the city of Jerusalem in all the sacred literature of the subject, as well as in the thought of every pious Israelite, is so close that a prophecy incidentally separating them, without any distinct statement of the fact or of the reason for so doing, could hardly have been intended, or have been understood literally. Yet in this passage the temple is described as at a distance of nearly nine and a half miles from the utmost bound of the city, or about fourteen and a quarter miles from its centre.\*

A temple in any other locality than Mount Moriah could hardly be the temple of Jewish hope and association. The location of Ezekiel's temple depends upon whether the equal portions of land assigned to

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\* This holds true, however the tribe portions of the land and the "oblation" are located; for the priests' portion of the "oblation," in the midst of which the sanctuary is placed, (xlviii. 10) is 10,000 reeds, or about nineteen miles broad; to the south of this (xlviii. 15-17) is a strip of land of half the width, in which the city is situated, occupying with its "suburbs" its whole width. These distances, in their exactness, depend upon the length of the cubit which is variously estimated. For the purposes of this discussion it is taken at a convenient average of the conflicting estimates, viz: 20 inches. If it were a little more or a little less the general argument would remain the same. There should also be noticed the view of a few writers (Henderson on xlvi. 1; Hengstenberg on xlvi. 1, and a few others) that the dimensions given in this chapter are to be understood of cubits and not of reeds; but this is generally rejected, and is in itself so improbable that it seems to require no discussion. Even if adopted, it would only change the amount of the distance and would still leave the temple quite outside the city and separated from it by a considerable space.

Each of the tribes in ch. xlviij. were actually equal in area, or were only strips of equal width. The latter view is, so far as I know, adopted by all commentators. On this supposition Ezekiel's city would be several miles north of Jerusalem, and the temple, still north of that, would be well on the road to Samaria. On the other supposition, it would fall nearly in the latitude of Hebron.

In either case, the temple, with its precincts, is described as a mile square, or larger than the whole ancient city of Jerusalem. In xlviij. 22 it is expressly said "that the whole limit thereof round about" is "upon the top of the mountain." But without pressing this, it is hardly possible that the precincts of any actual temple could be intended to embrace such a variety of hill and valley as would be involved.

Moreover, the description of the "oblation" itself is physically impossible. The boundaries of the land are expressly said to be the Mediterranean on the one side and the Jordan on the other (xlviij. 25-28). The eastern boundary is not formed by an indefinite extension into the desert, but is distinctly declared to be the Jordan, and above that, the boundaries of Hauran and Damascus. It is substantially the same with that given in Num. xxxiv. 10-12, and in both cases excludes the trans-Jordanic territory which was not a part of Palestine proper, and in which, even after its conquest, the two and a half tribes had been allowed to settle with some reluctance (Num. xxxvii.). Now, if the portions of the tribes were of equal width, the "oblation" could not have been extended so far south as the mouth of the Jordan; but even at that point the whole breadth of the country, according to the English "exploration fund" maps, is only 55 miles. Measuring northwards from this point the width of the oblation,  $47\frac{2}{3}$  miles, a point is reached where the distance between the river and the sea is only 40 miles. It is impossible therefore that the oblation itself should be included between them, and the description requires that there should also be room left for the prince's portion at either end. It has been suggested that the prophet might have had in mind measurements made on the uneven surface of the soil or along the usual routes of travel; but both these suppositions are absolutely excluded by the symmetry and squareness of this description.

Again: the city of the vision is described as the great city of the restored theocracy; but, as already said, it cannot be placed geographically upon the site of Jerusalem. Either, then, this city must be understood ideally, or else a multitude of other prophecies, and notably many of Ezekiel which speak of Zion and of Jerusalem, must be so interpreted. There is no good reason why both may not

be figurative, but it is impossible to take both literally; for some them make statements in regard to the future quite as literal in fo as these, and yet in direct conflict with them. Such prophecies, b~~c~~ in Ezekiel and in the other prophets, in regard to Jerusalem, are ~~t~~ familiar to need citation; yet one, on a similar point, from a prop not much noticed, may be given as an illustration. Obadiah (acco~~i~~ing to some authorities, a contemporary of Ezekiel) foretells (ver. 1 that at the restoration " Benjamin shall possess Gilead"; but acco~~i~~ing to Ezekiel, Gilead is not in the land of the restoration at all, a Benjamin's territory is to be immediately south of the " oblation Again, Obadiah (ver. 20) says, " The captivity of Jerusalem" (whi in distinction from "the captivity of the host of the children of Israel must refer to the two tribes) " shall possess the cities of the south but according to Ezekiel, Judah and Benjamin are to adjoin the ce tral " oblation," and four other tribes are to have their portions sou of them. Such instances might easily be multiplied. It must sur be a false exegesis which makes the prophets gratuitously contrad each other and even contradict themselves (as in this case of Obadia almost in the same sentence.

The division of the land among the twelve tribes; the assignme to the priests and the Levites of large landed estates, and to t former as much as to the latter; the enormous size of the tem~~p~~ precincts and of the city, with the comparatively small allotment land for its support, are all so singular, and so entirely destitute either historical precedent or subsequent realization, that only t clearest evidence would justify the assumption that these things w intended to be literally carried out. No regard is paid to the diff~~ing~~ numbers of the tribes, but—as if to set forth an ideal equality an equal strip of land is assigned to each; and, the trans-Jordan territory being excluded and about one-fifth of the whole land bei set apart as an " oblation," the portion remaining allows to each the tribes only about two-thirds as much territory as, on the averag they had formerly possessed. The geographical order of the tribe also extremely singular, and bears all the marks of ideality. Mo over, nearly the whole territory assigned to Zebulon and Gad habitable only by nomads.

A further difficulty with the literal interpretation may be found the description of the waters which issued from under the easte threshold of the temple (xlvi. 1-12). This difficulty is so great tl some commentators, who have adopted generally a literal interpre~~ti~~tion, have found themselves constrained to resort here to the figurati but on the whole, it has been recognized that the vision is essentia

one, and that it would be unreasonable to give a literal interpretation to one part of it and a figurative to another. The waters of the vision run to the "east country," and go down "to the sea," which can only be the Dead Sea; but such a course would be physically impossible without changes in the surface of the earth, since the location of the temple of the vision is on the west of the water-shed of the country.\* They had, moreover, the effect of "healing" the waters of the sea, an effect which could not be produced naturally without providing an outlet from the sea, and Ezekiel (xlvii. 11) excludes the idea of an outlet. No supply of fresh water could remove the saltiness, while this was all disposed of by evaporation. But, setting aside minor difficulties, the character of the waters themselves is impossible, except by a perpetual miracle. Without insisting upon the strangeness of a spring of this magnitude upon the top of "a very high mountain" (xl. 2; cf. also xliii. 12), at the distance of 1,000 cubits from their source, the waters have greatly increased in volume; and so with each successive 1,000 cubits, until at the end of 4,000 (about a mile and a half) they have become a river no longer fordable, or, in other words, comparable to the Jordan. Such an increase, without accessory streams, is clearly not natural. Beyond all this, the description of the waters themselves clearly marks them as ideal. They are life-giving and healing; trees of perennial foliage and fruit grow upon their banks, the leaves being for "medicine," and the fruit, although for food, never wasting. The reader cannot fail to be reminded of "the pure river of water of life" in Rev. xxii. 1, 2. "on either side" of which was "the tree of life," with "its twelve manner of fruits" and its leaves "for the healing of the nations." The author of the Apocalypse evidently had this passage in mind; and just as he has seized upon the description of Gog and Magog in chaps. xxxviii., xxxix., as an ideal description, and applied it to the events of the future, so he has treated this as an ideal prophecy, and applied it to the Church triumphant.

Finally, it should be remembered that this whole vision is intimately bound together, and all objections which lie against a literal interpretation of any one part, lie also against the whole. Additional reasons for spiritual interpretation will incidentally appear in the following pages.

If it is now asked—and this seems to be the chosen ground of the

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\*This is true with any possible location of the "oblation"; for the central point between the Jordan and the Mediterranean is well on the western water-shed at every locality from the head waters of the Jordan to the extremity of the Dead Sea.

literal interpreters—why then is this prophecy given with such wealth of minute material detail? the answer is obvious, that this thoroughly characteristic of Ezekiel. The tendency to a use of concrete imagery, strongly marked in every part of his book, merely culminates in this closing vision. The two previous chapters, especially have abounded in definite material details of the attack of a great host upon the land of Israel, while these very details, upon examination show that they were not meant to be literally understood, and that the whole prophecy was intended to shadow forth the great and final spiritual conflict, prolonged through ages, between the power of the world and the kingdom of God. So here, the prophet, wishing to set forth the glory, the purity, and the beneficent influence of the church of the future, clothes his description in those terms of the past with which his hearers were familiar. The use of such terms was a necessity in making himself intelligible to his contemporaries; just as to the very close of the inspired volume it is still necessary to set forth the glory and joy of the church triumphant under the figures of earthly and familiar things, but no one is misled thereby to imagine that the heavenly Jerusalem will be surrounded by a literal wall of jasper 1,500 miles high (Rev. xxi, 16, 18), or that its 12 gates shall be each of an actual pearl. At the same time the prophet is careful to introduce among his details so many impossible points as to show that his description must be ideal, and its realisation be sought for beneath the types and shadows in which it is clothed. It may be as impossible to find the symbolical meaning of each separate detail as it is to tell the typical meaning of the sockets for the boards of the tabernacle, although the tabernacle as a whole is expressly said to have been a type. This is the case with every vision, and parable, and type, and every form of setting forth truth by imagery; there must necessarily be much which has no independent signification, but is merely subsidiary to the main point. Ezekiel's purpose was so far understood by his contemporaries that they never made any attempt to carry out his descriptions in the rebuilding of the temple and the reconstruction of the State. The idea of a literal interpretation of his words was reserved for generations long distant from his time, from the forms of the church under which he lived, and from the circumstances and habits of expression with which he was familiar, and under the influence of which he wrote.

With this unavoidably prolonged discussion the ground is cleared for a comparison of the *cultus* set forth in this vision of Ezekiel with

that commanded in the Mosaic law, and an examination of the relation between them. This discussion is embarrassed by the difficulty of finding any historical data which will be universally accepted. If we might assume that any of the older historical books of the Old Testament were as trustworthy as ordinary ancient histories making no claim to inspiration, or that the books of most of the prophets were not pious frauds, the task would be greatly simplified. As it is, I shall endeavor to conduct the examination on the basis of such obvious facts as would be admitted by the authors of what seem to the writer such strange romances as Kuenen's "Religion of Israel" and "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel."\*

The first point to which attention may be called is the landed property of the priests and Levites. According to the Mosaic law, they had no inheritance of land like the other tribes, but merely scattered cities for residence; and were to depend for support, partly upon their portion of the sacrifices, and chiefly upon the tithes of the people. While the payment of these tithes was commanded, there was absolutely no provision for enforcing their payment. This rested entirely upon moral obligation, and the condition of the whole Levitical tribe was thus dependent upon the conscientiousness of the Israelites. When the sense of religious obligation was strong, they would be well provided for; when it was weak, they would be in want. And this is exactly what appears from the general course of the history, as well as from such special narratives as are universally admitted to be of great antiquity. (See Judg. xvii. 7-18, &c.) Now, after the exile, at a time when there can be no question in regard to the facts, we find the priests and Levites similarly unprovided with landed property. The Mosaic law, the condition of things before the exile and after, agree together; but Ezekiel represents a totally different state of things. He assigns two strips of territory, one to the priests and the other to the Levites, each of nearly the same size as the allotment to any of the tribes (xlviii. 9-14). This very small tribe would thus have had almost twice as much land as any other; and such a provision would obviously have profoundly modified the whole state and relations of the priestly order and of the subordinate Levites. In this point, therefore, we find that if any process of development was going on in the ecclesiastical system of Israel, it was such as to

\* Substantially the same views, especially in relation to Ezekiel, are taken by Graf (*Die Geschichtl. Bücher des alten Test.*), Smend (*Der Prophet Ezechiel*), and others, with sundry variations in detail; but as Kuenen is the author most widely known, and presents his theories in the most favorable point of view, the references of this paper will be confined to his works.

leave the final result just what it had been before, while the system Ezekiel, which, on that supposition, should be a middle term between the two, is entirely foreign to both of them.

There are other noteworthy points involved in the same provision. According to Deut. xix. 2-9 three cities, and conditionally another three, and according to Num. xxxv. 9-15 the whole six, were to be selected from the cities of the Levites and appointed as cities of refuge in case of unintentional manslaughter. The same provision is alluded to in Ex. xxi. 13, 14, and it plainly forms an essential feature of the whole Mosaic law in regard to manslaughter and murder. After the conquest, according to Josh. xxi. this command was executed and the cities were distributed as widely as possible in different parts of the land, three of them on either side of the Jordan, the eastern side being considered as an extension of the land not included in the original promise and therefore bringing into force the condition requirement of Deuteronomy.\* But by the arrangement of Ezekiel the Levites were not to have cities scattered through the land, and the central territory could not afford the necessary ease of access from distant parts. There is here therefore an essential difference in regard to the whole law in reference to manslaughter and murder, and it is plain that the Mosaic law in this point could not have been devised from Ezekiel.

But besides this obvious inference, it is in the highest degree improbable that this provision of the Mosaic law could have originated after the captivity, when it would have been entirely unsuited to the political condition of the people. Still more, it is inconceivable that the record of the execution of this law by Joshua could have been invented after the time of Ezekiel; for neither in his vision is any such selection of cities indicated, nor in the actual territorial arrangement of the restoration was there any opportunity therefor. Yet the same account which records the selection (incidentally mentioned in connection with each city as it is reached in the list) clearly recognises the distinction between the priests and the Levites (Josh. xxi.) This distinction then must have been older than Ezekiel.

In quite another point Ezekiel's assignment of territory, taken in connection with Numbers and Joshua, has an important bearing upon the antiquity of the distinction between priests and Levites. According to the Mosaic law the priests were a higher order ecclesiastic

\*Deuteronomy was indeed written after the conquest of the trans-Jordanic territory; but it was immediately after, and when this territory was yet hardly considered as the home of the tribes. Some writers prefer to consider the number of six cities as fixed and the three additional, which in their view were never set apart, as making nine.

than the Levites and in accordance with this position, were provided with a more ample income; for being much less than a tenth of the tribe, the priests received a tenth of the income of all the other Levites (Num. xviii. 25-28). Both these facts are in entire accordance with the relations of the priests and Levites in post-exilic times; but they are at variance with those relations as set forth in Joshua, if that be post-exilic, and also with Ezekiel considered as a preparatory stage of the legislation of the Pentateuch. Of course, the whole body of the Levites must have been originally many times more numerous than the members of the single family of Aaron, and if Joshua xxi. be very ancient we need not be surprised that the 48 Levitical cities provided for in Numbers (xxxv. 1-7) should have been given, 13 to the priests and 35 to the other Levites (Josh. xxi.); for this gave to the priests individually a much larger proportion than to the Levites. The same thing is true of the provision made by Ezekiel. The equal strips of land given to the priests collectively and to the Levites collectively, gave much more to the former individually. But all this would have been entirely untrue after the exile. In the census of the returning exiles, given in both Ezra and Nehemiah, the number of priests is set down as 4289 (Ezra ii. 36-38; Neh. vii. 39-42), while that of the Levites—even including the *Nethinim*—is 733, or but little more than one-sixth of that number (Ez. ii. 40-58; in Neh. vii, 43—60 the number is 752).\* It may indeed be argued that Ezekiel has no regard to the actual numbers of the two bodies, but writing at an early stage of the process of separation between the priests and the Levites, intends to put them upon a precise equality; and that only at a later period was the pecuniary provision for the Levites made inferior to that of the priests. If this be so, then Joshua xxi. must be post-exilic; for in its whole arrangement it clearly recognizes the distinction and the superiority of the priests. Yet this gives 35 cities to the very few Levites and only 13 to the comparatively numerous priests—

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\*Kuenen (*Relig. of Isr.* Vol. II. p. 203, 204) and his school undertake to explain this disparity of numbers by the supposition that the Levites were "degraded priests" of which he thinks he finds evidence in Ezek. xliv. 10-16. For the present point this is quite immaterial; all that is here required is admitted by him—the fact of the great disparity in numbers. But the supposition itself is quite gratuitous, and rests upon two unfounded assumptions: (1) that "the Levites" in ver. 10 cannot be used *zar' ἔξοχον* for the priests—a point to be spoken of elsewhere; and (2) that the "sons of Zadok" ver. 15, is synonymous with "sons of Aaron," which is not true. The simple and natural explanation of the passage in Ezekiel is that the prophet means to degrade the *priests* who have been guilty of idolatry. (See Curtiss' *The Levitical Priests* p. 74-77.)

in other words is self-contradictory. In this respect the bearing of Ezekiel is plain; it makes the Mosaic law and the history of Joshua consistent if they were ancient, but inconsistent and self-contradictory if Ezekiel's vision was a stage in the late differentiation of the priests from the Levites.

We are now prepared to go a step further. It is agreed on all sides that Ezekiel recognizes a distinction between the priests and the Levites. To an ordinary reader of his book it appears that he makes this recognition incidentally and as a matter of course, as of an old, familiar, and established distinction. He nowhere states that there shall be such a distinction, nor gives any grounds upon which it shall rest, nor describes who shall be included in the one body and who in the other, except that he confines the priests to "the sons of Zadok" (xl. 46; xlivi. 19; xliv. 15; xlvi. 11), of which more will be said presently. Certainly this does not look, upon the face of it, like the original institution of this distinction. But Kuenen (*Relig. of Isr.* vol. 2 p. 116) asserts that at the time of Josiah's reformation, "all the Levites, without exception, were considered qualified to serve as priests of Jahweh," and that "Ezekiel is the first to desire other rules for the future," and that the priestly laws of the Pentateuch, of which he had no knowledge, were subsequent. Again he says (ib. p. 153) "Ezekiel, in uttering his wishes as to the future, made a beginning of committal to writing of the priestly tradition. The priests in Babylonia went on in his footsteps. A first essay in priestly legislation—remains of which have been preserved to us in Lev. xviii–xxvi.—was followed by others, until at last a complete system arose, contained in an historical frame. Possessed of this system, the priestly exiles, and among them Ezra in particular, could consider themselves entitled and called upon to come forward as teachers in Judea, and to put in practice the ordinances which hitherto had been exclusively of theoretical interest to them."\* These passages are cited from Kuenen simply to bring distinctly before the mind the theory which has recently gained acceptance with an intelligent school of critics; it is the bearing upon this of the vision of Ezekiel which we are to consider. The question to be asked is whether the more careful examination of this vision bears out the *prima facie* impression produced by it, or confirms the somewhat elaborate theory of Kuenen.

There can be no manner of doubt that in Ezekiel's time there already existed two classes of persons known respectively as "priests"

\* He admits that the distinction is recognized in 1 Kings viii. 4, but says "this is merely in consequence of a clerical error." *Relig. Isr.* vol. II. p. 301.)

and as "Levites." Whatever may have been the ground of the distinction, and whether or not all were equally entitled to offer sacrifices, Ezekiel certainly recognizes the two classes as existing, since he could not otherwise have used the terms without defining them. The Levites, of course, may be considered already well known as the descendants of the tribe of Levi; but why not the priests in a similar way? How could he have used the term in distinction from the Levites, if no such distinction had been hitherto known?

But further: Ezekiel assigns to the priests the functions of offering the sacrifices and of eating the sin offering, while to the Levites he gives the duty of "ministering in the sanctuary." Of course the mere expression "minister" (xliv. 11) might, if it stood alone, be understood of any sort of service; but the whole context shows it is meant of a service inferior to the priests, and the existence here of the same distinctions as those of the Mosaic law has been so universally recognized as to lead some scholars to argue that the provisions of this law must have been derived from this prophet. It is found however, that precisely the same distinction appears, and precisely the same duties are assigned respectively to the priests and to the Levites in the ages before Ezekiel. There is no occasion to speak of the functions of the priests since there is no dispute about them; in regard to the Levites, I will refer only to a single passage already cited by Kuenen (*ubi sup.* p. 304) as pre-exilic, and of especial interest because it is taken from Deuteronomy (xviii. 1-8), and is partly in the same words as those used by Ezekiel. At first sight it appears to join the two classes together, but on closer examination is found to make a clear distinction between them. "The priests the Levites, all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel; they shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and his inheritance" (vs. 1). This statement has been thought to show that the whole tribe was here treated as a unit, with no distinction between its members. If it stood alone it might be so regarded; but the lawgiver immediately goes on to speak separately of the two parts of the tribe: "And this shall be the priests' due from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice," specifying the parts of the victim and also the first fruits; "for the Lord thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes to stand to minister in the name of the Lord, him and his sons forever." So far about the priests. Then follows, "And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourned, and come with all the desire of his mind unto the place which the Lord shall choose, then he shall minister in the name of the Lord his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand before the Lord. They shall

have like portions to eat, besides that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony." There is here nothing, as in the case of the priests, about sacrifice; but the Levites appear to be inferior ministrants, just as in the Book of Numbers; and it is provided that any of the tribe, wherever he has before lived, may come and join himself to their number and share in the provision for their support, without regard to his private property. The supposition that the Levites referred to in these last verses were also priests, *i. e.* entitled to offer sacrifice, would be exegetically inadmissible; for they are said to "come from any of thy gates out of all Israel," while in Josh. xxi. 9-19 the cities of the priests (described also as the sons of Aaron) are confined to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon. Consequently those who were to offer sacrifice could not "come from any of thy gates out of all Israel."\* But independently of this fact, the priests are mentioned in Deuteronomy with their duties, then afterwards the Levites separately with their duties, which are not the same; and the point would require to be otherwise most clearly proved before it could be admitted that the persons were the same. Of course Ezekiel's vision while it separates clearly the priests from the Levites, yet in assigning to each of them a compact territory, looks to an entirely different state of things from that contemplated in Numbers or fulfilled in Joshua.

Again: the expression "the priests the Levites" used seven times in Deuteronomy (xvii. 9, 18; xviii. 1; xxi. 5; xxiv. 8; xxvii. 9 xxxi. 9) and twice in Joshua (iii. 3; viii. 33) has been relied upon as a proof that the two classes were not distinguished when these books were written. That this argument will not apply to Joshua has already appeared, and Curtiss in his "Levitical Priests"† has shown that the same expression is used in the post-exilic books of Chronicles; but our concern is with Ezekiel. He has the expression twice (xlvi. 19; xliv. 15) and each time with an addition which leaves no possible doubt of his meaning: "that be of the seed of Zadok" and "sons of Zadok." Hence the same reasoning which would make all Levites into priests in Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Chronicles, would make them all into "sons of Zadok" in Ezekiel.

But this leads to another fact in the prophet's description of the priesthood. As already said, he recognizes as the priests of the futur

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\* This difficulty might be avoided by supposing Joshua to be later than Deuteronomy; but it has already been shown that this would only involve other and no less formidable difficulties on the other side.

† "The Levitical Priests, a contribution to the criticism of the Pentateuch." By S. J. Curtiss, Jr., Ph. D. with a preface by Franz Delitzsch Edinburgh and Leipzig, 1877.

only "the sons of Zadok (xl. 46; xlivi. 19; xliv. 15; xviii. 11). Kuenen indeed seems to assume (*ubi sup.* p. 116) that "sons of Zadok" and "sons of Aaron" are synonymous terms; it needs no argument to show that they are really very different. By universal agreement, the priesthood was not of old restricted to the "sons of Zadok," and it may be added, I suppose by the same universal agreement, it was not so restricted afterwards. The return of other priests is mentioned by Ezra (ii. 36-39) and Nehemiah (vii. 39-42), and I do not know that there has ever been any question that priests of other families served in the temple in later ages. Here then the prophet is found, as in so many other cases, to be at variance alike with the earlier and the later practice and with the Mosaic law, instead of constituting a link between them. If it be alleged that he proposed to restrict the priesthood to the family of Zadok, but that this was found impracticable and his successors carried out his plan as far as they could, by restricting it to the wider family of Aaron, it may well be asked, where is the proof of this? Where is the thought or suggestion anywhere outside of Ezekiel that such a narrower restriction was ever desired or attempted? If we look upon the prophet's description as ideal, the whole matter is plain enough. "The sons of Zadok," in view of the facts of history, are the faithful priests, and only such would Ezekiel have to minister; but as a scheme for a change in the actual and literal priesthood, the whole matter is inexplicable.

Another point in which Ezekiel differs from the Mosaic ritual is in regard to the persons who were to slay the ordinary sacrificial victims. According to Lev. i. 5, 11; iii. 2, 8, 13; iv. 4 (cf. 15), 24, 29, 33, the victim was to be killed by the one who made the offering, and according to Ex. xii. 6, the same rule was to be observed with regard to the Passover. This was apparently the custom in all ages. The language of Josephus (*An.* iii. 9. § 1), although not very clear, favors this supposition, and the record in 2 Chron. xxix. 20, ss., 34; xxx. 17 seems decisive. In this post-exilic book, in the account of the purification of the sanctuary under Hezekiah, the exceptional sacrifices of the purification are said to be slain by the priests, and the assistance of the Levites in flaying the victims is expressly excused on account of the insufficiency in the number of the priests, while at the subsequent Passover it is said "the Levites had the charge of the killing the Passovers for everyone that was not clean." These excuses for these acts imply that, in the time of the Chronicler, it was still the custom for the people to kill their own sacrifices and for the priests to flay them. The Levitical law and the post-exilic custom (as well as

the pre-exilic) here agree as usual; but Ezekiel is quite apart from them and provides (xliv. 11) that the Levites "shall slay the burnt offering and the sacrifice for the people." Here again he is not at all in the line of a developing system. It may be added incidentally that the Samaritan Pentateuch shows what would have been the actual progress of development if it had existed in these matters in Israel; for, by changing the number of the pronouns and verbs in Leviticus, it makes the priests the slayers of the victims in all cases.

It has often been noticed that the office of high-priest is ignored in this vision, and an argument has been based on this fact to show that the writings of Ezekiel mark an early stage in the development of the Jewish hierarchy, when the precedence of the high-priest had not yet been established. The fundamental statement itself is not strictly true, and it will appear presently that the prophet, in several different ways, incidentally recognizes the existence of the high-priest and of some of the principal laws in relation to him. But the high-priest fills a prominent and important place in the Mosaic legislation, and if it could be shown on the one hand that there was no high-priest before the captivity, and on the other, that Ezekiel knew of none, it would certainly create a presumption that the laws of the priesthood might be of later origin. But the facts are so precisely opposite, that the maintenance of such propositions seems very strange. It may be well to refer again to Kuenen, as a fair exponent of this school of critics, to show that the non-existence of the high-priesthood before the captivity is distinctly maintained by them. He admits, indeed, "that one of the high-priests, who bore the title of *Kohen hagadol* ['the high-priest'] or *Kohen rōsch* ['the head-priest'], at any rate from the days of Jehoash, stood at the head of the Jerusalem priests," but he associates him in honor and rank only with the three "door-keepers," and tells us that the various passages cited "teach us that one of the priests superintended the temple, or, in other words, kept order there, in which duty he was of course assisted by others"; and that "it follows, from 2 Kings xi. 18; xii. 12; Jer. xxix. 26, that this post was instituted by Jehoiada, the contemporary of King Jehoash" (*Relig. of Isr.* vol. II. p. 304). Again he marks emphatically, as one of the evidences of the late origin of the high-priesthood, that "the distinction between the duties of the priests and the high-priest, Lev. xxi. 1-9 and verses 10-15, does not occur at all in Ezekiel" (*ib.* p. 190). And still again (*ib.* p. 214), he represents that, even in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, the duties and authority of the high-priest were still in a vague and unsettled condition.

The point here to be determined is whether we have evidence of

the existence before the captivity of a high-priesthood as an important, regular office, transmitted by inheritance, and forming one of the fundamental features of the Israelitish polity. Of course, we could not expect to find in such histories as have been preserved other than meagre and incidental allusions to the details of the high-priest's duties, his dress, and such matters. Such allusions do occur, as in the case of Ahimelech at the time of David's flight (1 Sam. xxi. 1-9), and of the ephod of Abiathar (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9—observe that in ver. 9 it is תְּדַבֵּר with the definite article), in connection with David's enquiry of the Lord. (Comp. also the charge against Ahimelech that he "enquired of the Lord" for David. 1 Sam. xxii. 10, 15). But the question is not about these matters of detail; the main point is, that in Israel the priestly order had, and almost of necessity must have had, especially in the times before the monarchy, an authoritative and real head, as was the case with other nations of antiquity. Even the exception here proves the rule, and we find that temporarily, in one anomalous period of the history, during the reign of David, there were two heads or high-priests, Zadok and Abiathar. The latter, after the slaughter of his father and kinsman by Saul, had fled to David in his outlawry and had become, as he was entitled to become by inheritance, his high-priest. Meantime the office could not be left in abeyance under the regular government, and when David ascended the throne he found the high-priesthood occupied by Zadok. He did not presume to displace him, and neither would he displace the faithful sharer of his own adversity; so it came about that both were recognized. This anomalous state of things was the more tolerable because at the same time, according to the history, the ark and the tabernacle were separated, while the duties of the high priest were connected with both of them. The high priest, or during the period just mentioned, the two high priests, are mentioned in the following passages which are expressly cited by Kuenen (*Relig. of Isr.* Note II. on ch. viii. Vol. II., p. 304) as pre-exilic: 2 Sam. viii. 17; xx. 25; 1 Ki. iv. 4; ii. 22, 26, 27; 2 Ki. xii. 10; xxii. 4, 8; xxiii. 4; xxv. 18; Jer. xx. 1. It is well known how greatly this list might be extended, and also how often the high priest is mentioned in the books of Joshua and 1 Samuel, the names of Eleazar, Phinehas, Eli or Ahiah, being often given in connection with the office, besides those of Ahimelech, Abiathar, Zadok, and Ahitub. It would be hard to find any single fact in the whole compass of Israelitish history in itself more probable or more abundantly attested than the existence of the office of a real high priest, an important functionary

in the kingdom, the counsellor of the rulers, and whose especial office it was to "enquire of the Lord" and communicate His commands at important national emergencies. There is also perfect clear and ample evidence of the continued existence of the same office after the captivity. Jeremiah (lii. 24-27) and the author of the second book of Kings (xxv. 18-21) give the name of the person who held the office at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, Seraiah who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar; while Ezra (ii. 2; iii. 8, 9; iv. 3; v. 2; x. 18) and Nehemiah (vii. 7; xii. 1, 7, 10, 2) unite with Haggai (i. 1, 12, 14; ii. 2, 4) and Zechariah (iii. 1, 6, 8, 9; vi. 11) in mentioning Joshua, or Jeshua, the son of Josedek as the high priest of the restoration. But Ezekiel's vision, it is seen, recognizes no such office, and as will be seen presently, intentionally excludes it. Once more then, this vision not only gives no countenance, but is in direct opposition to the theory, that Ezekiel originated or was a direct link in the development of the priesthood from an earlier to a later differing form.

There is however, one curious point incidentally occurring in the vision which shows that Ezekiel was familiar with the office of high priest. In the various measurements of the temple and all its detail given in chaps. xli., xlii., the prophet everywhere accompanies the measuring angel until he comes to the holy of holies. There the angel enters alone, as is shown by a sudden change in the language (xli. 3). This certainly has the appearance of a consciousness on the part of Ezekiel, the priest, that he might not enter there, and (since it cannot be supposed that this part of the temple was not to be entered at all) an allusion to that provision of the law by which entrance into the holy of holies was forbidden to all, save to the high priest only on the great day of atonement. I do not know of any other explanation, and if this be the true one, it shows that not only the high priest, but the principal Mosaic law in regard to him also the day of atonement was known to the prophet.

That the omission of the high priest from this vision is not accidental but intentional is shown by the laws of the priesthood here set forth. These laws treat the priesthood as a single body without distinction and, considered only in themselves, admit of either of two interpretations: (1) on the development hypothesis, that they are original and general laws which were subsequently differentiated in the special stricter ones for the high priest, and the less strict for the brethren; or (2) that the specific laws were actually older than Ezekiel but when he omitted the high priest from his scheme, he combined them into a certain mean between the two. The choice

between these two hypotheses is at once determined in favor of the latter if, as has already been shown, there was a real high priest in the previous ages. All reasonable ground of argument from these laws in favor of the development hypothesis is thus taken away; and not only so, but it is evident from the vision that Ezekiel knew of those stricter laws in regard to the high priest which did not apply to the priesthood in general. Besides the allusion already mentioned, the peculiarity of the prophet's laws appears especially in two points: in regard to marriage, and in regard to mourning. For the former, the Levitical law allowed the marriage of the ordinary priest to any but a profane or divorced woman, laying no restriction upon the marriage with a widow (*Lev. xxi. 7*); but it restricted the high priest to marriage with "a virgin of his own people" (*ib. 14*). Ezekiel makes a general compromise law for all, allowing marriage with a widow in case her former husband had been a priest (*xliv. 22*). The same thing is true of mourning. Ezekiel in general repeats literally the law of *Lev. xxi. 1-3, 11-14*, but while there is there a distinction between the high-priest and the ordinary priest, here there is one intermediate regulation. In *Leviticus* the ordinary priest might be "defiled for the dead" "for his kin that is near unto him," while this is in all cases whatever forbidden to the high-priest; in *Ezekiel* (*xliv. 25-27*) such defilement for the dead that "is near of kin" is allowed to all, but must be followed not only by the ordinary cleansing after contact with a dead body (see *Num. xix. 11-17*), but also by a second special period of seven days closed by a sin offering before the priest again enters upon the discharge of his duties. It will be noticed that there is here not only allusion to the laws of *Leviticus*, but also to a cleansing, apparently that prescribed in *Numbers*.

The regulations for the priests' dress (*xliv. 17-19*) require no especial notice. They are very brief; and as far as they go, are a simple reproduction of the provisions of *Lev. xxviii*. They have altogether the air of presupposing a knowledge of that law and specifying only a few particulars to recall the whole. As far as any inference is to be drawn from them, it is decidedly in favor of a recognition of the detailed precepts of *Leviticus* as already familiar.

We may now pass to the feasts and sacrifices and under this general head two points are to be considered: 1st, the changes in the ritual of the particular feasts and sacrifices, and 2d, the changes in the cycle of the feasts themselves. Under the former head the change which, if literally carried out, would have been the most striking one to the Israelite because most constantly before his mind, was that in the daily burnt offering. Ezekiel requires that there shall be a burnt

offering every morning; he says nothing whatever of an evening sacrifice and his language is justly thought to exclude the idea of one (xlvi. 13-15). The Mosaic law commanded that there should be a burnt offering *both* morning and evening (Ex. xxix. 38, 39; Num. xxviii. 3, 4; cf. also Lev. vi. 8, 9). Is this an enlargement of, and therefore later than Ezekiel's prescription? Of course this will depend upon whether there is evidence of the custom of evening sacrifice before the time of the exile. There are two passages which, as they stand in our version, are clear and decisive upon this point. In Ki. xviii. 36 it is said in connection with the controversy between Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel, "It came to pass at the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice, that Elijah" &c. Here this is evidently regarded as so fixed a custom as to suffice in itself to make the hour. Again, in 2 Ki. xvi. 15, when Ahaz had introduced his own idolatrous altar and yet wished the legal sacrifices to go on as usual, he "commanded Urijah the priest, saying, upon the great altar burn the morning burnt offering, and the evening meat offering" &c. Either of these passages, much more both of them, would be entirely decisive were it not for the fact that the word used for the evening sacrifice in both cases is פָּנָה and it is urged that this means an unbloody sacrifice. After the restoration also, when Ezra on one occasion "sat astonished until the evening sacrifice" (Ezra ix. 4) the word is the same. It is therefore suggested by some interpreters that before and after the exile, as far as the time of Ezra, the custom may have been to offer a burnt offering in the morning and an unbloody oblation in the evening; and this interpretation is thought to be confirmed by Ps. cxli. 2, "Let my prayer be set before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening פָּנָה." From this it is argued that the Mosaic law, being at variance with this custom, and also with Ezekiel, must be of later origin; but if so, it must be also later than the book of Daniel, (which these critics place at 165 B. C.) for he also describes the hour of evening sacrifice as "the time of the evening פָּנָה" (ix. 21). As far as Ezekiel is concerned, this argument is seen, on a moment's reflection, to have no force; for it is just as difficult to account for his omission of a regular evening oblation as of a burnt offering. But the matter cannot be left here, for the whole interpretation is wrong. The technical meaning of פָּנָה as an unbloody oblation belongs to the Levitical law, and if this law be of later origin, as is claimed by some critics, this sense cannot be carried back to an earlier time. Besides, this

oblation was never offered alone except in certain peculiar cases which do not bear upon the question;\* it was always an accompaniment of the bloody sacrifice. If, therefore, it could be proved—which it cannot—that in 1 and 2 Kings and Ezra the unbloody oblation was meant, it would yet remain that the mention of it implies and involves also the animal sacrifice. But the sense of the word outside of the technical language of the law is very general, being applied to an ordinary present (Gen. xxxii. 13 [14], 18 [19], 20 [21], 21 [22]; xxviii. 10; xliv. 11, and frequently), or to tribute (Judg. iii. 15-18, and frequently); and when this is a present to God, or sacrifice, it is applied indifferently to the unbloody or to the animal sacrifice. Thus it is used of the animal sacrifice of Abel as well as of the unbloody offering of Cain (Gen. iv. 3-5); in 1 Sam. ii. 29 it is clearly meant to include all sacrifices, but with especial reference to those of animals; in 1 Sam. iii. 14 it is used with תְּמִימָה of a propitiatory sacrifice; in Mal. i. 13 it clearly refers to an animal sacrifice, since the “torn, and the lame, and the sick” are mentioned. In fact, it is a general word for sacrifice of any kind, and while, following the technical language of the law, it is often used specifically, and applied to the unbloody, as distinguished from the animal sacrifice, yet it is also used of sacrifice in general in such a way that it must be supposed to include the animal sacrifice (see 1 Sam. ii. 17; xxvi. 19; 1 Chr. xvi. 29; Ps. xcvi. 8; Zeph. iii. 10; Mal. i. 10; ii. 12, 13; iii. 3, 4). There is therefore no ground for the theory that the evening תְּמִימָה of 1 Kings xviii. 29; 2 Kings xvi. 15; and Ezra ix. 4, refers to an unbloody offering. In fact, the argument would prove too much; for the same expression is used also of the morning sacrifice in 2 Kings iii. 20, “it came to pass in the morning, when the morning תְּמִימָה was offered.” It remains, therefore, that here, as elsewhere, Ezekiel’s provisions stand quite apart from the law and the custom, and give no indication of being a step in the development of a *cultus*.

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\*The only certain exception is the offering of jealousy (Num. v. 15-26). In addition, the unbloody oblation was allowed (Lev. ii. 1-9; vii. 9, 10) as a voluntary offering, although this was probably in connection with the other sacrifices. Also it was a special offering of Aaron and his sons “in the day of their consecration” (Lev. vi. 20-23 [13-16]) in connection with their other offerings. Further, an offering of the first fruits of vegetable products was allowed (Lev. ii. 12-16; vi. 14-18 [7, 8]), but in so far as this was “the first fruits of the harvest” it was to be accompanied with a lamb for a burnt offering (Lev. xxiii. 10-12, 17, 18). The sin offering of fine flour of the very poor (Lev. v. 20-23) is expressly distinguished from the תְּמִימָה.

We regard these divergences, on the contrary, as intentional and designed to show the people, familiar with the Mosaic law, that his vision was to be understood ideally and not literally.

There is another point in connection with this daily offering. According to the law (Num. xxviii. 3-5) with each of the lambs, morning and evening, a meat and drink offering was to be made of 1-10 of an ephah of flour,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a hin of oil, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a hin of strong wine. As Ezekiel speaks of but one offering he increases the accompanying meat offering to 1-6 of an ephah of flour, and to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a hin of oil. This is the same sort of change as in the case of the priests' marriage and mourning: the omitted provision is compensated for by an increase in what remains. And in this case also, the omitted provision having been certainly customary before the time of Ezekiel, this compensation has a manifest reference to the familiar, and therefore previously existing provisions of the Mosaic law.

An objection may be here interposed that the non-observance of the detail of Ezekiel's ritual in the subsequent ages is no more surprising than the corresponding non-observance of many particulars in the detail of the Mosaic ritual, which is very evident in the time of the Judges and the early monarchy. There is really no parallel between the two cases. The times of the Judges and of the early monarchy were a period of disorder and anarchy, in which the general confusion of society forbids the inference that such laws did not exist; but the times after Ezekiel were times of over-scrupulous and even superstitious observance of the minutest details of ritual, when it is inconceivable that his scheme should have been neglected through mere inadvertence and carelessness.

The ritual of the great feasts is considerably changed. Pentecost and the Day of Atonement are entirely omitted. In regard to the comparative value of these omissions in the historical books and in Ezekiel, the same thing is to be said as before: the omission in the former may have been merely accidental, and proves nothing; in Ezekiel it must have been intentional. It will appear presently, however, that while omitting the Day of Atonement from his scheme, he does probably allude to it in a way that shows familiarity with its observance. There remain to be considered the Passover, the feast of Tabernacles, and the "New Moons."

The Passover, according to Ezek. xlvi. 21-23, is to be kept at the same time and for the same number of days, as in the Mosaic law, but there is no mention of the Paschal lamb itself; the sin-offering by the Mosaic law (Num. xxviii. 17, 22) was to be a he-goat for each day, here (vs. 23) a bullock for the first day and a he-goat for each of

the other days; the burnt offering for each day by the law was to be two bullocks, a ram and seven yearling lambs, here seven bullocks and seven rams; the meat offering by the law was to be 3-10 of a ephah of meal mixed with oil for each bullock, 2-10 for each ram, and 1-10 for each lamb, or in all 1½ ephahs daily—here a whole ephah for each victim, or in all 14 ephahs daily and as many hins of oil (vs. 24). The offerings in Ezekiel therefore are richer than those required by the law. The same thing is to be said of the special sacrifices for the Sabbaths. According to the law (Num. xxviii. 9) these were to be marked by two lambs for burnt offerings, each with the usual meat and drink offering; but according to this vision (xlvi. 4-5) the Sabbath burnt offering was to be six lambs and a ram, with an ephah for a meat offering with the ram, and that for the lambs dependent upon the ability and generosity of the prince, and in all cases a hin of oil to each ephah. (Nothing is said of the drink offering.) It is difficult to assign reasons for these details. They plainly do not agree with the Mosaic law, and it is well known that the custom of later ages was founded upon that law. We have no data in history before the exile to determine the custom in these details one way or the other; but the presumption is that here as elsewhere the prophet has intentionally varied from the known law and custom in order to mark the ideal character of his vision. Certainly this is no beginning or early stage in a developing *cultus*; for otherwise, in these details, which could as well be arranged one way as another, the authority of the prophet would have been followed; but there never was any attempt even, so far as history shows, to realize his ideal.

The feast of Tabernacles, which has no name given to it in Ezekiel, but is simply a feast of seven days in the seventh month (xlvi. 25), is greatly simplified. Here the sacrifices are to be the same as in the case of the Passover,—an entire change from the elaborate ritual of the Mosaic law (Num. xxix. 12-24)—with, on the whole, a great diminution in the number of victims and an omission of the extra eighth day added to the feast in Lev. (xxiii. 36, 39) and Num. (xxix. 35), and which in the law was expressly characterized as an addition,—sometimes included and sometimes not in the mention of the feast. In regard to these changes the same remarks are to be made as in the case of the Passover, with only this addition, that it appears from both 1 Kings viii. 65, 66 and 2 Chron. vii. 8-10 that this eighth day was always looked upon in the same way—as a part, and yet not a part, of the feast. Solomon keeps the feast to that day inclusive,

and then he makes a solemn assembly, and yet on that day dismisses the people to their homes.\*

In regard to the New Moons, or the first day of every month, the Mosaic law prescribes (in addition to the burnt and meat offerings) a he-goat for a sin offering (Num. xxviii. 15). In Ezekiel's scheme of the feasts, these new moons are entirely omitted, except for the first month, though afterwards incidentally alluded to. The Mosaic law also provided on the tenth of the seventh month for a day of atonement, with special and very peculiar sacrifices (Lev. xvi.). All this is condensed, as it were, in this vision, into two sacrifices, each of a young bullock, one upon the first and one upon the seventh day of the first month, with particulars in regard to them (to be mentioned presently) which seem to refer to the day of Atonement. Now, it is certain from the history of David (1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 24) and from other historical records (2 Kings iv. 23; 1 Chron. xxiii. 31; 2 Chron. ii. 4; viii. 13; xxxi. 3), as well as from allusions in the pre-exilic prophets (Isa. i. 13, 14; [lxvi. 23; Ps. lxxxix. 3]; Hos. ii. 11; Amos viii. 5) that the new moons were kept as sacred feasts in the ages before the exile, as it is known that they were also afterwards (Ezra iii. 5; Neh. x. 33). The omission of these new moons from this description of the feasts is particularly instructive, because Ezekiel himself, in other parts of the vision (xliv. 17; xlvi. 3), incidentally, but repeatedly, mentions the "new moons" (in the plural) as days to be sanctified by special sacrifices, and requires the prince to provide the same offerings for them as for the Sabbath (xlvi. 6).† He thus shows that he was familiar with them and expects them to be continued, but in this setting forth of the cycle of the feasts he does not mention them. This cannot be taken then for a part of the development of a priestly law.

He differs from the Mosaic law also in the ritual of the blood of these sacrifices on the first and seventh days of the first month. The Levitical law gives no directions for the blood of the offerings on the first day of the month, doubtless because it followed the ordinary rule and was simply sprinkled on the side of the altar; but it required

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\* The inconsistency which Kuenen (*Relig. of Isr.* Note II. on chap. viii. vol. ii. p. 296, 7) thinks he finds between the passages above cited is wholly imaginary. Solomon observed seven days for the dedication of the altar in imitation of Lev. viii.-x., and then kept the feast for seven days after the altar had been consecrated. Hence 1 Kings viii. 65 speaks of "seven days and seven days, even for fourteen days," and then of the following "eighth day"; while 2 Chron. viii. 9 explains more fully "they kept the dedication of the altar seven days and the feast seven days."

† The word is, in this last case, in the singular, as is also the Sabbath; but both are evidently used collectively.

the blood on the day of Atonement to be brought within the Holy of Holies and sprinkled before and upon the mercy seat. Ezekiel again compromises and directs that the blood of the sin offering on the first and seventh days of the first month shall be put "upon the posts of the house, and upon the four corners of the settle of the altar, and upon the posts of the gate of the inner court." There may be here a reminiscence of the day of Atonement, but nothing like a generic law which could have been specialized into the particular observances of the Mosaic law. It is rather a purely ideal ritual, which nobody ever thought of reducing to practice. There is no such congruity between it and the Levitical regulations as a development hypothesis would require.

We may now consider, in a few words, the general cycle of the feasts. As is well known, the Mosaic law prescribes three great feasts, that of the Passover for seven days, preceded by the putting away of leaven and the killing of the Paschal lamb; that of "weeks" or Pentecost, lasting only one day; and that of Tabernacles, lasting seven days, and with an eighth special day added; these three great annual festivals are all expressly recognized in Deuteronomy (xvi. 1-16), which is held by all to be pre-exilic. Besides these, the first day of every month, the weekly Sabbath, and the day of atonement were to be kept holy and marked by special sacrifices. The observance of nearly all of these is recognized in the historic and the older prophetic books. The cycle of Ezekiel's vision is very different. He omits the feast of weeks, the Day of Atonement, and the new moons (except that of the first month,) and inserts a new feast on the seventh day of the same month. This last, in connection with that on the first day of that month, he seems to intend as a compensation for the missing Day of Atonement; for he describes the sacrifices of the two (xlvi. 20) as "for every one that erreth, and for him that is simple: so shall ye reconcile the house." If this interpretation is correct, we have here an incidental recognition of the older observance of the Day of Atonement, although it is not mentioned. But however this may be, Ezekiel's cycle of feasts accords neither with what went before nor with what followed after him. Yet, as already said, it is plain from his incidental allusions to the New Moons that, in this point at least, he knew of the old order, and expected it to go on; and it is noticeable that the sacrifices prescribed for the New Moons (xlvi. 3-6) are not the same as the special sacrifices of the first month (xliv. 18-20). Those were to be in each case "a young bullock" for a sin offering; these, six lambs and a ram for a burnt offering (xlvi. 4). It is clear, therefore, that he did not intend this vision

to form the basis of an actual *cultus*, but knowing the old observanc ~~—~~<sup>s</sup>, expected them to continue.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it may be well to refer briefly to a few other places in which Ezekiel evidently recognizes the Mosaic law, although either altering or omitting its provisions. In xlvi. 1, he requires the priests to eat in the appropriate "holy chambers" "the meat offering, and the sin offering, and the trespass offering." He says nothing of the peace offerings, though he elsewhere repeatedly mentions them (xlvi. 27; xlvi. 15, 17; xlvi. 2, 12), nor does he anywhere give the ritual for them. On the other hand, in the following verse (and also in xlvi. 18, 20) the prophet is more explicit than the law, requiring that "the priests' garments wherein they minister" "shall not be carried" out of the holy place into the outer court. There is no such general direction in the Levitical law; but the same thing is required in certain special cases, and may therefore be thought to be implied in all (see Lev. vi. 10, 11). Now, whatever theory is adopted concerning the relation of Ezekiel to the Mosaic law must equally explain this omission and this insertion. The theory of the later development of the law does neither; for, in the one case, it would be a violent supposition that the ritual of the peace offerings and the directions about eating them were evolved from the prophet's silence, and in the other case, it would be very strange that in such a matter as the care of the priests' robes the later law should be the less definite. But the hypothesis of the greater antiquity of the law explains both facts satisfactorily; Ezekiel had no occasion to repeat important provisions of the law with which both he and the people were familiar, but it was natural that in a matter of detail, he should express what was probably the common understanding of the law.

In xlvi. 11 it is required that the priests' sin offering should be burned "in the appointed place of the house, without the Sanctuary." This refers to a building "in the separate place" which is provided only in Ezekiel's vision (xli. 12-15; xlvi. 1, 10, 13), and of which there is no trace either in the Pentateuch or in the temple of the restoration. In such cases it was simply required in the law that the body of the victim should be burned "without the camp" (Lev. iv. 12, 13, 21; xvi. 27, &c.). No doubt such a building as Ezekiel provided would have been a great convenience; but it was never erected.

The provision for large landed estates for the priests has already been mentioned; but in view of this the statement in xlvi. 28, that the priests' office and perquisites "shall be unto them for an inherit-

ance: from their inheritance: and ye shall give them no inheritance in Israel," can only be looked upon as a reminiscence of the expressions in the Mosaic law, without any nice regard to the other parts of the vision.

The provision for the Sabbatical year was distinctly pre-exilic, since it is given at length in Deut. xv.; yet there is no trace of its observance before the exile, and its non-observance is given by the Chronicler (2 Chron. xxxvi. 21) as the determining reason for the length of the captivity. We know that it was observed after the restoration (1 Macc. vi. 49; Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, § 6; Tacitus, *Hist.* lib. v. 2, § 4). Here again is an important and characteristic institution, certainly forming part of the Hebrew legislation before the captivity, neglected until that period, and observed afterwards. Exodus (xxiii. 10, 11) and Leviticus (xv. 2-7) contain the commands for it, but Ezekiel does not mention it. He certainly is not in this respect a bridge between Deuteronomy and Leviticus, between pre- and post-exilic legislation.

The omission of all mention of tithes in Ezekiel, a provision certainly in force from the earliest to the latest times, can only be accounted for on the supposition of its familiarity.

In the Mosaic law all the males of the people were required to present themselves at the sanctuary at the great annual festivals (Ex. xxiii. 14, 17; xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16); there is no such command in Ezekiel, doubtless because it was already entirely familiar. But in xlvi. 9, while speaking of the gate by which the prince shall enter, he incidentally recognizes the custom, "But when the people of the land shall come before the Lord in the solemn feasts," &c. He has made no provision for this, but recognizes it as a matter of course.

The omission in ch. xlivi. is not only very striking in itself, but is of especial importance in its bearing upon the main question under discussion. In vs. 18-27 a detailed order is given for the seven days consecration of the newly erected altar, at once recalling the similar consecration of the altar in Lev. viii. But in that case the consecration was a double one,—of the altar and of the priests; here the priests are entirely omitted. Why? Evidently because the altar only was new and required to be consecrated; the priests had been consecrated of old.

But the question may be asked in regard to the changes of ritual, Why could there not have been deviations by the later priests from the scheme of Ezekiel, just as well as by Ezekiel from the laws of Moses? Simply because there is a good reason for them in one case and none at all in the other. If Ezekiel wished his description to be

understood ideally, it was important that he should introduce arbitrary variations from the recognized law and custom; but if he intended to set forth a scheme of actual future worship, there is no known reason why his successors should have deviated from it.

Passing now to what may be called the economic, or political features of the vision, there are only three points which call for especial attention, and even these but briefly; the provision for the cost of the sacrifices, the division of the land, and the regulations respecting the prince.

There is no distinct provision in the Mosaic law for defraying the cost of the general sacrifices, and we are told that this was still one of the many questions in dispute between the Pharisees and the Sadducees at a much later date. But it is fully and clearly settled in Ezekiel's vision. The cost is to be wholly borne by the prince (xliv. 17-26; xlv. 4-7), who is to be provided with ample territorial possessions (xlv. 7, 8; xlvi. 20-22). As far as we have any record, this arrangement was quite new, and it was never followed out. It was, however, so wise and excellent a solution of the difficulty that we can only wonder at its never having been adopted, if any Israelite had ever looked upon this vision as a basis for theocratic legislation.

The division of the land has already been spoken of in connection with the evidence of the ideal character of this vision; but there are one or two other points which require mention. A striking feature of it is the ample provision here made for the prince with the proviso that it shall belong inalienably to him and his sons (xlvi. 17-18); for in connection with this assignment it is said (xlv. 18) "And my princes shall no more oppress my people," and again (xlvi. 18) "the prince shall not take of the people's inheritance by oppression." A vivid remembrance of the exactions and oppressions of former kings was evidently in the prophet's mind, and he provides a new and wise remedy. It was unfortunate for his people that they never thought of making this the basis for actual legislation, and so avoiding once for all the evils under which they continued to suffer.

Another very curious provision is that at the southern end of the "oblation" a strip of land is reserved, 5,000 by 25,000 reeds (xlvi. 15-19), in the midst of which is to be the city with its "suburbs" 5,000 reeds square. The remainder, *i.e.*, two pieces of land, each 5,000 by 10,000 reeds, is set apart that "the increase thereof shall be for food unto them that serve the city. And they that serve the city shall serve it out of all the tribes of Israel." It is quite unnecessary to point out the purely Utopian character of such an arrange-

~~m~~ent in actual life; it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that ~~neither~~ this nor any other of these economic regulations ever formed a part of the Mosaic law, or were ever in any degree attempted to be carried out.

The law of the tenure of the Levites' land is considerably changed from that of the Mosaic legislation. According to Lev. xxv. 32-34 the Levites might sell their houses and even their cities (only retaining the right of redeeming them at any time, and their reversion in the year of jubilee)—but they might not sell at all the fields of their suburbs. This last provision is here (xlviii. 15) extended to all their landed property in the most emphatic way, and changes the whole tenure of the Levitical land. It is certain that it was never carried into effect, for there never was any such territory assigned to the Levites. It is remarkable that nothing of this kind is mentioned in connection with the priestly territory.

One other particular must be noticed in connection with the vision of the land. Under the Mosaic law this was to be wholly parcelled out among the tribes of Israel; and although frequent reference is made to the "sojourning" of strangers among them, no provision is made for allowing them any interest in the soil of the holy land. Ezekiel, on the other hand, expressly commands (xlvii. 22, 23), "Ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance unto you and the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you; and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel. And it shall come to pass that in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give him his inheritance." Both these provisions were adapted to their different times: in that of Moses, the land was looked upon as the sole and peculiar possession of the chosen people, and if strangers came among them it should be as "sojourners" only; in the time of Ezekiel matters were greatly changed, and large numbers of foreigners had long had their permanent residence among the tribes of Israel. It is only for these permanent residents "which shall beget children among you" that Ezekiel provides. It is very difficult to suppose that the Mosaic legislation should have been subsequent to his arrangements.

But by far the most important laws of this vision in political matters are those concerning the relation of the prince to the temple worship. A brief mention of these will close this paper. It is plain that under the old theocracy the monarch had no properly ecclesiastical standing. He had great influence of course, either like David in advancing and improving the worship, or like Ahaz in corrupting and

injuring it. But he was not recognized at all in the laws of the Pentateuch except that, in Deut. xvii. 14-20, it is declared that, in case a king should be afterwards desired, his otherwise arbitrary power must be checked by various limitations. Quite in accordance with the supposition of the great antiquity of that legislation, it is found that the monarch never had any other than a purely political position. This obvious fact is certainly very remarkable if the Mosaic law was subsequent to the introduction of the monarchy; indeed it is almost inconceivable that the laws of a theocratic state, if written when there was a monarch upon the throne, and prescribing the duties of all other officers, should take no notice of the monarch himself. But the difficulty is still greater if it could be supposed that these laws were inaugurated or largely developed by Ezekiel who gives such a prominent place in his scheme "to the prince." It is certain that the arrangements here suggested were never carried out, even when such an excellent prince as Zerubbabel was the leader of the restoration. At a subsequent time the office of prince and priest were indeed combined in the Maccabees, but this was in virtue of their priestly descent and ended with their family; it has nothing to do with the vision of Ezekiel who, while he makes the prince very prominent in his ecclesiastical system, yet assigns to him no priestly functions.

Let what Ezekiel says of "the prince" be carefully noted. His large landed estate, given expressly to prevent oppressive exactions from the people,\* and to enable him to furnish all the victims and

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\* In this connection general provision is made (xlvi. 10, 11) for just weights and measures among the people. No one can read the passage without observing a connection between it and Lev. xix. 36 and Deut. xxv. 13. The question of priority is indicated by the terms employed. The words used here and in various parts of the Pentateuch are: (1) *Ephah*. This occurs in all ages of Hebrew literature from Exodus to Zechariah. (2) *Homer*, in the sense of a measure, found in the law (3 times), in Isaiah and Hosea (each once), and in Ezekiel (7 times). (3) *Hin*. This is found only in the middle books (Ex.-Num.) of the Pentateuch (16 times) and in Ezekiel (6 times). (4) *Omer*, *ונְצָרָב*, in the

sense of measure, in Exodus only (6 times). (5) *Gerah*, in the sense of a measure of value, only in Ex.-Num. (4 times) and in Ezekiel (once). (6) *Bath*, as a measure, does not occur earlier than Kings (twice), Chronicles (3 times), Isaiah (once), but in Ezekiel 7 times. (7) *Cor.* In Kings and Chronicles 7 times, in Ezekiel once. That is to say, all these terms which are used in the law, with the exception of *Omer*, are also used in Ezekiel, while *Hin* and *Gerah* appear to have gone out of use and are found afterwards only in this vision, and *Homer* only elsewhere once each in Isaiah and Hosea; on the other hand, *Bath* and *Cor*, which came into use at a comparatively late date, are not found in the law, but are used by Ezekiel.

other offerings for the national sacrifices, have already been mentioned. Besides these things he is to take a very active and peculiar part in the *cultus* of his people. The east gate of the court of the temple had been, according to this vision, peculiarly sanctified by the entrance through it of the glory of the LORD (xlvi).

1-7; xliv. 1, 2); in consequence it was to be forever after ~~shut~~, except for the prince (xliv. 3). He was to enter and go out through it on the Sabbaths and the new moons (xlii. 1-3), and was to worship at the threshold of this gate while the priests were offering his sacrifices, "the people of the land" meantime worshipping without "at the door of this gate." On these occasions the gate, although not to be used by any one else, is to stand open until the evening. In these cases, when few of the people were expected to be present, the prince seems to have been looked upon as their representative, and it was his duty to be always present and offer the required offerings. When the prince saw fit to offer any "voluntary burnt offering or peace offerings" the same gate was to be opened for him, but immediately shut when he had gone out (*ib.* 12). On occasion of the "solemn feasts," on the other hand, when the mass of the people were expected to be present, the prince was to take his place among them, and to enter "in the midst of them" by the north or south gate, and go out by the opposite one (*ib.* 9, 10).

There is also another provision which puts the prince in the same light of the religious representative of the people. To enable him to furnish the required sacrifices and oblations he is to have not only the large and inalienable landed estate already mentioned, but also is to receive from the whole people regularly a tax in kind of the things required for these purposes. This tax is prescribed in detail in xlvi. 13-16, and was to consist of one sixtieth of the grain, one hundredth of the oil, and one two hundredth of the flock. The connection shows that it was to be used by him for supplying the offerings. This is an entire change from both the older and the later custom whereby the people gave directly to the sanctuary, and it again brings forward "the prince" as the representative and embodiment, as it were, of the people in their duties of public worship.

The argument from all this is clear and has already been hinted at. If Ezekiel thus presents the civil ruler as a representative of the people and an important factor in their temple worship, it is simply impossible that any actual legislation, influenced by his vision, should have so totally ignored "the prince" as is notoriously done in the Levitical laws. It would seem that even if the priests and the people had not insisted upon their sovereign's occupying his proper position in their worship, every pious prince would have claimed it for himself. The conclusion is obvious: the Levitical laws are older than Ezekiel, and his vision had no direct effect upon the polity of the Jewish people.

All the more important features of the vision of Ezekiel, so far as

his relation to the Mosaic law is concerned, have now been passed in review. Others, such as the detailed arrangements of his temple, with its various peculiar outbuildings, and its large "precincts," &c., would require too much time to examine in detail, as I have elsewhere done,\* and would only add fresh illustrations of the fact which has been everywhere apparent. If we compare the customs of the Jews as they are known after the exile with those which are known to have existed before, they are found perfectly to agree in everything, except negatively in so far as data are wanting to show in some respects what were the customs of the more ancient time. This deficiency was of course to be expected in dealing with matters of such antiquity, where the records we have are almost wholly occupied with other matters. Moreover, both the ancient custom as far as it was regulated by law and can be traced, (making allowance for some small difficulties in understanding such very ancient legislation), and the later practice perfectly agree with the Mosaic legislation. But quite late in the history of Israel, during the captivity in Babylon, the prophet Ezekiel comes forward and in a remarkable vision sets forth a general scheme of theocratic laws and worship. His scheme presents incidentally many obvious allusions to the Levitical laws, but in its direct enactments is quite at variance with both former and later custom and also with the Mosaic law. It is in no sense, and in no point on the line of development from what existed before to what existed afterwards. Yet we are asked to believe that the Levitical law only existed in a very imperfect and inchoate form before him, that he gave the great impetus to its development, and that within 40 years afterwards the nearly perfect scheme was accepted as their ancient law by his nation. The thing required is beyond our power.

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\*Com. on Ezekiel in Bp. Ellicott's commentary for English readers.

# THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

Proceedings in June, 1881.

The Society met according to appointment in the Library of the Yale Divinity School, June 2d, 1881, at 2½ P. M.

Present: Profs. Abbot, Beecher, Briggs, Brown, Day, Dwight, Gardiner, Goodwin, Gould, Mitchell, Prentice, Rich, Toy, the Rev. H. Ferguson, Rev. Drs. Harwood and Ward, and subsequently, Prof. George P. Fisher, D. D.

The President having taken the chair, the minutes of the last meeting were read, corrected and approved.

Letters were read from several absent members expressing their regret at their inability to be present, and giving reasons therefor.

Prof. Smith of the Lane Theological Seminary was introduced by Dr. Briggs, and was invited to attend the sessions of the Society.

Several papers printed in the Journal were read and discussed as far as the time allowed, the following business being transacted in the intervals.

Voted: That the final adjournment of this meeting be at 1 P. M. on Friday.

Prof. Dwight invited the Society to meet some gentlemen of New Haven at his house at 8.30 P. M.

The Society expressed their thanks to Prof. Dwight and voted to accept his invitation.

Voted: To take a recess from 6 to 7 P. M.

Voted: That Prof. Abbot be requested to furnish a copy of his paper for publication in full in the proceedings.

Voted: That the matter of issuing a volume of transactions, and the whole subject of printing the papers in general be referred to the council.

The election of officers and the transaction of the general business of the Society was made the order of the day for 7 p. m.

On reassembling after the recess, the council recommended Prof. George P. Fisher, D. D. for membership, and he was unanimously elected.

A committee consisting of Profs. Toy and Brown and Rev. H. Ferguson was appointed on the nomination of officers. This committee subsequently reported the following nominations and the persons so nominated were elected:

REV. D. R. GOODWIN, D. D., LL. D., - - - -	<i>President.</i>
REV. JAMES STRONG, D. D., - - - -	<i>Vice President.</i>
REV. F. GARDINER, D. D., - - - -	<i>Secretary.</i>
REV. C. A. BRIGGS, D. D., - - - -	<i>Treasurer.</i>
REV. EZRA ABBOT, D. D., LL. D.,	
REV. GEORGE E. DAY, D. D.,	
REV. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D. D.,	
PROF. CHARLES SHORT, LL. D.,	
REV. C. M. MEAD, PH. D.,	

*Additional Members  
of the Council.*

The Treasurer presented his report, which was referred to an auditing committee consisting of Drs. Day and Dwight. This committee subsequently reported that "they had compared the vouchers of the Treasurer with the receipts and find them to correspond; and also that the records of receipts and expenditures agree with the summing of the whole as given in the Treasurer's report."

(Signed)

GEORGE E. DAY.

The report was accepted and ordered placed on file.

The Society adjourned to 9 A. M. on Friday, and reassembled at that hour.

On the recommendation of the Council, accompanied by statements in regard to their publications, the following persons were unanimously elected to membership.

Rev. John E. Todd, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Howard Osgood, D. D.,	Rochester, New York.
Rev. Bernard Pick, Ph. D.	Rochester, New York.

The Council appointed the Union Theological Seminary in New York as the place for the next meeting, at such day and hour during the Christmas holidays as may be determined by a committee consisting of Drs. Briggs, Crosby and Short.

A tribute was paid to the memory of our deceased colleague, the Rev. E. A. Washburn, D. D., by the Rev. Dr. Harwood. After

further remarks by other members, a committee, consisting of Drs. Harwood, Goodwin, and Abbot, was appointed to prepare a minute in relation to the deceased, to be entered in our printed proceedings. This committee prepared the following minute:

It has pleased Almighty God, in His wise providence, to remove from the membership of this Society our brother, the late Edward A. Washburn, Doctor in Divinity. In his death the Church and the community have met with a serious loss. Dr. Washburn was keenly interested in the formation and in the purposes and work of this Society: for he saw that one of the weaknesses and evils of the Church of this present day is the wide spread ignorance of the Sacred Scriptures among even the commissioned preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Hence he hailed every movement for the intellectual enlightenment of the clergy with chivalrous ardor and a generous hospitality. This inspired him with zeal in the department of sacred criticism and philology, while he served none the less the cause of dogmatic theology when and where all interest in it seemed threatened with lethargy, if not with extinction. Dr. Washburn's personal sympathies, his bright intelligence, his brave support of every movement for the increase of the knowledge of the faith that is in Christ, made him a valued and valuable member of every society of Christian men with which he was associated, and we, in common with many others, deeply deplore his loss and regret his death in the fullness of his hopes and powers.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWIN HARWOOD,

In behalf of a Special Committee.

The questions on the admissibility of papers opposing the conclusions of papers previously read, and of limiting the length of discussions, were considered and a general understanding on both subjects was reached.

Voted: That the thanks of the Society be returned to the New Haven committee of arrangements for the use of the room, and for their provision for the comfort of the members.

After the reading of the rough minutes, the Society adjourned.

FREDERIC GARDINER,

*Secretary.*

## Proceedings in December, 1881.

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The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis met in the Chapel of the Union Theological Seminary, 9 University Place, New York, according to appointment, at 10 A. M., Dec. 29th, 1881.

There were present Profs. E. Abbot, C. A. Briggs, Francis Brown, H. A. Buttz, Rev. T. W. Chambers, Pres. Thomas Chase, Profs. Geo. E. Day, F. Gardiner, D. R. Goodwin, I. H. Hall, Rev. R. D. Hitchcock, Profs. C. M. Mead, H. G. T. Mitchell, Howard Osgood, John A. Paine, P. Schaff, Charles Short, James Strong, and Henry R. Weston.

The chair was taken at the opening by the Vice-President.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Council in the course of the meeting recommended the following persons, and they were thereupon duly elected as members of the Society:

Prof. C. I. H. Ropes,	Bangor, Maine.
Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, D. D.,	9 University Place, New York.
Rev. S. M. Jackson,	42 Bible House, New York.
Prof. Geo. McL. Du Bois,	Cor. Walnut and 39th Sts., Philadelphia.
Prof. J. T. Beckwith, Ph. D.,	Hartford, Conn.
Rev. Canon Maurice Baldwin,	Montreal, Canada.
Prof. Samuel Hart,	Hartford, Conn.
Rev. E. W. Rice,	1122 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.
Prof. H. P. Smith,	Lane Theol. Sem., Cincinnati.
Prof. L. I. Evans, D. D.,	Lane Theol. Sem., Cincinnati.
Prof. S. Ives Curtiss, Ph. D.,	364 W. Washington St., Chicago.

Various letters from absent members were read.

The President arrived and took the chair.

The first paper, "Remarks on Rom. ix. 5," was read by Prof. E. Abbot at 10:45 A. M., and was discussed until 1 P. M., when a recess was taken until 2:30 P. M.

After the recess, some time was occupied in the election of the members recommended by the Council.

At 2:55 P. M. the second paper was read by Prof. D. R. Goodwin, "On the use of  $\psi\omega\chi\gamma\jmath$ ,  $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\alpha$  and connected words in the sacred writings." (This paper is printed at the beginning of the Journal for December, as being a part of the last paper at the June meeting.) This paper was discussed until 4:05 P. M.

After discussion it was voted: that papers whose authors are not present shall go to the foot of the list; and that in case the authors are not heard from for two consecutive meetings, the Secretary shall enquire if they wish to have their papers continued.

A statement was made by the Treasurer.

Voted: that the Secretary be requested to enquire of those who have not paid their initiation fee or their assessments for two years whether they wish to be considered members of the Society.

At 4:17 the next paper was read by Prof. C. M. Mead, "An Examination of Ex. xxxiii. 7-11," and was discussed until 5:25.

At 5:25 the fourth paper was read by Rev. Dr. Chambers, "On Everlasting Father in Isa. ix. 6, 7," and was discussed until the recess.

At 5:50 the Society took a recess until 7:30.

On reassembling after the recess the Council announced the place and time of the next meeting as New Haven during the first week of June, the day, hour and place to be fixed by a committee consisting of Drs. Day, Dwight and Harwood.

At 7:40 the last paper was read by Prof. F. Gardiner, "On Ezekiel in relation to the Levitical law," and was discussed until 9:40.

The rough minutes of the meeting were then read, and the Society adjourned.

FREDERIC GARDINER, Secretary.

The following papers were not read and stand over to the next meeting:

On the Syriac Apocalypse. By Prof. I. H. Hall, Ph. D.

On the interpretation of Gen. xl ix. 10. By President S. C. Bartlett, D. D.

An exegesis of the reference to the potter and the clay in Rom. ix. 21. By Chancellor Howard Crosby, LL. D.

A critical examination of 1 Tim. iv. 1-5. By Rev. E. R. Craven, D. D.

A neglected argument for the Apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel. By Prof. Geo. Prentice, D. D.

On בְּרִאָה in Josh xvii. 15, 18, and Ezek. xxi. 24; xxiii. 47. By Willis J. Beecher, D. D.

**On the Hebrew tenses in conditional clauses.** By Rev. H. Ferguson.

**On Job xix. 26.** By Rev. J. I. Mombert, D. D.

**Notes on the book of Tobit.** By Prof. C. H. Toy, D. D.

**On discoveries in Palestine.** By Prof. Selah Merrill, D. D.

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

Prof. Ezra Abbot, D. D., LL. D.,	23 Berkeley St., Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Canon Maurice Baldwin,	Montreal, Canada.
President S. C. Bartlett, D. D.,	Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
Prof. J. T. Beckwith, Ph. D.,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D. D.,	Auburn, N. Y.
Prof. John Binney,	Middletown, Conn.
Prof. C. A. Briggs, D. D.,	Union Theol. Seminary, New York.
Prof. Francis Brown,	9 University Place, New York.
*Rev. J. K. Burr, D. D.,	Trenton, N. J.
Prof. J. H. Buttz, D. D.,	Madison, N. J.
President W. C. Cattell, D. D.,	Lafayette College, Easton, Penn.
Rev. T. W. Chambers, D. D.,	70 West 36th St., New York.
President Thos. Chase, LL. D.,	Haverford Col., Delaware Co., Penn.
Prof. T. J. Conant, D. D.,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Chan'r Howard Crosby, LL. D.,	116 East 19th St., New York.
Rev. Elijah R. Craven, D. D.,	Newark, N. J.
Prof. S. Ives Curtiss, Ph. D.,	364 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Prof. George E. Day, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. John De Witt, D. D.,	Theol. Sem. of Ret'd Dutch Church, New Brunswick, N. J.
Prof. Timothy Dwight, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Geo. McL. Du Bois,	Cor. Walnut and 39th Sts., Philadelphia.
Prof. L. I. Evans, D. D.,	Lane Theol. Sem., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Rev. Henry Ferguson,	Claremont, N. H.
Prof. Geo. P. Fisher, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. F. Gardiner, D. D.,	Middletown, Conn.
Prof. D. R. Goodwin, D. D., LL. D.,	3927 Locust St., Philadelphia.
Prof. E. P. Gould,	Newton Theol. Sem., Newton, Mass.
Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.,	Office of <i>S. S. Times</i> , Philadelphia.
Prof. Samuel Hart,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. C. D. Hartranft, D. D.,	Hartford, Conn. (Box 524)

\* Died in April, 1882.

## PROCEEDINGS.

Rev. E. Harwood, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, D. D.,	9 University Place, New York.
Rev. S. M. Jackson,	42 Bible House, New York.
Prov't C. P. Krauth, LL. D.,	Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
Prof. C. M. Mead, Ph. D.,	Andover, Mass.
Prof. Selah Merrill, D. D.,	Andover, Mass.
Prof. H. G. T. Mitchell, Ph. D.,	Middletown, Conn.
Rev. J. I. Mombert, D. D.,	Passaic, N. J.
Prof. Howard Osgood, D. D.,	Rochester, New York.
Prof. John A. Paine, Ph. D.,	Tarrytown, N. Y.
Rev. Bernard Pick, Ph. D.,	Rochester, N. Y.
Prof. George Prentice, D. D.,	Middletown, Conn.
Rev. E. W. Rice,	1122 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.
Prof. Thomas H. Rich,	Bates College, Lewiston, Me.
Prof. M. B. Riddle,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. C. I. H. Ropes,	Bangor, Me.
Prof. P. Schaff, D. D.,	42 Bible House, New York.
Prof. Charles Short, LL. D.,	24 West 60th St., New York.
Prof. H. P. Smith,	Lane Theol. Sem., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Prof. P. H. Steenstra,	Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. James Strong, D. D.,	Madison, N. J.
Prof. J. H. Thayer, D. D.,	Andover, Mass.
Rev. John E. Todd, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. C. H. Toy, D. D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D. D.,	37 East 35th St., New York.
Rev. W. H. Ward, D. D.,	Office of <i>Independent</i> , New York.
Prof. Henry R. Weston, D. D.,	Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Penn.

## ERRATA.

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- Page 3, note, line 8 from bottom, *for Oldshausen read Olshausen*
- " 17, No. 6, line 2, *for θεοῦ, τὸν read θεοῖ . . . τὸν.*
- " 34, l. 4, *for fur read für, and for 1868-9 read 1869.*
- " 37, line 8, *for Septugaint read Septuagint.*
- " 75, line 3 from bottom, and p. 79, line 3 from bottom, *substitute δ for ω*
- " 89, No. 4, line 2, *for is read Is*
- " 103, note \*, *add at the end, 1 Macc. x. 69, τὸν ὄντα ἐπὶ κοίλης Συρίας.*
- " 112, line 2, *for objectionable read unobjectionable*
- " 113, No. 2, line 2, *for 9 read 6*
- " 123, note \*, last line, *for Cap. read Chap.*
- " 127, line 8, from bottom of text, place " *after Christ*
- " 134, line 7, *for Christian writers read ancient Christian writers*
- " " " 22, *for Cardinal Newman read Dr. J. H. Newman*
- " " " 24, *after Pseudo-Cæsarius add and Methodius as Pseudo-Methodius*
- " 139, 4th paragraph, last line, *for p. 126 read p. 126, note †.*
- " 140, 2d paragraph, line 5, *dele Amphilochius. (See p. 137.)*
- " 143, 2d paragraph, line 8, *for chirstl. read christl.*
- " 144, l. 21, *for Sunde read Sunde.*
- " 146, l. 9, *for Herrüber read Herr über*
- " " *last line, after N. T. add (1832)*
- " 147, last line, *for Briefs read Briefes.*
- Minor errors, e. g. in the Greek accents and breathings, the scholar will readily correct for himself.

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JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,  
INCLUDING MOST OF THE  
PAPERS READ AND ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.  
FOR  
JUNE AND DECEMBER, 1882.

*The Society prints the papers read in full, but is not responsible for any opinions expressed therein.*

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MIDDLETON, CONN.:  
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## Notes on the Beirût Syriac Codex.

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BY PROF. ISAAC H. HALL, PH. D.

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### I. *History and External Description.*

Some months after the discovery of this MS., or rather, of the character of its contents, I published a hasty account in *The (London) Academy*, 2d vol. of 1877, p. 170, and in *The Independent* (New York), August 23, 1877; and later, a rather more extended summary in the *Proceedings* of the American Oriental Society for October, 1877, pp. xvi. ff. As all these accounts contain a few errors, partly of oversight, partly inevitable, it will not be out of place to begin from the beginning, although that course involves some repetition.

The codex I found in the library of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût, kept as an unknown curiosity, and kept no more carefully than the other books there. No one there had skill to read it, except perhaps Dr. Van Dyck, and he was not aware of its existence, much less of its presence in the library. As the manuscript had suffered from some former exposure to water, and was still suffering from incipient renewed decay, I took measures for its more careful keeping, and at the same time proceeded to read and examine it. When Dr. Bliss, the president of the college, returned in the autumn of 1876 from a two years' stay in England and America, he informed me that it had been brought from Mardin by one 'Abd ul-Messiah (not the man of the same name who accompanied the explorer Layard), who had been employed as superintendent of the native workmen in the erection of the main college building; and that he (Dr. Bliss) had induced him to present it to the college.

Proceeding with my examination, I found that the Gospels were evidently of the Philoxenian or Harklensian version, though I had of that version at that time only the specimens in Bernstein's Kirsch's *Chrestomathy* (Lips., Knobloch, 1832), and Tychsen's *Elementare*

*Syriacum* (Rostoch, 1793.) The rest of the codex was the Peshitto. From its state, material, and style of writing, I judged it to belong to a period limited by the eighth and tenth centuries. But wishing to have a more competent judgment, I mailed six loose leaves\* to Dr. Antonio M. Ceriani, the well-known critic at the Ambrosian Library at Milan, to whom I was already indebted for valuable favors, and requested his opinion. He soon replied, saying, "immediately I saw the fragments are part of a New Testament of about the IX. century, of Jacobite origin." Some days later he returned the leaves with a longer comment. A quire signature on one of the leaves had enabled him to compute very closely the size of the manuscript, with a number of interesting particulars beside. He concluded with the remark: "Omnino inspiciendum si habet Apocalypsim, quia fortasse esset antiquissimus omnium codicum pro hoc libro. Contuli folium tertium [third of the one I sent, No. 128 of the codex as it is] cum edita Harklensi translatione, et lectionibus variis in vetustissimis libris; textus in summa melior est illo editionis White."

The codex at present, or as found, consists of 203 leaves of pretty fine parchment, though the fineness is not uniform; two of them mere fragments. The size of the leaf is  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and breadth; the writing in two columns to a page, each column  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 2 to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide, and regularly 32 lines to a column. Very rarely the lines in a column number 31 or 33. The margin or space between the columns is about half an inch wide, so that the whole written portion of the page is generally  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  inches in height and width. The codex is made up of *quiniones*, that is, in quires of five folios, or ten leaves, each; each *quinio* numbered on the middle of the lower margin, at beginning and end, after the common fashion of Syriac MSS. From the general appearance of the codex, and other obvious reasons, I conclude that it originally consisted of 24 *quiniones*, and contained the books which compose the ordinary Peshitto version; that is, all the New Testament except the second and third Epistles of John, the second Epistle of Peter, Jude, and the Apocalypse.

In its present state the codex begins in its original *quinio* 2, in Matthew xii. 20; and ends in its original *quinio* 24, in Titus i. 9. The order of the books is the following: the Gospels in the usual order; then Acts, James, 1 Peter, 1 John; then the Epistles of Paul

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\* These leaves were numbers 1, 62, 98, 128, 202, 203, of the codex in its present condition.

in the usual order, without the Epistle to the Hebrews; which last doubtless came at the end and completed the codex. Except two long omissions, and in places where a leaf is gone, the *lacunæ* are inconsiderable. The missing leaves, besides those gone from the beginning and end, are usually those at the beginning or end of a *quinio*, or both; as the outer folio would soonest wear through at the back. The first leaf is a mere fragment, containing portions from Matt. xii. 20-48. The *lacunæ* of one leaf or more are the following: Matt. xiii. 28-57, one leaf; xvii. 20-xix. 12, one leaf; xxv. 11—xxvi. 31, one leaf; Mark iv. 2-35, one leaf; Luke xix. 38—xx. 21, one leaf; John viii. 31 (20 of Syriac numbering)—ix. 31, two leaves; 2 Corinthians xiii. 8—Galatians ii. 17, two leaves; Philippians ii. 15—Colossians i. 8, two leaves; 1 Timothy iii. 3—2 Timothy iii. 5 (except that a fragment preserves a few words in 1 Timothy ii. 10-19; iii. 1-3), two leaves and a large fragment.

The other two important *lacunæ* by omission are 2 Corinthians x. 1-14, and Galatians iii. 15-29. In addition to these defects, the passage Acts xi. 2-19 is transposed with the next one, Acts xi. 19-39. In this case the scribe copied one church-lesson out of its order by mistake, and supplied the defect as soon as he came to the end of the lesson first written. He also marked the place by leaving a space of four lines, and writing the vermilion lesson-note therein more conspicuously than usual. The other two defects mentioned had an origin nearly similar. That in Galatians omits a church-lesson, giving its rubricated title, but skipping over to the matter of the following lesson, and omitting the title to the latter.

An easy computation shows that the end of the twenty-fourth *quinio* would have just included the whole of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with part of a page for subscription and colophon. The Apocalypse would have required two *quiniones* in addition to that; and I cannot believe that so much could ever have been removed without leaving the evidence on the binding at the back. It seems beyond a doubt that the Apocalypse was never there. It should be stated here that not every *quinio* was originally full. *Quinio* 5 never contained but 9 leaves, and *quinio* 16 only 8.

A word is proper here with regard to the deciphering. The age of the codex alone would cause some difficulties; but time alone, apart from other agencies, has dealt tenderly with its legibility, though it shows its work abundantly upon the firmness of the material. But at some time or other the upper portion of the codex had been soaked in water, so that nearly throughout the whole manu-

script the upper half of each page is difficult to read, requiring the greatest patience and a skillful use of light. Sometimes a word requires hours to make it out. In damp weather some portions are illegible which can be read when it is dry. For this reason much of the codex is easy to read in this country, which could not be read in winter at Beirút. Sometimes writing set off on an opposite page helps the decipherment; at other times it hinders it. Sometimes the ink is entirely gone, but has left the letter etched into the surface. In many places the writing is hygroscopic, and becomes plain for a few seconds when the surface is dampened; in such cases appearing either instantly or after the lapse of half a minute to a minute. In other places a roughened surface conceals the ink which has penetrated to the interior of the membrane, and shows the writing when the surface is rendered transparent by moisture. But the artifices of deciphering are numerous, and perhaps as tedious in the full recital as the work itself has been. It needs only to be added that every letter, and most of the vowels and points, of the text are decipherable. A few of the section-numbers which belong in the margin I cannot find. They may have faded out, or they may never have been written. Sad work has been often made with the rubricated portions, which wash away readily with water; but, after all, most of them are decipherable. The vermilion title to Timothy is almost the only important one that has been wholly obliterated.

After the soaking in water mentioned above, which made so many holes, and took off a number of upper outer corners by decay, a very late second hand has re-written a few spots, and re-inked a few vowels, besides adding here and there a new vowel not in the first writing. But the aggregate of such re-writings is insignificant, and nowhere interferes with the deciphering of the first hand. This second hand writing is of the more recent Jacobite style, but doubtless a century old, at least. To a similar period belong a few scrawls on the margins, made by some unthinking idler.

But, still later, the codex had some usage that may have been even rougher. It was this time soaked in *muddy* water; and when I found the codex there was so much absolute mud—earth and water—within it, caked on the leaves, that *quinio 22* could not be read at all without first a scaling off and then a washing. (But in the six years since that process its writing has come out plainer than in most other portions of the codex, though the parchment shows a yellower color.) To this day some caked mud remains in minute spots, for I have not ventured to wash except where absolutely necessary in order to

read it. Indeed, in order to decipher it, the whole codex had to be taken apart; and the mass of rotten cord and cloth and mud, which represented the remnant of the ancient binding, had to be removed. Mixed in with the latter were sundry grains of wheat and barley—as if the book had stood cornerwise in the mud of a grain bazar. This rotten back was washed out, and proved to be a curious fabric of twine and cloth, wrought by the binder's needle. It would have been preserved; only the moths and roaches of the East soon put it beyond hope.

In addition to all that, the damp climate of Beirūt—rain in winter and the sea in summer—had started the decay anew along the edges, especially where the former visitation of water had left it ragged. And as if that were not enough, a great fat moth, one of the very juicy kind common in Beirūt, had been squeezed between two leaves as the MS. stood in the library, leaving the impression of his wings to this day, along with a fearful decay of membrane over nearly the whole of two pages, seriously damaging the substance of the parchment itself. I was kindly permitted—indeed the suggestion came from Dr. Bliss—to bring the MS. to America, in order to finish my work with it. It had to be watched and kept from damp on the sea voyage, or the old spots would show dissolving edges. The climate of this country is more favorable to both its legibility and its preservation, than the climate of Beirūt.

## II. *Internal Description.*

As to the style of the writing, it is of the transition from Estrangela to Jacobite, but not yet progressed so far as to have lost entirely a resemblance to the old Nestorian. The pure Estrangela style and letters are perhaps more conspicuous in the Gospel of Mark than elsewhere, but they occur throughout the whole codex. The Jacobite style which it resembles nearest, is altogether the Mesopotamian, not at all approaching the Palestinian or the Maronite. It is easy to read to one who is familiar with the Estrangela; but not very easy for one who knows only the common Jacobite of the printed books. It is pretty well supplied with diacritic points, which belong mostly to the simpler and older systems; such as the sign of the plural, the sign of the feminine in the suffix pronoun, the points which distinguish between two nouns with the same spelling, between a verb and a participle, between the first personal pronoun used as the subject of a sentence and the same used as the substantive verb, and so on.

The sign of the plural is commonly, but not always, used with numerals.\* The pointing is simple, and easily learned and followed. Sometimes, as in all Syriac MSS., the points are wrongly used; a thing at which no one will wonder who tries to write or copy Syriac. The rare mistake of writing a *rish* for a *dolath* occurs a few times in the MS.; twice or more in the case of proper names, and a few times in the case of the particle . A few cases also occur in the rubricated matter, where the points were regularly added *in black*, after the body of the lines was written, and might easily go astray. The famous example in Luke xxiv. 32, and the less famous one in 2 Cor. iv. 18, occur in the MS. with a *rish* for a *dolath*, but are not to be considered mistakes.

The vocalization is neither rare nor very frequent. It is effected, not by points, except in some apparent, but altogether rare instances, but by the well-known characters of Greek derivation. Several instructive examples (*e. g.*, some in Acts ii.) seem to show that the Arabic *damma* was derived from the Syriac *zeqofa* (‘), or, originally, from the Greek *omicron*.† (It is well known that the Arabic *medda* (~) was derived from the Estrangela *aleph* (‘).) In the interjection ፩, the Greek vowel *omega* is used to vocalize, as also to distinguish it from the word of the same letters with a diacritic point (፪), which means *or*. But throughout the MS. the vocalization is chiefly met with in the case of the less frequently occurring proper names, or with foreign words, or with Syriac words when convenient so to distinguish them from others formed of the same letters.

Punctuation is generally used with moderate care. The four points in diamond shape (usually in vermillion about a central black loop) mark either a larger division, or a smaller one of importance, even if the importance be one of sentiment merely, and not grammatical, nor a logical division of the discourse. A lesser point of the same nature is the diamond composed of two black dots horizontal and two red dots vertical, without the central loop or dot. A sentence usually ends with a single dot, like our period, but sometimes with a double dot. The double dot is sometimes upright, sometimes inclined to the right or to the left; but it is not always

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\* I have not been careful to note whether this presence or absence of the plural points follows the rules laid down by the native grammarians.

† This peculiarity is sometimes imitated in print; *e. g.*, in the Syriac Grammar of Henley, London, 1723, a book which seems to be unknown to the bibliographers.

easy to determine whether it leans (virtually; for it often merely follows the slope of a letter-stroke), or whether any difference of meaning attaches by reason of its inclining one way or the other, or standing vertical. It is the rule for the lower one of this double to coincide with the heavy end of an unjoined final *nun* — that is, when placed after a word with such final. Thus these cases have the appearance of a single dot placed at the top of the line, like a Greek colon. But there is no other case, at least no clear one, of this single dot at the top, in the Gospels. In the Acts and onward, it does occur, and not infrequently. The double dot, also, often has its lower one under the final letter, especially in case of an *aleph*. In this case, sometimes, the upper one is omitted; though it sometimes seems to have been thus omitted designedly. These two cases present the only difficulty in copying the MS. in printed type.\*

The ambiguities in reading are the usual ones; viz., the difficulty of deciding whether a *shin* or an *'ee* is preceded by a *yud* or a *nun*, or by neither; whether a letter is *'ee* or *kaf*; or whether another is *yud*, *nun*, or *shin*; which last again is sometimes farther complicated by the liability of one of them to be confused with one stroke of a *kheth*.

The punctuation seems to vary with the scribe. Both that and other indications seem to show that the latter part of Luke and all of John were written by a different hand from Matthew and Mark. In the Epistles, also, the variations in punctuation, together with a more modern shape given to the *aleph* when the writing is crowded, and (a very few times) to a *mim* when made by correction from a *waw*, seem to indicate still another scribe.

Sometimes a punctuation mark, especially in the case of the quadruple dot, is transferred from the end of one line to the beginning of the next.

In the Acts and Epistles, quotations from the Old Testament are frequently marked by a short oblique stroke in red, at the beginning of the lines throughout the quotation. Sometimes a black angular mark makes an arrow-head to the inner end of this red mark. The MS. is too much decayed and faded to show whether all quotations from the Old Testament were originally so marked.

The evidences of both carefulness and competency on the part of the scribe are abundant in every part of the MS. The errors that

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\* A difficulty which I observe is overcome in the later printed Syriac books.

occur are usually such as to be considered mere slips of the pen, and not mistakes of the understanding. The writing is carefully and neatly done ; but yet the manner of crowding letters and words here and there to make a line come out even, as well as the expansions for the same purpose, show the hand of one who was more than a mere copyist; of one who was writing with the freedom of familiarity with the text, and not mechanically copying an unfamiliar tongue or unfamiliar matter. (Just here it may be mentioned that among the Nestorians formerly an ecclesiastic was not ordained till he had copied the necessary service-books with his own hand. Whether that remains the case since the introduction of printing, I am unable to say.) Abbreviations are rather rare in the *text*, but common in the lesson-notes or captions, next to be mentioned.

The writing is continuous, without a break from the beginning of a book to its end; but the titles and subscriptions to each book begin and follow it, and the captions or notes of the church-lessons are inserted in proper place, done in vermilion with the points in black. Rather oftener than not, the punctuation is wanting both before and after the lesson-note. The number of the lesson is given in red in the margin, and signifies only its number in the order in which it occurs in the text; the other necessary information being contained in the note or caption just mentioned.

At the end of each book, after its subscription, about four lines, or three in the case of the Pauline Epistles, are devoted to ornament. This is of the same sort as that perpetuated in the modern MSS.; which, again, are regularly copied with scrupulous care from the most ancient exemplars to be had. At the beginning of Luke the ornamentation runs across the top and for some distance down the sides; and in its little squares are the words: "John who is a sinner, the monk, wrote it." In the little squares in the ornament at the beginning of Mark is the word "John," which probably refers to the same scribe (and not to John Mark). In addition to these ornaments, others of more or less elaboration surround the *quinio* numbers, besides occurring occasionally at the right hand upper and outer corner of the *verso* of a leaf. In this last position a small diamond of black dots (sometimes a pair of them) is almost always present; but it does not seem to have any connection with the symbol of the unity and trinity of God, which regularly holds the like place in Nestorian sacred MSS. Still further, the numbers of the lesson-notes, and those of the larger sections, or chapters, presently to be mentioned, have an unpretentious ornament composed of dots.

Besides the numbers of the lesson-notes, the numbers of the *τίτλοι*, or *κεφάλαια*, of the Gospels are given in the margin in red. These correspond almost exactly with those of the Greek as given in Küster's Mill. Certain differences will be noted in another connection.

The only other divisions noted in the margin are the *ḥāfiẓ*, or larger sections, the numbers being written in black.

This word *ḥāfiẓ* is identical with the Arabic word employed to denote the modern chapters; but in Syriac it means a different division. It is also used indefinitely, in the sense of *pericope*, or passage of Scripture; and in the plural for the whole Bible, or the whole New Testament, or for a version. In the Gospels these sections are numbered consecutively through the four Gospels as one series, and also separately for each of the four. There is consequently a double set of numbers for them in all the Gospels except Matthew. The Acts and the Catholic Epistles, that is, here, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John, are likewise divided into *ḥāfiẓ* and numbered in the margin as one book. Through these books, also, the church-lessons are numbered consecutively, as if one book. In the same way, also, the Epistles of Paul are divided and numbered as one book, both as to *ḥāfiẓ* and as to church-lessons.

The *ḥāfiẓ* are evidently the same as those in use among the Nestorians, as can be seen both from the Nestorian MS. (12th century) of the Peshitto New Testament at Boston, and from that excellent and very useful edition of the Bible in Ancient and Modern Syriac, the work of Dr. Justin Perkins, printed at Urmī (Oroomiah) in 1846. Indeed, the testimony given by this Perkins Bible is of a rather unusual sort. As printed, the order of books in the New Testament is the same as that of our English Bible, yet the numbering of the series of *ḥāfiẓ* which begins in Acts, and is interrupted by Paul's Epistles, is resumed again at James, and carried through 1 Peter and 1 John, without any regard to the interposed book, 2 Peter. The latter, as well as 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse are not divided into *ḥāfiẓ*; but, on the contrary, each of these books has a note at the beginning, stating that it "is not included in the *ḥāfiẓ* that is commonly called the Peshitto, but nevertheless is written in other ancient *ḥāfiẓ*." All this goes to show that this division, or capitulation, is very ancient, and antedates the separation of the Nestorians and Jacobites from the general Syrian church. It shows also

a like antiquity for this order of books in the New Testament, which coincides with that now received among the critical editors of the Greek N. T., except only that it places the Epistle to the Hebrews at the end of the Pauline Epistles — numbering it, however, as one book with them.

As these ~~having~~ are peculiar to the Syriac versions, and neither very well known nor very accessible, a list of them is here given from that division of the New Testament which comprises the Acts and the Catholic Epistles:

1. Acts	i. 1.	12. Acts	xiii. 4.	23. Acts	xxv. 13.
2. " "	ii. 4.	13. "	xiii. 44.	24. "	xxvi. 24.
3. " "	iii. 11.	14. "	xv. 4.	25. "	xxvii. 33.
4. " "	iv. 24.	15. "	xvi. 10.	26. James	i. 1.
5. " "	v. 29.	16. "	xvii. 10.	27. "	ii. 20.
6. " "	vii. 11.	17. "	xviii. 12.	28. "	v. 7.
7. " "	vii. 54.	18. "	xix. 24.	29. I Peter	ii. 6.
8. " "	viii. 35.	19. "	xx. 22.	30. "	iv. 1.
9. " "	ix. 32.	20. "	xxi. 27.	31. I John	i. 7.
10. " "	x. 30.	21. "	xxii. 30.	32. "	iii. 21.
11. " "	xi. 22.	22. "	xxiv. 1.		

Of these sections, Matthew had 22; Mark, 13; Luke, 23; John, 20; and the Four Gospels together, 78. The Acts alone had 25; the Acts and Catholic Epistles together, 32. The Pauline Epistles, including Hebrews, had 55, (but the last one visible in the MS. is at 2 Timothy iv. 1, number 47). For the whole Peshitto, therefore, the number was 165; and as to the Philoxenian or Harklensian, this MS. shows the division to have coincided with that of the Peshitto through the four Gospels.\*

Besides these numbers in the margin, other matters are noted in the subscriptions to the Gospels, which are not marked in either margin or text; unless perhaps in respect to one matter shortly to be

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\* Further testimony to the antiquity and wide use of this capitulation may be seen in a British Museum MS. of the Syriac N. T., (No. 7157), written at Beth-kuko, A. D. 768. See Dr. W. Wright's article *Verse* in the 2-vol. ed. of *Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* (New York, 1855), vol. ii. p. 914. Also, Wright's *Cat. of the Syriac MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* vol. i. (London, 1870); No. 161 (Br. Mus. Add. 12,138), pp. 101-107; a MS. dated A. D. 899; in which the subscription to the notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews gives the numbers of these sections. Wright states that they are "regularly marked on the margin throughout the whole manuscript." Gregory Bar-hebræus uses the same sections in his Commentary.

mentioned. These will best appear by translating one of the subscriptions. The following is the subscription to Matthew: "Ends the Gospel of Mattheus the apostle, which he spake in Hebrew in Palestine. His prayer for us, Amen. There are in it *kephalaia* 70; and the number of *canones* 360. And signs 25, and parables 25, and testimonies 32. And lessons 74, and sections 22. Pray, for our Lord's sake, for the sinner that wrote [this]."

Arranged in tabular form, the numbers given in the subscriptions to the Gospels are as follows:

<i>Keph.</i>	<i>Canon.</i>	<i>Signs.</i>	<i>Par.</i>	<i>Test.</i>	<i>Less.</i>	<i>Sect.</i>
Matthew, - 70.	360.	25.	25.	32.	74.	22.
Mark, - - 49.	240.	22.	6.	17.	40.	13.
Luke, - - 83.	348.	22.	27.	16.	72.	23.
John, - - 20.	232.	8.	5.	15.	48.	20.

(I have been the more careful to insert these numbers here, because as originally given in the *Proceedings* A. Or. Soc. mentioned above, they contain a few mistakes; though these are corrected in a subsequent number.)

The *canones* are the Eusebian canons, or their Syriac substitute. Unless these are marked by the largest punctuation mentioned above, viz., the vermillion diamond with a black centre, they are not marked in the text. In a number of places this punctuation does exactly mark off the Greek canons; but that it is anything more than a coincidence, I should not venture to say. For, as might be supposed, the same punctuation occurs regularly at the beginning (or end) of the *kephalaia* and the *lunüy*, except when they coincide with the beginning of a lesson; and then punctuation of every sort is usually omitted; as if the rubricated note was warning enough, and supplied the place of punctuation.

For the "testimonies," etc., so far as the items are liturgical, we must look to the service-books for information. So far as I can discover, they are not marked in any way in the text. A hint of the use of the "testimonies" may be seen in the captions to the Psalms in some editions of the Syriac Bible; especially in the Psalter which was the "first labor" of the American press at Urmî, in 1841.

Farther than as above stated, the margin contains nothing except here and there a word or more that had been omitted by mistake, and is thus supplied *a prima manu* by writing between the lines or in the margin, and marking the place in the text by a small +, -, >, or . . . , after the fashion of our \* etc., to show where the correction

belongs. (The second-hand corrections, a few in number, are so late that I do not notice them here.) There is no Greek margin, nor anything to correspond with what is commonly known as the Harklensian (some still call it the Philoxenian) margin. Only in two or three cases is there a real marginal note; and those are explanatory, and all in the Peshitto Portion. One is at Acts x. 6, where the transliterated *βυρωτή* has a marginal note, duly marked by a  $\pm$ , and reading, "that is, a tanner"; this marginal word for "tanner," by the way, being the one still in use with that meaning in the colloquial Arabic, but having a different meaning in the literary language and the lexicons. A note is also given to explain Paul's appealing to Cæsar (Acts xxv. 11), which it does by calling it "swearing by Cæsar."

It is also to be stated that the codex contains nothing which answers to the *obeli* or asterisks of certain Harklensian MSS. and of White's edition.

Before leaving these accessories of the text, it is proper to speak of their relation to those of other codices which bear some resemblance to this one. In the absence of the Harklensian margins, this MS. agrees with the Codex Mediceo-Florentinus (*anno* 757), described by Adler (*N. T. Versiones Syr.*, pp. 52, ff.), and by him thought to be the true Philoxenian; though thought not so by Bernstein (*Ev. d. Joh.* pp. 1, 2). It likewise agrees with the same codex in the numbers above given from the subscriptions to the Gospels; except only in the *κεφάλαια*, and in the fact that the lessons and sections are wanting in the Cod. Flor. The differences in the *κεφάλαια* are shown in the following comparison of the two codices with the Greek numbers as given in Küster's Mill:

	Beirût MS.	Cod. Flor.	Küster's Mill.
Matthew,	- - - - -	70	68
Mark,	- - - - -	49	48
Luke,	- - - - -	83	83
John,	- - - - -	20	19
			18

In the Beirût MS., the difference in John is made by dividing *κεφ.* 18 into three *κεφάλαια*, so as to add two; and the case is similar in Matthew and Mark. However, the *last* number in John (20) and the last in Matthew (70) either never were written or have become obliterated. So it is barely *possible* that the unnumbered beginning of the Gospel was counted in making up the numbers given in the subscription; but the cases of Mark and Luke seem to forbid such a supposition.

The same absence of Harklensian margin appears also in the Cod. Parisinus, described by Adler (*N. T. Vers. Syr.* pp. 55 ff.); but that codex differs in other respects, both external and internal, from the Beirut MS. It agrees with it, however, in giving *το ζεφάλας* of Matthew; but again it gives 40 in Mark—very different from both the Beirut MS. and the Cod. Flor. Its date is A. D. 1212.

The Codex Angelicus (Adler, *idem*, pp. 59 ff.), of unknown date, but about cent. XIV., has some margins, but they seem to be totally different from that known as the Harklensian margin, besides being of a later origin and different purpose. This codex is thought by Bernstein (*Evang. d. Joh.* pp. 3, 4) to be probably the true original Philoxenian.

Other codices of the Harklensian revision or version differ so widely in these accessories that no mention of them is here worth while.

The matter of the church-lessions would require too great space for their discussion here. I will only mention that in the Gospels they differ materially from the scheme given in the Widmanstadt Peshitto (*ed. princeps*) of 1555, and substantially followed in subsequent editions; and seem nearer to the Harklensian scheme given in Adler (*idem*, pp. 67 ff.). In connection with the fact that the Acts and Epistles are in the Peshitto version, it may be well to cite Adler on another point. Speaking of what he calls the "*Missale Syriacum, iuxta ritum Jacobitarum,*" contained in Cod. Vat. XXXV. (olim xxvi), he remarks: ". . . quidem pericope evangelicae ad Philoxeniam, epistolicae autem ad Simplicem pertinent," (*idem*, p. 75). And the same is in the main true of the Beirut MS.

### III. Internal, or Textual, Characteristics.

It is safe, at the outset, to state broadly that the codex represents a very good text, both as regards the Syriac and the Greek; and in the Syriac, as respects both the Philoxenian or Harklensian and the Peshitto portions. In both it presents, in places, a text nearer to the Greek than the printed editions. The question of greatest interest, naturally, is whether it represents in the Gospels the original Philoxenian, or is only one more copy of the Harklensian recension. But in either case it is a MS. of high character. The next question is, how much of a contribution does it form to the material of the New Testament criticism in general, in both Philoxenian and Peshitto.

In discussing the first of these two questions (the only one to be

touched in this paper), it is necessary to keep in mind that the Philoxenian is conceded to have been based upon the Peshitto; and that the Harklensian is, of course, a revision of the Philoxenian.

Two different MSS., as already hinted, have heretofore been supposed to represent the original Philoxenian version. One is the Codex Florentinus, above mentioned (having several features in common with the Beirût MS.), considered by Adler (*N. T. Vers. Syr.*, p. 55) to be the true Philoxenian on account of the absence of the Harklensian margin; but also admitted by him to differ very little in text from the Harklensian recension. This opinion of Adler was rejected by Bernstein (*D. heilige Evang. d. Joh., Krit. Anmerk.*, pp. 1, 2), who thought the Roman Codex Angelicus (cent. XII-XIV.) to be a copy of the true Philoxenian. His main alleged reasons are, that though it has a set of marginal notes, they are of a different if not later character, copied from a different class of MSS., and serving a different purpose; that it keeps the old Peshitto renderings in more places than the other MSS.; and also, in general, is much less accurate and faithful, and therefore earlier in composition, than either White's edition or the other MSS. of the Harklensian recension. In support of this opinion and these allegations, however, he only gives a partial collation — or rather, a selection of examples from a partial collation — of the first five chapters of the Gospel of John. This is hardly enough to judge by; especially as the variations given are (1.) not exhaustive, and (2.) not of a character sufficiently marked to serve as a basis for sound judgment. (Within the same space the Beirût MS. presents many more variations from White than Bernstein gives of the Cod. Angelicus.)

But it will be better to give Bernstein's argument in a fuller abstract. He first admits (*idem, Krit. Anmerk.*, pp. 25, 26) — against his own theory — that in some of the instances given, the Cod. Angelicus leaves the Peshitto where the other MSS. and White hold to it. The instances which he gives of this sort are 6 in number, and are explained by him as oversights of the copyist. (With regard to these 6 instances, only one seems to have any probable claim to be called an error. In all the 6 the Beirût MS. agrees with the Peshitto.)

Next he gives his strong point. That is a list of 19 places in which, while the Harklensian shows correction and a closer agreement with the Greek, the Codex Angelicus has retained the Peshitto rendering. (But in making up this list, he has had in one instance to separate White's ed. from the 3 MSS. collated, because it agrees

with the Cod. Angel. in that instance; thus reducing the list to 18. And the rest of the list, though a true one, is not strong enough to furnish an argument. Two of the instances depend upon the position of a diacritic point, and that in respect to the third personal pronoun standing for the Greek article; two are insignificant transpositions; and not one of the instances presents a case where a copyist might not easily slip from the one to the other. None of them affects more than one word, and that usually either a prefix conjunction or a suffix pronoun. The strongest instance—strongest indeed of all the proofs presented by Bernstein—is that where the Cod. Angel. reads **يَوْمًا**? (*called*) instead of the Harklensian **يَوْمًا**? (*said*), as a translation of **λεγομένην**, in the phrase “a village called Sychar.” —The Beirût MS. agrees with the Cod. Angel. in 4 of the 19, and is on the fence with regard to a 5th, with perhaps a leaning to the Harklensian.)

He next gives a list of "other places, where it [Cod. Angel.] agrees neither with the Harklensian version nor with the Peshitto." These are 31 in number, and are supposed to exhibit the farther advance in revision made by the Harklensian. But of these 31, in 6 the Harklensian *agrees with the Peshitto* against the Codex Angelicus (!); and one of these agreements is even admitted by Bernstein. In 23 of the remaining ones the Harklensian either agrees so closely with the Peshitto that the difference all but vanishes, or else shows that it is much closer in form to the Peshitto, i. e., it has departed from the Peshitto less, than the Cod. Angelicus. Of the two remaining instances, in one the Cod. Angel. is perceptibly nearer, and in the other *perhaps* a little nearer the Peshitto than the Harklensian reading. (The Beirſt MS. agrees with the Cod. Angel. in three of the 31; and in the remaining 27 sides with the Harklensian, though with slight differences.)

A re-arrangement of these selected instances of Bernstein will make the matter clearer:

### Where Cod. Angel. and Harkl. differ—

{ Cod. Angel. coincides with Peshitto in	-	-	-	18 instances.
{ Harkl. . . " " " " - - -	12	"		
{ Cod. Angel. nearer to Peshitto than Harkl. in	-	-	2	"
{ Harkl. nearer to Peshitto than Cod. Angel. in	-	-	23	"

In the first pair of numbers, Bernstein's hypothesis is favored, as the 18 unrevised of the Cod. Ang. are more than the 12 unrevised of the Harklesian. In the second pair, unless reasons shall appear to

show that a re-revision would bring the Harklensian back again nearer to the Peshitto, Bernstein's hypothesis is opposed, as the 23 less revised of the Harklensian are more than the two of the Cod. Angel. That a re-revision *might* bring the text back again nearer the Peshitto is possible, when either the Greek text was sensibly approached nearer by that means, or a better Syriac idiom was thus secured without sacrificing adherence to the Greek. But if the changes are only those which a copyist might naturally make through inattention, then they go against the hypothesis of a re-revision.

To sum up the facts of Bernstein's argument, then, out of the 56 instances selected to prove his point, one disappears, 20 go in his favor, and 35 against him; while in all of them the lack of proper magnitude or character is painfully manifest. We may well turn back upon Bernstein and his list of select variants from the Cod. Angel., his own words respecting Adler and the Cod. Florentinus: "the variants which it contains are, on the whole, not very important, and neither more numerous nor more significant than in other MSS. of this version." Indeed, these variants furnish nothing to compare with the difference between our Common and Revised English Versions in a space of like extent. And it may be added that Bernstein's partial collation (*idem*, pp. 4-10), from which he selects the above particular proofs, shows many more cases where the Cod. Angel. abandons the Peshitto, but the other MSS. and the printed Harklensian adhere to it.

So far as the above throws light on the Beirût MS., it shows that it adheres to the Peshitto by exact coincidence in several more of the selected instances used as above by Bernstein, than White's edition and the Harklensian MSS.; and also, that it thus adheres to the Peshitto in only two less instances than the Codex Angelicus. In near coincidences it has many more than the Cod. Angel., and nearly as many as the Harklensian.

But the Beirût MS. has some characteristics of its own, which show themselves well enough in a fair and even balance. Far more striking than any—or than all of the above combined, and at the same time the most striking instance in the Beirût MS., is to be found in Matthew xxv. For several verses before the commencement of the Parable of the Ten Virgins, the Peshitto and Harklensian coincide almost exactly; but at xxv. 6 they diverge widely. Now the Beirût MS. keeps up the coincidence with the Peshitto quite to the end of the Parable; so that verses 6-11 inclusive cannot be collated with the Harklensian at all, but must be compared with the Peshitto.

No one has yet cited anything from any other MSS. which at all compares with this instance.

In regard to other cases of adherence to, or rather, of less departure from, the Peshitto, it is scarcely worth while here to go through with Bernstein's *Kritische Anmerkungen* in his *Evang. d. Joh.*, since we have found his selected summary on the point so clearly against his supposition. If of any value here, such a course would be so in the direction of an estimate of the Cod. Florentinus; a side issue of rather too wide an extent to be now attended to. Of other available material, there remains only White's edition, text and notes and margins. With these I have compared the Beirūt MS.; and of the results of this comparison I propose to give a short specimen summary; premising, however, that I shall pay no attention at present to differences that consist merely in diacritic points, or to differences in punctuation which really change the interpretation; though in a complete treatise both of these must have their weight.

A few general matters, also, may be stated first, in brief, without stopping to give special instances.

In the first place, the proper names in White's edition and the MSS. which it follows, are commonly spelled after the analogy of the Greek; often as a mere transliteration, and even retaining the Greek case-endings; much of it being a mere attempt slavishly to reproduce the Greek phenomena in a way intolerable to the genius of the Syriac tongue. But in the Beirūt MS. the regular practice is uniformly the other way. The proper names, with comparatively few exceptions, are spelled after the Syrian fashion. (This is likewise the case with the MSS. used by Bernstein for his Gospel of John (*D. heilige Evang.*, cited above).) It shows that the Beirūt does not follow the more thoroughly revised Harklensian, in any event.

In the spelling of Greek and other words not proper names, adopted by the Syriac (words in which the New Testament Syriac abounds), the same rule obtains throughout. This, again, is generally nothing more than a non-departure from the Peshitto; but sometimes the Peshitto has translated a word or phrase into Syriac where the Harklensian has merely transliterated the Greek. Yet in this case, too, the Beirūt MS. generally follows either the literal Peshitto or its analogy. This may be illustrated by an example. In Matt. xix. 28, the phrase οὐ τὴ παλιγνεσίᾳ is not translated in the Harklensian, but transliterated entire into Syriac letters; the whole phrase being crammed together into one word, just like the Greek uncial margin which is given for explanation. But the Beirūt MS.

gives a Syriac rendering, **لُوكَةٌ**, strictly equivalent to the Greek in sense, and of a form to be represented exactly by  $\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\gamma\tau\epsilon\nu\theta\omega$ . It uses here common Peshitto words, but not the Peshitto rendering, which last happens to be **لُوكَةٌ**, or “*in the new æon.*” Close to the same example (I cite them merely because they are handy) are three other adherences to the Peshitto, either of them stronger than any instance cited by Bernstein in favor of the Cod. Angelicus. In Matt. xix. 24 we have the Syriac for “camel” in place of the Harklensian transliteration of the corrupt  $\chi\mu\pi\lambda\omega$ , or cable; in verse 27 we have the Peshitto phrase “Cephas answered and said,” for the Harklensian “when Peter responded he said”—a difference in every word of the phrase, as well as in the characteristic idiom of the whole. In verse 28 we have the Peshitto, not the Harklensian, word for “tribes” (of Israel). In the face of such differences as these, which abound in the Beirût MS., the differences alleged for the Cod. Angel. fade away into nothing. But one more example may be given to illustrate another sort of difference just mentioned. In John xix. 2 the “crown” (of thorns), in the Beirût MS. is the Syriac and Peshitto **مُلْكَةٌ**; but White has a transliteration of  $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\omega\omega$ , retaining even the accusative form. But this case is merely one for illustration; for Bernstein's John, with the MSS. there collated, agree with the Beirût MS. in this example; while White's note says that his MSS. give **مُلْكَةٌ** in margin, and that the Codex Barsalibæi has **مُلْكَةٌ** in text and  $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\omega\omega$  in margin. But numerous cases occur where a similar fact is confined to the Beirût MS.

There is one case in the Beirût MS. which at first sight seems to look the other way. In Luke vii. 44, 45, from “she hath washed” to “thou gavest me no kiss,” White's ed. follows the Peshitto; while for the last half-dozen words the Beirût MS. gives a rendering entirely after the Harklensian (or Philoxenian) idiom, slavishly reproducing the Greek order of words. But a note of White states that this clause is wanting in the Ridley MS. (the basis of his edition), and that he supplied it from a Bodleian MS. Thus the effect of this case is to show that the Beirût MS. has kept a clause which the Ridley MS. copyist had omitted, and which the editor had supplied from the Peshitto.

But in order to come nearer to a proper estimate of the position of this MS. in this respect, it is best to remark briefly upon the main characteristic differences between the Peshitto and the Harklensian.

Nothing is clearer (to repeat a little) than that the latter is a revision derived from the former, though we know that there was one intervening step. The general genius of the revision may be in some measure imagined by comparing the noble version of Luther with the wooden one of De Wette; but the parallel must not be strained. Aside from characteristics already mentioned, the Peshitto phrases, clauses, sentences, and even passages extending through a number of verses, appear here and there unchanged; then, again, with transpositions, inversions, expansions, and contractions; with the insertion of a word on the one hand, or its omission, on the other; here and there a slight change in only a word or two, and then again a complete difference in words and structure. In short, it shows all the phenomena of a revision from the free, the idiomatic, and the occasionally paraphrastic, to the close and literal. But, still farther than this, there is a continual attempt to exhibit what may be called the surface phenomena of the Greek, such as almost parallels the LXX. use of the preposition *σὺν* with the accusative to show the presence of *לְ* in the Hebrew text. Prominent among such characteristics are the use of an additional word instead of the idiomatic suffix pronoun, thus giving an undue emphasis to the Greek possessive *ῳτῷ*, and the like; the attempt to represent the Greek article by certain pronouns of the third person, often with an effect much less happy than Beza's use of *ille* for a like purpose (though a diacritic point generally shows whether the pronoun has the force of the article, or that of a demonstrative or even relative pronoun); the exchange of the idiomatic succession of two finite verbs with—or even without—a conjunction for *καὶ* before a verb or a participle, in order to represent the various Greek participal constructions; the use of the pronoun *ἥ* (always with a diacritic point) to reproduce the effect (if not the sound and appearance) of the Greek particle *μέ*\*; with other almost constant changes, mostly pleonastic in form, which need not be enumerated, but which no reader of the Syriac versions can miss. It is in the matter of these characteristic marks, rather than in any great variety or essential difference of rendering, that the Philoxenian, or any other intermediate step, from the Peshitto to the Harklensian as we have it, is to be recognized.

Other things being equal, this intermediate revision would be expected, among other matters, to show:

\* This peculiarity occurs in Syriac outside of the Harklensian and Poocke's Epistles and De Dieu's Apocalypse, e. g., in *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, edited by Dr. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882).

(1.) A greater number of exact coincidences with the Peshitto.  
 (2.) More cases where the departure from the Peshitto in form or phraseology would be less; that is, more cases *nearly* coincident.  
 (3.) In cases of difference from the Peshitto in form and shade~~—~~ of rendering, where the Peshitto adheres closely to the Greek: often~~—~~ but not always, a *less* adherence to the Peshitto; since the later revision would be likely to take a return step in matter, and *perhaps*~~—~~ even in form, provided either a nearer approach to the Greek or a better Syriac idiom with equal closeness to the Greek could be thus secured. (It is this consideration which appears to lie at the basis of Bernstein's argument in his list of places where the Codex Angelicus differs from both Peshitto and Harklensian; as his citations of the Greek in that list would show. But his list shows only very slight differences at best, and those more in form than in shades of meaning; and none of them important; while there is nothing cumulative in the sum. Further, the little weight they seem to have disappears on actual comparison with the Peshitto.) But these cases actually involve some other considerations, such as possible changes in the Syriac language since the Peshitto took its final form, concerning which we have few or no data for judging. And in general, these cases are to be weighed, rather than counted; and to be treated with care and discrimination throughout.

(4.) Though not decisive, the proper names and foreign words should be spelled or transferred after the common Syriac (or at least the Peshitto) fashion, and not merely transliterated into Syriac letters.

Now, to apply this roughly, I have put together the following results from the Gospel of Matthew in the Beirût MS. It begins at Matt. xii. 20, and lacks xiii. 28—57, xvii. 20—xix. 12, xxv. 11—xxvi. 21; leaving about the amount of fifteen chapters as the material here summarized.

Leaving out of view (as already suggested) all differences which consist merely in *points* (though those are often important, and were used by Bernstein in his argument for the Cod. Angelicus), and considering no variations that amount to less than an actual letter of the text, I find in this fragment of Matthew about 347 differences between the Beirût MS. and the edition of White—counting each passage as one difference, without regard to how many minor differences it may comprise.

Of these, first, where both differ from the Peshitto, 32 may be called unimportant differences; but in the large majority of them,

White's ed. gives what we may well call ultra-Harklensian characteristics. In only 2 does the Beirūt MS. show a stronger Harklensian tendency than White; while in one, White shows a decided revision of the B. MS. form. It should be said, however, that in 6 of these cases, the B. MS. coincides with readings given in White from the Cod. Barsalibæi, which is apparently one of those Harklensian copies which favor the Syriac genius rather than imitate the Greek. So far, the B. MS. looks more unrevised by a preponderance very great and easy to see, but not easy to express in numbers nearer than 30 to 2.

As to proper names, the differences are about 60. Of these the B. MS. has 55 spelled in the Syriac fashion, and 33 of these in the exact form given in the Peshitto. In the other 5, White is nearer the Syriac fashion, though not once coincident with a Peshitto form; and in one of the 5 the B. MS. would be nearer the Syriac fashion had it not committed an obvious error in spelling—a pure clerical error. Thus the numbers should rather stand 56 to 4 than 55 to 5.

In the matter of differences with respect to Greek words which are not proper names, the B. MS. follows the Syriac style and genius in 16 instances, one of them being the exact Peshitto form; while White follows the Syriac style and genius in only 1. In one instance, White's margin agrees with both B. MS. and Peshitto. Thus this preponderance in favor of the unrevised condition of B. MS. stands 16 to 1; with one of the number showing that the makers of White's text had the variant before their eyes when they did their revising.

Before proceeding to the more important points, it is necessary to make a remark about the manifest errors of the scribe in the B. MS., and those of the printer in White's ed., in the portion here summarized. In the writing of B. MS., they amount to about 23; of which 3 are serious *homoioteleuta*, one a palpable omission, and one a plainly accidental transposition; all the rest being minor ones, though sometimes such as to seem to bear differently from their manifest corrections upon the results of this summary. The errors in W., likewise, I find to be about 6. At the same time, I may mention, that of the more important variations caused by a difference in Greek text, W. is best in about 8 instances; one because of a difference in the spelling of B., and once because of an apparent error in B., though there it agrees with W.'s margin. B., likewise, represents a better Greek text in about 8 instances; one of them, however, being its better reading of the interpolated verse, Matt. xxi. 44. Both these matters, with others to appear, have an important bearing on the numbers next to be discussed.

Of these, first, are the exact coincidences with the Peshitto, where the two differ from each other. At the first rough taking out, there stand 81 coincidences of the Beirût MS. against 65 of White's ed.; or, in coincidences which tally to the very letter, in favor of the superior antiquity of B. in a ratio a little less than 9 to 7. But from the 65 of W. we must first deduct 2, which White in his notes acknowledges as his own corrections of the MS., leaving 63. Ten more must go, where the difference is caused only by a manifest clerical error in B., of omission or the like, palpable to any reader, and two of them mere misspellings; leaving 53. Ten more must go, for letters in B. which either stand for the grammatical contraction of a main word with its expletive, or accidental differences which show no intention to depart from the Peshitto, but a plain intention to adhere to it, and which are actually within the range of the Peshitto's variant readings. This leaves 43; and now we may proceed to examine their essential character. Only 3 of them amount to so much as the omission of or the rendering by an essentially different word on the part of B.; and then B. departs from Peshitto in one place to follow the Curetonian Syriac, once to follow the Greek against the Peshitto, and once to agree with W.'s margin. The rest are differences of slight moment; 3 being by mere transposition; and only 6 by as much as an additional word, and that sometimes only by way of difference in grammatical form (such as frequently occurs in different MSS. or edd. of the Peshitto), and sometimes an insignificant particle. Out of the whole number (whether 65 or 43), it should be stated, B. agrees with W.'s margin in but three instances; which fact may be looked upon as a probable indication of their existence earlier than the text of W., and as possibly reducing the strength of this numerical array by that amount.

But the 81 of B. must be discussed before we can resume the comparison. Here, however, we meet with but 4 which are unessential transpositions, but not one that in any way can be made to disappear. As against the three where W.'s adherence to the Peshitto differs from B. by as much as an essentially different word, and all of those leaning in favor of B.'s priority as a version, B. has 7 adherences which differ from W. by as much as an essential word. As against the 1 of W. by B.'s omission (that, too, being one of the last 3), B. has 11 by W.'s omission, one of them amounting to 4 words. As against the 6 by addition, B. has 10. But in other cases, where the difference is an essential one in the rendering and phraseology, 1 place covers 3 words, 2 cover each 4 words (one of them a

case where W. has adopted a different Greek), and one is a long passage covering 60 words, where W. differs *toto cato* from the Peshitto.

Now we can compare the 81 with the 65. The 81 stand, while the 65 diminish at once to 43. But the chief one of the 81 is enough to swallow up the 43, and leave still a numerical surplus. But if not so, yet each of the more important ones of the 43 is immensely overmatched in both number and quality out of the 81; sometimes in the ratio of 2 to 1, and sometimes by ratios too large to measure; while its minor ones are outnumbered nearly 2 to 1. In comparison with this, Bernstein's arguments in favor of the Codex Angelicus dwindle to the veriest shadow.

But there remain two more points to attend to. One of these is those cases of difference where the rendering of one or the other is so near that of the Peshitto as to be essentially the same; differing often only by a single letter, and at most only by such small matters as show that no departure from that version was contemplated, unless required by grammatical correction, or some equally minor cause. In this respect, B. has 12 instances, and W. 3. In one of the 3 B. differs only by a manifest error, and in another because it follows the Curetonian Syriac. So the numbers might more justly stand 12 to 2; while 1 of the 2 still furnishes argument for the priority of B. over W.

The last point of the summary concerns those differences in which, though both differ from the Peshitto in rendering, or, at least, essentially in form, one is nearer to the Peshitto in meaning than the other. Up to this time, I have not developed this point as thoroughly as the others, and therefore lay no stress upon it at present; but I will give the numbers. As might have been expected from what has been learned of the other results, the direction of the numerical inequality is reversed. W. stands 36 to B. 18. The 36, however, ought in fairness to be diminished by 2; once because of a palpable omission of B.—an apparent *homoioteleuton*, but really following a better text; and again for its manifest error; thus leaving the numbers 34 to 18. So far, it looks perfectly consistent with the supposition that W. had approached nearer to the Peshitto *in sense* by a re-revising. To this add the fact that in one of the 18 B. agrees with W.'s margin. Furthermore, as if to furnish the proof that the onward course of revisers always has an inevitable back eddy or two, B. has one very striking instance, covering 3 words, where the re-revision of W. (if really such) must be looked upon as resulting in a nearer

approach to the Peshitto in its nice correctness of both sense and language.

Before leaving the subject, just one more important consideration should be added. The dependence of the Harklensian Epistles of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude upon the version first published by Pococke (Leyden, 1627), and since generally published with the Peshitto, has been often noticed. The Harklensian are certainly a revision of the latter, and a great improvement; for whether the latter were the original Philoxenian or not, they do not equal the Peshitto in merit. Now the items which make up this revision plainly lie in the direction above pointed out, in the changes from the Peshitto to the Harklensian. The changes from Pococke to Harklensian are less radical in style (except in mere transpositions) than those from Peshitto to Harklensian; though they are evident enough. In matter of rendering, however, that is, in differences of word or phrase, the differences are at least as great. But all this is to be accounted for from the fact that the Pococke Epistles probably had no Peshitto basis; and at the same time, are a much later work, and more like the later Secular writings in form and style. Revision to the Harklensian style would naturally change the words more, and the style less. But in comparing the Beirût MS. with the Harklensian, there is everywhere manifest the same kind of differences as in the case of the change from the Pococke to the Harklensian; only, as the Beirût MS. came originally from a Peshitto basis (the same basis, indeed, as the Harklensian), the changes in the essential words and phrases of rendering are not relatively so many; while those in form and style are much the same. It is hard to resist the impression that the Beirût Gospels stand to the Harklensian Gospels in about the same relation as the Pococke Epistles to the Harklensian Epistles.

Whether this codex be the lost Philoxenian or not, it certainly presents the strongest claims yet apparent for that identification. It is beyond a doubt an earlier revision than the Harklensian of White; and, so far as I am able to judge, than that of any other MS. known.

## On Job. xix. 25-27.

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BY REV. J. I. MOMBERT, D. D.

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25. *אָנָּי יְדַעֵּי נָאָלִי הַנִּיאָבְרִין עַל־צָרְבָּרִים :*

26. *אָהָר עַזְרִי גְּפֶרְתָּא יְמַבְּשָׂרִי אֲהֹוָה אַלְפָה :*

27. *אָצָר אָנִי אֲהֹוְדָלִי יְצָנִי רָאוּ וְלָאָצָר בְּלוּ בְּלָבָרִ בְּחַקָּן :*

The object of this paper is twofold: 1. to trace the history of the passage as it stands in the Authorized Version; and 2. to submit the summary of an interpretation.

### I. The history of the passage.

It is taken for granted that the line of succession begins with the Hebrew in the form here presented, and runs through the Septuagint, the Itala and Vulgate, Wiclif, Matthew, Coverdale, Genevan and the Bishops', and that the Chaldee paraphrase, the Syriac and Arabic among the ancients, Luther, Olivetan, Pagninus, Münster and Tremelius, etc., among the more modern, have directly or indirectly influenced the English version. To these should, possibly, be added the names of Diodati and Cassiodoro, as well as that of Castalio. It is unnecessary to state the reasons here, as they are, of course, known to the members of this Society.

Beginning, then, with the LXX., we meet the following text:

25. *οὐδα γάρ ὅτε ἀέναος ἐστιν ὁ ἔχλεων με μέλλων ἐπὶ γῆς .*

26. *ἀναστήσεις δὲ μου τὸ δέρμα (τὸ σῶμα) τὸ ἀναγλωνόν ταῦτα. παρὰ γάρ χρίσιον μοι ταῦτα συνετελέσθη,*

27. *ἄξετος δέ μου συνεπίσταμαι, ἢ οἱ ὄφεις λακυών μου ἑωράκασι. ταῦτα δὲ μοι συνετελέσταται ἐν κύκλῳ.*

The various readings of moment are: 25. ἐγὼ for γὰρ in Compl. and some MSS.; ἀέναος A and some MSS.; comma after μέλλων, Roman edition of B.; 26. ἀναστῆσαι τὸ δέρμα μου τὸ ἀναντλοῦν, ταῦτά μοι B.; 27. ὁ ὄφθαλμός μου ἔσφραξε, B.

It is also proper to add that Theodotion (*Hexapla*) renders:

25. ὁ ἀγχιστεῖς μου ζῆ, καὶ ἔσφραξεν ἐπὶ χάματος ἀναστῆσει.  
27. Ἐξείπην αἱ νέφροι μου ἐν τῷ κύλπῳ μου.

There seems little doubt that the old Septuagintal reading is generally expressed in the old Sixtine rendering (see Walton and Jager): 25. "Scio enim quia aeternus est qui me resoluturus est, super terram ad resuscitandam cudem meam que perpetuitur haec: a Domino enim haec mihi consummata sunt, 27 quorum ego mihi conscient sum, que oculus meus [or, plural] vidit, et non aliis, et omnia mihi consummata sunt in sinu." In v. 25, however, *quod* seems preferable to *quia*, and ἀναστῆσει the more accepted reading, according to Origen (*Hexapla*) at least, appears to have belonged to v. 25, and conformed to the Hebrew; yet, while he renders the latter, ". . . redemptor meus vivit et novissime super pulverem staturus," his Greek *ζωὴν*, is represented by . . . "perennis est qui soluturus me est super terra." The rendering of Theodotion is unsupported and an interpretation rather than a translation. The most interesting and, perhaps, instructive rendering is that of γῆ by ἀέναος, which I regard as a key-word to the meaning; as to the form of the word, that with a double γ, being the less usual, is probably the best sustained; as composed of ἀεὶ and νίνω, it signifies primarily, ever-flowing, and then perennial, everlasting, ever-living, eternal,—so that we may understand the clause to carry the sense that, in the opinion of the Seventy, Job held that ὁ ἔκλιψεν is eternal, and that disposes of Theodotion's ἀγχιστεῖς, although it is cited by Theodoret.—v. 26, tested by the Hebrew, seems to be pure paraphrase, conversion, or conjecture; it makes, of course, good sense, but at the expense of grammar and the omission or addition of words; e. g., it contains no trace of שְׁמַרְתִּי and וְיָשַׁבְתִּי, renders נִכְפְּזָאתָה τὸ ἀναντλοῦν ταῦτα, inserts or substitutes for אֱלֹהִים πυρὶ γάρ—συνετελέσθη. The changes introduced are so startling, that either a text now unknown must have been the basis of their rendering, or they must have drawn on their imagination for a solution of the difficulties. v. 27 they connect רְשָׁאָב, rendered ἀ, with the mysterious ταῦτα of v. 26, express לְאַחֲרָה־לֵי by ἐμαυτῷ συνεπίσταμαι, confound בְּלִי בְּלִי with some form which they felt justified to render: πάντα δὲ μοι συνέτελεσται, in which rendering the noun entirely disappears, and an enigmatical בְּלִי looms up

in the shape of *מְאַתָּה*. Their way of evolving this rendering from the text is very amusing, and sheds light on the origin of the various readings. Their Hebrew text was unpointed and written in uncials, thus:

**בְּלִילְיָהוֹבָחָק**

which they resolved into or spelt out: **בְּלִילְיָהוֹבָחָק**, translating as above, and taking **בְּלִילְיָהוֹבָחָק**, the Chaldee for **אֲזֶן**, as the equivalent of **לֵב**.

As to the real meaning of the ancient Septuagintal rendering, the old Italic version, which was made from it, bears testimony; it seems to have stood thus:

"*Scio enim quia eternus est qui me resoluturus est, super terram resurget cutis mea, quae haec patitur: a Domino enim mihi haec contingunt, quorum ego mihi conscient sum, quae oculus meus vidit et non aliis, et omnia mihi consummata sunt in sinu.*" The variant renderings in the Latin text given above, immediately after the Septuagint, indicate the changes made by Sixtus V. in the edition of 1587; while that which follows shows the alterations introduced into the Paris Polyglot (ed. 1645). ". . . qui solvere me debet, super terram suscitate pelle meam quae tolerat haec. Ab enim Domino haec mihi confecta sunt. Quae ego . . . aliis; omnia autem . . ."

The old Italic text, with numerous variations, was that out of which has grown the Vulgate, and it may be instructive to see how the latter stood in 1557 (ed. Bryling):

"*Scio enim quod redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum. Et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum. Quem visurus sum ego ipse, et oculi mei conspecturi sunt, et non aliis, reposita est haec spes mea in sinu meo.*"

A glance suffices to show that this text is not based on the Septuagint and the Itala, and the question arises, which is its basis? We answer, Jerome's; and it is not only based on it, but it is Jerome's translation *verbatim et literatim*.

Now, this text departs very widely, and perhaps audaciously, from the Hebrew text, for it presents the following variants:

Hebrew.

Jerome.

**עַל־אַפְרִים**

**מִצְעָד אַרְיוֹן**

**גְּבַעַת**

**גְּבַעַת**

**סְבִשָּׂר**

**סְבִשָּׂר**

For these departures Jerome assigns no reasons in his translation or in his commentary, and I have not been able to discover any reason for them in the Hebrew MSS. or in the ancient versions. Of the latter, I produce now from Walton the Chaldee Paraphrase, and the Syriac and Arabic versions in Latin.

## Chaldee Paraphrase:

*"Et ego scio quia redemptor meus vivit, et post haec redemptio ejus consurget super pulverem. Et postquam inflata fuerit pellis mea, erit hoc: et de carne mea videbo iterum Deum. Quem ego visurus sum mihi, et oculi mei videbunt, et non aliis: consumpti sunt renes mei in sinu meo."*

This paraphrase is far less paraphrastic than the Septuagint, and sustains, with due allowance for several peculiar and not very elegant terms, the grammatical structure of the Hebrew text as placed at the head of this paper.

## Syriac and Arabic version:

*"Ego quidem scio quod Salvator meus vivens sit, et in consummatione super terram appariturus. Et pellem meam angustaverunt\* haec et carnem meam. Si viderint oculi mei Deum, videbunt lumen. Renes mei penitus perierunt de loco meo."*

This version, probably as ancient as the Chaldee Paraphrase, is considered to have been made direct from the Hebrew. The text of the passage under notice, however, must have been in many respects different from the Hebrew, if de Rossi's statement of its literalness and great fidelity is to be accepted. Dr. Credner thinks that it has been influenced by the Chaldee and the Septuagint, but it is not improbable that the original version was corrected by or adapted to them at a later period by Syrian transcribers. Structurally, the version conforms to the Hebrew text in v. 25, for it ends with כָּרְבָּנָה, but forsakes it in the subsequent verses, which it seems extremely difficult, if not impossible, to conform to it. It is not improbable, however, that some of the innovations of Jerome have been suggested by this version.

At this stage it may be proper to turn to the English versions.

Wiclf (Forshall and Madden):

*"Forsythe I wot that myn agheenbiere liveth, and in the laste dai I am to rise fro the erthe; and est shal ben enuyround with my skin, and in my flesh I shal se God, *my sauere*. Whom I myself am to seen, and myn eyhen ben to beholden, and noon other. This myn hope is led vp in my bosum."*

This is doubtless the first English basis of our present version. With the solitary interpolation of *my sauere*, it is a literal translation of the Hieronymian text of the Vulgate as given above.

The next English version was doubtless influenced by the continental versions, more especially by those of Luther and the Zürich. Luther's translation of Job appeared in 1524, and the text ran as follows:†

\*Circumdederunt hæc.

†In almost every instance the extracts given preserve the original spelling and punctuation of the editions from which they have been taken.

Luther (ed. Hans Lust, fo. 1545.)

Aber ich weis das mein Erlöser lebet, vnd er wird mich hernach aus der Erden auffwecken. Vnd werde darnach mit dieser meiner haut umbgeben werden, vnd werde in meinem fleisch Gott sehen. Den selben werde ich mir sehen, vnd meine augen werden jn schawen, vnd kein frembder. Meine nieren sind verzeret in meinem schos.

English Translation.

But I know that my Redeemer liveth, and he will afterwards awake me out of the earth. And thereupon *I* shall be surrounded with this my skin, and *I* shall see God in my flesh. The same I shall see for myself, and my eyes shall behold him, and not a stranger. My reins are consumed in my lap.

Concerning this version it is proper to say that the influence of the Vulgate against the Hebrew is very pronounced, for it preserves all the objectionable renderings of the former, except in v. 27 which follows the latter.

The Zürich version came out in 1527-1530, and brought the passage in the form here given:

Zürich (ed. Froschower, fo. 1531.)

Dann ich weiss das mein retter und schirmer läbt, vnd das ich der tag eins aus dem Kaat wider auf-ston wird, vnd das *meine glider* mit diser haut wider überzogen wer-dend, vnd das ich mit meinem fleisch bekleidet Gott anschouwen wird. Ja ich selber wird jnn an-schauwen, nit mit andern, sunder mit disen meinen augen. Meine nieren werdend in mir verzeert.

English Translation.

For I know that my saviour and protector liveth, and that some day I shall rise again out of the dirt, and that *my members* shall be again covered over with this skin, and that clothed with my flesh I shall look upon (*or*, behold) God. Yea, I myself shall look upon (*or* behold) him, not with other but with these my eyes. My reins shall be consumed within me.

This version is undoubtedly a revision of Luther, with certain paraphrastic amplifications, a marked debasement of expression, and a good deal of conjecture. Both the additions and changes show the revision did not follow the Hebrew text.

The first *complete* English Bible is Coverdale's, published in 1535, and our passage stands in it as follows:

"For I am sure, that my redeemer lyueth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day: that I shal be clothed againe with this skynne, and se God in my flesh. Yee I myself shal beholde him, not with other, but with these same eyes. My reines are consumed within me. . . ."

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Collating this with Luther, the Zürich, and the Vulgate as well as Wicklif, we get these results:\*

FOR { dann Z. } I AM SURE { Forsothe I wot W. } . . . REDEEMER	{ enim V. } { agheenbiere W. } . . . AND THAT { vnd das Z. } I SHALL RISE OUT OF	{ redemptor V. } { Erlöser L. }
THE EARTH { I am to rise from the erthe W. } IN THE LATTER { in the laste dai W. } aus dem Kaat wider auf- ston wird Z. de terra sur- recturus sum V.	DAYE { in novissimo die V. }	
THAT I SHAL BE CLOTHED AGAINE { and est shal ben enuyroned W. } } bekleidet (transposed) Z.		
THIS SKYNNE { dieser [meiner] Haut L. } . . . YEE I MYSELF { ja ich Z. } } deser Haut Z.	{ selber Z. }	
. . . NOT WITH OTHER, BUT WITH THESE SAME EYES { nit mit andern, sunder mit di- sen meinen augen Z. }		
. . . CONSUMED WITHIN ME { sind verzeret in meinem Schos L. } } werdend in mir verzeert Z.		

In other words, Coverdale's version of the passage does not contain a single word that gives evidence of a direct reference to the Hebrew. It is not necessary to produce Matthew (folio 1537), for it agrees literally with Coverdale (1535). But it is curious that about 1550 in his translation of Wermüller's *Hope of the Faithful*, he introduces the passage essentially changed, viz.: "For I am sure that my Redeemer liueth; and that he shall stand ouer the dust, or earth, in the latter day; that I shall be clothed agayne with this skynne, and se God in my flesh. Yee, I myself, or, for myself, shall behold him, not another, but with these same eyes." The reason for the changes may be found in his having probably become acquainted with Leo Judae's Latin translation, a rendering of the Septuagint, or Sebastian Münster's version, or he simply rendered the passage as Wermüller gave it. Still another version, not yet mentioned, may have been consulted by Coverdale, although it was published in the same year as his *editio princeps*, which, if printed in Switzerland, would of course raise the possibility into probability. The version of Olivetan, to which I refer, is in some respects very striking, and has, if not directly, certainly indirectly influenced in succession the Genevan, the Bishops' and the Authorized Version. As copies of that edition are extremely rare, and examples seldom met with, I give its

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\*The words in small capitals denote Coverdale's text, and the letters L. V. W. Z. stand for Luther, Vulgate, Wiclif and the Zürich.

rendering here: "Car ie scay bien que mon redempteur vit, et\* qu'il me resuscitera sur la terre au dernier iour. Et combien que les vers aient ronge ceste chair apres ma peau: toutes foys ie verray Dieu en ma chair. Lequel je contempleray en moy, & mes yeuls le regarderont et non autre: mes reins sont defaillis a mon sein."

It is proper to state that Olivetan is not original, as appears from the rendering of Pagninus, here presented, which was published in 1528.

"25. Et ego novi Redemptorem meum vivum, & novissimum qui super terram surget, 26. Et post pellem meam *contritam, vermes*, con- triverunt hanc *carnem*, et de carne mea videbo Deum. 27. Quem ego visurus sum mihi, & oculi mei videbunt, & non alienus: defecerunt renes mei in sinu meo."

The words: *Car je sais bien*, bear a closer resemblance to Coverdale's *For I am sure*, than Wiclif's *Forsythe I wot*, and if Coverdale saw Olivetan before his Bible was published, the presumption that he adopted that phrase is very strong. Variety and inconsistency mark the versions with which he was connected, and the passage before us furnishes a striking illustration of those characteristics, for although the version in *Hope of the Faithful* contains renderings derived from the Hebrew, a copy of Cranmer (1539) printed by Cawood in 1568 agrees *verbatim* with Coverdale (1535) and Matthew (1537).

The editions of Taverner likewise present no change whatsoever, except as to the spelling. But the text underwent a tremendous change in the Genevan (1560), as will be seen by comparison:

Coverdale—Matthew—Cranmer.

For I am sure, that my redeemer  
lyueth, and that I shall rise out of  
the earth in the latter daye: that  
I shal be clothed againe with this  
skynne, and se God in my flesh.  
Yee I myself shal beholde him,  
not with other, but with these  
same eyes. My reynes are con-  
sumed within me.

Genevan (1560).

For I am sure that my Redeemer  
liueth, and HE shall STAND THE  
LAST ON the earth. AND THOUGH  
AFTER MY SKIN *wormes* DESTROY  
this *bodie*, YET SHAL I se God in  
my flesh. WHOM I my self shal  
SE, AND MINE eies shal beholde,  
AND NONOTHER *for me, thogh* my  
reines are consumed within me.

In this collation the words in small capitals and italics indicate the changes; that remarkable version reflects the mind, if it does not reveal the hand of Calvin, Münster, Leo Judæ and Pellican, in addition to the English refugees by whom it was set forth. The version may be said to have been translated direct from the Hebrew, with due consultation and use of the ancient versions and Pagninus, as reference will show. The Genevan translators retained from Coverdale-Cranmer the clause "For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth," which Olivetan had rendered:

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\* *Margin*: Aucūs qu'il est le dernier qui sera debout sur la terre.

"Car je sais bien que mon redempteur vit;" in the next clause: "and he shall stand the last on the earth" they adhered to the Hebrew for the 3d pers. sing. future, and the LXX. ἀναστήσει, but weighed the statement of Münster "potest et sic iste locus reddi, novissimus resurget in pulvere," and the rendering of Leo Judæ: "et novissimum qui super terram surget;" the *super terram* also is expressed in Olivetan's "*sur la terre*." The Chaldee and Syriac likewise sustained that rendering. To the same French version and Pagninus they seem to be indebted for "and thogh after my skin *wormes* destroy this *bodie*," that being an almost literal translation of "Et combien que les vers ayent ronge ceste chair," the "chair" (flesh) being changed into "bodie," probably suggested by σῶμα; even the "yet" is a literal reproduction of "toutes-soys." In the next clause: "Whom I myself shal se," they adhere closely to the Hebrew and the Chaldee, after whom Olivetan translated "Lequel ie contempleray en moy," and Leo Judæ: "quem ego visurus sum mihi." The Chaldee (q. v.) and Leo Judæ's "*et oculi mei conspecturi sunt*" they regarded as true renderings of the Hebrew, and translated: "and mine eies shal beholde." The only original addition in the next clause is the interpretative *for me*: γι they render *alius*, not *alienus*; in the last clause "thogh" is an ingenious amplification.

Summing up, then, the Genevan version, mainly after Olivetan, introduced a rendering which, though in many respects close to the Hebrew, inserted *worms* and *bodie* without any warranty of the original, while it discarded "the latter daye" of Coverdale, and "the laste dai" of Wiclis.

The Bishops' Bible, published in 1568, presented the passage as it stands in the collation which follows:

Genevan (1560).

For I am sure that my Redeemer liueth, and he shal stand the last on the earth. And thogh after my skin *wormes* destroy this *bodie*, yet shal I se God in my flesh. Whom I my self shal se, and mine eies shal beholde, and nonother *for me*, *thogh* my reynes are consumed within me.

Bishops' (1568).

For I am sure that my redeemer liueth, and he shal rayse vp at the latter day them that lye in the dust. And 'though after my skin the (*wormes*) destroy this body, ye shal I see God in my fleshe: Whom I mee selfe shal see, and mine eye shall beholde, and none other fo me, though my reynes are consumed within me.

Dr. Andrew Pearson, who had charge of the revision of Job, ca hardly be said to have earned golden laurels for this version of the passage, which, with the exception of the second clause of v. 25, the addition of "the" before *wormes*, and certain changes in spelling,

agrees *verbatim* with the Genevan; but that second clause, while it restores "the latter day" discarded by the Genevan, and never abandoned in the Coverdale-Cranmer series of Bibles, introduces a theological dogma without any intimation that "them that lie in the" are supplied, and very poorly supplied, for how can *in* be got out of נִשְׁתָּמַע ?

It could not be got out of it, and therefore he put it into it; but that is neither translation, nor exegesis, but arbitrary comment, not a whit inferior to the interpolations of the Vulgate before noticed. Except *wormes*, "body," "for me," and "though," duly italicized in the Genevan, are also printed in the letter of the text.

Thus, then, stood the passage in the *most* popular, and *least* popular versions until the Authorized Version of 1611, presented it in the form which still prevails:

"For I know *that* my Redeemer liveth, and *that* he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: "And *though* alter my skin, *wormes* destroy this *body*, yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shal see for *my* selfe, and mine eyes shall behold, and not *another*, *though* my *seirias* be consumed *within* me."

The changes introduced by King James's translators are, first, the cancelling of "he shal rayse vp" and "them that lye in the dust," and "*the*" before *worms*, in the Bishops'; secondly, the adoption of "he shall stand" (Genevan) with "that" prefixed, combined with "at [in—Coverdale] the latter day" (Coverdale), and "upon *on* G.) the earth" Genevan; thirdly, the transposition of "yet shal I se God in my flesh" Genevan into "yet in my flesh shall I see God," and of "whom I my selfe shall se" into "whom I shall see for myself;" fourthly, the correction of "none other *for me*" (Genevan, Bishops') into "not another," and substitution of "be" for "are" (Genevan); and, lastly, the italicizing of all supplied words. Of these, "whom I shall see *for* myself" as bringing out the force of נִשְׁתָּמַע, and "not another" as a rendering of נֹאכֵל, indicate advanced scholarship, or more correctly, conservative scholarship, in a due appreciation of the force of the original and its treatment by the most approved translators ancient, and contemporary to them.

There are still several remarkable renderings of the passage, which seem to be in place here.

I. The Spanish version of USQUE, 1553:

"Yo conozco mi redemidor bivo, y postrero sobre polvo se leuantará.—Y tras mi cuero tajaron esta, y de mi carne vere Dio.—El qual yo vere por mi, y mis ojos vieron e no estraño, atemaronse mis riñones en mi seno."

*Or.*, after I shall awake, though this *body* be destroyed, yet out of my flesh shall I see God.

<sup>†</sup>*Heb.* a stranger.

<sup>‡</sup>*Heb.* in my bosome.

## 2. The Spanish version of CASSIODORO DE REYNA, Basel 1569-1622:

"Yo se que mi Redemptor bue, y à la fin me leuantaré sobre el poluo.—Y despues, desde este mi roto cuero y desde mi propria carne tengo de ver à Dios.—Al qual yo tengo de ver por mi, y mis ojos lo han de ver, y no otro, [aunque] mis riñones se consumen dentro de mi."

## 3. The version of TREMELLUS, 1579:

"Evidem ego novi redemptorem meum vivere: & posteriorem super pulvarem resurrectum:—Et postquam *vermes* confoderint istud, evigilante me: tum carne mea me visurum esse Deum.—*Idem* qui sum, ac non alienus visurus sum mihi, & oculi mei aspecturi: *tamen* consumuntur renes mei in sinu meo."

4. The version of COCCEIUS, *Op.* xl. 191:

"Ego enim novi quod Redemptor meus vivit; et ultimus super pulvarem stabit.—Et postquam cutim meam destrinxerint haec, ibi etiam ex carne mea videbo Deum.—Quem egomet videbo mihi: et oculi mei spectabunt, non *inquam*, alias; conficiuntur renes mei in sinu meo."

## 5. The version of DIODATI, Geneva, 1607:

"Ora, quant' è a me, io so che il mio Redentore vive, e che nell'ultimo giorno egli si leverà sopra la polvere;—e *quantunque* dopo la mia pelle, questo *corpo* sia rosso, pur vedrò con la carne mia Iddio;—i quale io vedrò, gli occhi miei *lo* vedranno, e non un altro; le mie reni mi si consumano in seno."

The examination of the passage through so many versions has necessarily involved the demonstration of numerous renderings not in agreement with the original; it is therefore deemed unnecessary to discuss at length the reasons for the subjoined rendering which seeks to dispense with interpretative supplied matter, as far as practicable and lays claim only to fidelity to the Hebrew; originality is entirely out of the question, and elegance of diction as well as the finer shades of idiomatic expression are better supplied by a concert of competent judges, than by any individual translator.

## TRANSLATION.

25. "Yea I know that my Redeemer liveth, and *that* he will stand *th*  
Last upon the earth, 26. and *though* after my skin, *even* this be broken  
yet from my flesh shall I see God, 27. Whom I, *even* I, shall see fo  
myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not a stranger. My reins fain  
away in my bosom."

This rendering is submitted on the following grounds:

v. 25. *וְיֶ* may be either *and*, or, *as for me, yea; for*, seems out of place. *וְיֶ* followed by a finite verb without *וְ* occurs Job. xxx. 23; Ps. ix. 17.  
*וְיֶ* alive, living, and predicated of

וְלֹא בַּךְ might, perhaps, be expressed in *orat. dir.* so as to read "my Redeemer lives;" there seems to be no grammatical reason against making וְלֹא govern אֶתְרִין וְאֶתְעָשֵׂי; connecting it with חַדְּרִין and affirming both of אֶתְרִין-אֶתְעָשֵׂי may be taken as a substantive, or as an adjective with substantive power, either in apposition with אֶתְלִי the subject of the first clause, or as the independent subject of the second clause; perhaps it might be rendered without supplying *the*; the adverbial renderings *at last*, *hereafter*, *at*, or *in the latter day* appear to be more or less arbitrary, for in such phrases as *at first* and *at last*, even where the reference is to the subject, we have the forms: בְּרִשְׁתָּה, בְּאֶתְחָרָה, e.g., Numb. ii. 31: x. 13; 1 Sam. xxix. ii.; Dan. viii. 3, etc.

וְלֹא כְּמַעֲקָר, see Ps. xii. 6; Is. xxx. 10, appears to make good sense, if the arising, or standing up, be understood of Job's deliverance. וְלֹא כְּמַעֲקָר, Zöckler says, denotes *indisputably* the dust of Job's decayed body; this may fairly be questioned, for while in ch. xvii. 16, xx. 11 and xxi. 26 the phrase signifies *the grave*, in xli. 25 it denotes *the earth* without any reference to the grave, also in xxii. 24, and in xxxix. 14 it means *sand*.

v. 26. חַאֲרָה, a preposition, not a conjunction; if a conjunction, the verb would follow it immediately, cf. xlvi. 7; Lev. xiv. 43; it goes therefore with the noun, not with the verb.

וְלֹא בְּנִי, closely connected with חַאֲרָה, might be rendered impersonally; the position of וְלֹא between the preposition and נִקְבְּיוֹתָה renders the clause an uncommonly difficult one for translation; the literal rendering, of course, is easy enough, viz., "and after my skin—it shall have been broken (or some other word)—this." But such a rendering seems too vague in English; its ruggedness would require too much explanation; "*this* my skin" (*Ewald, Del. and Revised Bible*) appears objectionable, for *this* may mean that which is under the skin, i.e., the whole frame, (*Taylor Lewis*), and *this my skin* would limit the reference to the skin; on the whole, therefore, the reproduction of the abrupt but pregnant חַאֲרָה may be desirable.

וְלֹא בְּנִי, the וְ admits of being rendered "yet," if "though" is supplied, otherwise even may be better than *and*.

וְלֹא if privative, denotes *free from, separate from, without, not with-*ote & as opposed to *within*, but as not having it, cf. xi. 15, xxi. 9; but *from* seems to be the least interpretative rendering, and preserves the ambiguity of the original.

v. 27. וְאֶשְׁר relates to בְּלֹא, while לִי denotes benefit. The whole clause is emphatic, as is evident from אָנִי and לִי, and in order to bring

out the full sense, a rendering stronger than the simple relative might be desirable, perhaps, even I, may suffice.

**¶** has been rendered a stranger, *alienum*, although a good meaning may be had by translating *alienus*. Taking it as accusative is grammatically correct, and understanding it with Gesenius, Umbreit, Vaihinger, Stickel, Hahn, v. Hoffmann and Tayler Lewis (q. v.) in the sense of *adversarius*, appears to me far better than the flat, tautological *alius*. As to the meaning *enemy*, that also seems to be well established by reference to Ps. liv. 5; Is. i. 7: xxix. 5; Ez. xi. 9: xxviii. 10: xxx. 12 Hos. vii. 9; viii. 7; Obad. 11; compare also Job. xvi. 9.

**¶** is rendered *faint away*, with reference to the use of that word in the Authorized Version at Ps. lxxxiv. 3: cxix. 81.

### II. Summary of an interpretation of the passage.

I cannot resist the conviction that the passage is decidedly eschatological, and stands out in solitary grandeur as an ancient prophecy, a poetic vision of a resurrection. Careful study of the passage, in its true connection, the solemnity of its announcement, the abrupt ruggedness of its enunciation, the fiery rapture of its anticipated fulfilment and the general sense of its meaning in ancient and modern times combine to necessitate this view. It is unnecessary to transcribe here the history of the interpretation, a very full account of which is given in Lange's Commentary, *Am. Ed.* An outline of the ideas intended to be conveyed by the translation submitted may suffice.

1. Job felt himself irresistibly impelled to utter something so wonderful, so unheard-of, so momentous, that he desired it to be put on imperishable record in a roll, and as that might be destroyed, engrave upon the rock.

2. It is the announcement of a Redeemer, concerning whom he affirms that he is his Redeemer, his Goel, Avenger, Judge and Saviour, perhaps the Hero-Messiah, whom he conceives to be eternal, and therefore the survivor of earthly vicissitude and mundane destruction—comewhat may, let universal ruin prevail, He the great Goel is alive for evermore, and will stand upon the dust or the earth, whether that dust is only Job's, or the dust of all whose bodies have returned to earth.

3. His skin may waste away, the whole bodily organism may be destroyed by disease, death, and decomposition, it will not hurt him, for he is certain of the beatific vision, in a conscious state, of his God, the body, or out of the body; he shall see God; be his *body* glorified, his *soul* disembodied, the *vision* is certain, from the body as a position he looking out, or without a body, without flesh, in some marvellous manner he will still see God, and his *eyes* will behold Him, not as Avenger, not as a stranger, not as an enemy, but as his friend, the omnipotence of the Mighty God arrayed on his side. And for the summation and ultimate enjoyment of that blissful estate he yearns with

a longing so intense, he is so carried away, that language seems to fail him, and he is almost ready to faint and die.

These are the ideas which, I believe, lie *in* the passage, and which its true exegesis cannot ignore; concerning those that have been *carried into* it, or *made out of* it, I do not feel called upon to express an opinion. The positions taken appear to me to be sustained by weighty authority, and while I cannot admit that the passage proves the *Christian* doctrine of the Resurrection, it is certainly the proclamation of *a* resurrection, and even the most divergent renderings of the original,—no matter how disguised, weakened, distorted and perverted,—bear their testimony to that. Thus much is certain.

NOTE.—I wish to call attention to the remarkable targumistic addition to the book of Job in the LXX.: γέρμαντα: δὲ αἰτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσθαι γεθὲν ὡν δὲ κιρίους ἀνιστῆσθαι. It is, of course, the interpolation of some diaskenast, drawn from a Syriac version of the LXX. (see Böhl, *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu*, etc. Wien, 1873. p. 129 sq.), but of dogmatic interest, for it reflects a very ancient view of this remarkable passage.

THE AUTHOR.

## An Examination of the Use of the Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew.

— • —  
BY REV. H. FERGUSON.  
— • —

A conditional sentence may be defined as a compound sentence in which the second clause is so limited by the first as to be necessarily dependent upon it, while it, in its turn, is equally necessary as explaining and completing the sense of the first clause.

The First Clause or *Protasis* may express

Either a *pure condition*, i. e., "if I come;"  
or a *temporal limitation*, i. e., "when I come;"  
or a *causal limitation*, i. e., "since I am coming;"  
or a *concession*, i. e., "though I come."

This statement, though true in any language, is most evidently so in Hebrew: as the language uses the same particles indifferently to express any of these relations; accordingly, in this paper, temporal, causal and concessive clauses will be considered simply as forms of conditions.

My intention in this paper is to give, *first*, a statement of the different expedients made use of by the Hebrew to express a condition and conclusion, without regard to the class of the condition; and, *secondly*, to consider what rules may be gathered for the use of the tenses or other verbal forms in expressing the various classes of conditions.

### VARIOUS METHODS USED.

The *Methods* used in the Hebrew writings that have come down to us, to express a Condition and its Conclusion, are as follows:

#### I.

*Without any introductory particle*, either (1) by simple juxtaposition of the clauses, or (2) after a relative or interrogative expression.

#### II.

With the Condition introduced by *Waw*.

## III.

With Condition introduced by a *Conditional Particle*:

- (a) by בַּיִת and its compounds, (b) by בְּנֵי,
- (c) by בְּנָה, (d) בְּנָה and its compounds.

A few words as to the results obtained may, perhaps, properly be inserted here, although in anticipation of the examination.

We shall find that, taking all these methods together, the tense which is used most frequently in the *first clause* of a Conditional Sentence is the *Imperfect*.

Next to it in frequency is the simple *Perfect*.

In Conditional Sentences, as in all others, when the verb in either clause is the substantive verb, or may be readily supplied from the context, it is very frequently omitted or its place is supplied by בְּנֵי or בְּנָה.

In *asseverations*, which in Hebrew are usually expressed by a defective form of the Conditional Sentence (*i. e.*, with second clause omitted by aposeopesis) the *Imperfect* is most commonly used. Out of seventy-seven instances noted, there are fifty-nine cases of the *Imperfect* to eleven of the *Perfect*, and seven in which the verb is not expressed.

Next in frequency to the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* is the use of a *Voluntative* form, either one of the *modal* forms of the *Imperfect* or the *Imperative*, usually, though not always, without an introductory Particle.

A quite common use is that of the *Modified Perfect* (*Perfect* with *וְאַתָּה כֹּונְסִיבָה*) introducing the condition.

The *Participle* is also frequently found in the first clause, usually after a conditional participle.

Much less frequent is the use of the *Infinitive*, either with an introductory Particle or with a Preposition.

An almost anomalous use is also found, a very few times, of the *Modified Imperfect* introducing a condition.

To analyze results still further, we shall find that in Class I. (without any Introductory Particle whatever) the *Perfect* is the most common form; next to it the *Voluntative* forms; then the *Imperfect*; much more rarely the *Participle* and the *Infinitive*.

In Class II. (with •), which may indeed be considered to differ but little in theory from Class I., but which is put as a separate class for convenience of examination, the *Modified Perfect* is the most common form. The simple *Perfect* would stand next to it, and next to that the simple *Imperfect*. Rarer forms are the *Modified Perfect*, *Voluntative*, and *Participle*.

In Class III. (with an introductory Particle) the *Imperfect* is by far the most common form in use in the first clause. Next in frequency is the *Perfect*. (As has been mentioned above, the substantive verb is very frequently omitted, or its place supplied by בְּנֵי or בְּנָה. This is especially the case in this class.)

NOTE.—As in some of the instances cited below, the *logical* Protasis may seem to be, according to grammatical form, the *conclusion* instead of the *condition*, it is well to note that this, if it ever occurs, is due to the peculiar genius of the Hebrew language and its great capacity for inversion. Still, for grammatical purposes, the clause which limits and conditions the other clause, whether put first or last, must be considered as the Protasis of the conditional sentence, as it presented itself to the Hebrew mind.

CLASS I. Sentences without any Introductory Particle. (1) Simplified juxtaposition of the clauses. We may have

1. The *Perfect* in the *Protasis* followed in the *Apodosis* by:

a. The *Perfect*;

e. g., Prov. xviii. 22: מִזְאָה אֲוֹתָה מִזְאָה טַבָּב "He finds a wife—  
he finds good."

b. By the *Imperfect*;

e. g., 2 Kings v. 13: הָלָא בָּעֵשָׂה "Had the prophet—  
said some great thing unto thee, wouldst thou not have done it?"

c. By a *Voluntative* (*Jussive* or *Imperative*);

e. g., Prov. xxv. 16: הַבְּטַח פְּצָאתָ אֶכְלֶךָ דַּיְךָ "If thou hast found  
honey, eat (only) enough for thee."

d. By an *Imperfect with Waw Conversive*:

e. g., Prov. xi. 2: בְּאָרֶץ יְבוּא קָלֵן "If (or when) pride com-  
eth, then cometh shame."

e. Or the verb in the *Apodosis* may be understood and not expressed;

e. g., Lev. xv. 3: אִישָׁתְּחִווָּת מְמֻאָתָה רִיא "Whether his flesh run with his issue, or whether his flesh b—  
stopped with his issue, it is his uncleanness."

2. The *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*, followed by:

a. *Imperfect*;

e. g., Ex. xv. 7: הַשְׁלַח . . . אֶבְלַט "When thou sen-  
est forth thy wrath, it consumed them like stubble."

See also Ps. civ. 28: יְלַקְּצֵן תְּפַתֵּח . . . יִשְׁבְּעַן רַב "When thou givest them they gather it, when thou openest th—  
hand they are filled with good." So vv. 29 and 30.

b. By the *Perfect with Waw*:

e. g., Ex. xxxiii. 5: יְבִלֵּיהֶךָ אַעֲלָה "If I should come in th—  
midst but for one moment I should consume thee." Also  
Kings xviii. 12: יְהִי אֱלֹהֵךְ מְאַחֵךְ "And when I go aw—  
from thee, it will come to pass."

c. By the *Imperative*;

e. g., Ps. xxvii. 7: שְׁמַע־יְהִי קְיוּלִי אָקְרָא "Hear my voice  
Lord when I cry."

3. *Voluntative* in *Protasis*, followed by:a. An *Imperfect*:

**אָנֹתָה** . . . **אָטַבְתָּה** . . . **כִּיְמַעֲן** **וְאֶלְעָנוֹן** . . .  
 "If I take (Let me take) the wings of the morning, and dwell in  
 the uttermost parts of the sea; even there also shall thy hand  
 lead me and thy right hand shall hold me."—cf. *Gen.* xlvi. 37.

b. By a *Perfect*:

e.g., *Psalm* xl. 6: **אִזְרָה** **וְאָדַבְתָּה** **עַצְמוֹ קָפֵךְ** "If I declare  
 them (Let me declare them) and speak of them, they are more  
 than can be numbered."

*Isa* xxvi. 10: . . . **בְּלֹדוֹךְ** . . . **יָמָן** . . . "Let favour be shown to  
 the wicked, (*though favour be shown to the wicked*) he will not  
 learn righteousness."

c. Or by another *Voluntative*:

e.g., *Psalm*. lxviii. 2: . . . **יְקַוֵּן** . . . **יְקַוֵּן** "Let God arise,  
 and let his enemies be scattered." *If God arises, his enemies  
 shall be scattered.*" *2 Kings* v. 13: **דְּחִין** : **וְתִהְרָה** : "Wash and  
 be clean."

4. *Participle* in *Protasis* followed in the *Apodosis* by:a. The *Imperfect*:

e.g., *2 Kings* vii. 2 (also 19): . . . **בָּרוּחָה** . . . **הַנֶּה** **וְיָהִיה** **עִשְׂתָה** . . .  
 "Behold, if the Lord opens windows in heaven, shall this thing  
 be?"

b. The *Perfect* in the *Apodosis*:

e.g., *Prov.* xiv. 31: . . . **תְּרַף** . . . **וּמְבָכֵד** **הָנִינָה** . . .  
 "He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker; but he  
 who honoureth Him pitith the needy." So also xvii. 5, xix. 17.

c. The *Imperfect* with *Waw Conv.*:

e.g., *2 Kings* vi. 5: **וְיָהִי** **רָאֵד** **פְּרִיל** **הַקִּירָה** . . . "And when  
 one was felling wood, it happened," &c.

5. *Infinitive* with Preposition in the *Protasis*, followed by:a. The *Imperfect*:

e.g., *Psalm* iv. 4: . . . **וַיְשִׁפְעֵץ** **בְּנֵרָאֵי** . . . "The Lord will  
 hear me, when I cry unto Him."

(2) Instead of the simple juxtaposition of the clauses, we may have in  
 the *Protasis*, a Relative, Indefinite, or Interrogative expression, which  
 indicates its conditional character.

Thus we may have after such expressions as **כִּי**, **הַנֶּה** **עָפָה**, **הַנֶּה** **כִּי**,  
**מִה-שָׁנָה**, **כִּי-אָשָׁר**, **מִתְּנִשְׁאָר** (but with far less variability than under (1))  
 since we find only three tense forms in the *Protasis*, and those with less  
 variation in the *Apodosis*.

1. A *Perfect* in the *first clause* followed in the *Apodosis* by:
  - a. A *Perfect*;  
e.g., Eccl. vi. 10: . . . מִהִשְׁרָה . . . נִקְרָא "Whatever hath been hath been named already."
  - b. Or an *Imperfect*;  
e.g., Hosea ix. 6: בַּיְתֵה הַלְכָה . . . תִּקְרֹבְתָם . . . מִזְרָעָם "For, behold they have gone away from destruction! Mizraim shall gather them. Noph shall bury them."
  - c. Or a *Jussive*;  
e.g., Judg. vii. 3: מִי יָרָא יִחַד יִשְׁבֶּה "Whoso is fearful and afraid let him return," &c.
  - d. Or a *Participle*;  
e.g., 1 Sam. i. 28: . . . בְּלִתְנִימִים אֲשֶׁר קַוָּה . . . שָׁאוֹל "All the days that he liveth he shall be lent unto the Lord."

Or instead of the *Perfect* in the first clause, we may have:

2. An *Imperfect* followed by:
  - a. Another *Imperfect* or *Modified Perfect*  
e.g., Num. xxiii. 3: מִהִנְרָאִי וְהִנְרָאִי "And the word that He shall show unto me I will tell thee."
3. Or a *Participle* in the *Protasis* followed by:
  - a. A *Modified Perfect* (with *Waw Conv.*);  
e.g., 2 Sam. xvii. 9: הַנֵּה עַקְהָה הַוְאָדָחָה אָ . . . יְהֻווֹה "Behold, he is hid in some pit or in some other place, and it will come to pass," &c. Here the verb might in form be *Niphal Perfect*, but from the use of the **ה** it is best to consider it a *Participle*.

#### CLASS II. Condition introduced by *Waw*.

Besides continuing conditions already introduced in some other manner, *Waw* is used independently with almost the force of a condition particle, and may introduce sentences having in the *Protasis*, 1. the *Perfect*, 2. the *Modified Imperfect*, 3. the *Simple Imperfect*, 4. the *Modified Perfect*, 5. the *Voluntative*; thus giving much greater variety in *Protasis* than in Class I., but with less corresponding variation in the *Apodosis*.

1. With *Perfect* in the *Protasis*, followed by:

- a. Another *Perfect*;  
e.g., Ex. xvi. 22: וְהַיְתָה הַשְׁמַט וְגַם "And when the sun waxed hot, it melted."

This is a very unusual construction, but Gen. xxxiii. 13, xlvi. 38,

**xliv.** 22 may be best considered under this head, though the *Perfects* in them may be modified by the Waw.

b. Or by an *Imperfect*:

e. g., *Lev.* x. 19: . . . *גַּם־יְהִי* . . . "For if I had eaten to-day the sin offering, would it have been good in the eyes of the Lord?"

c. Or by a *Modified Perfect*:

e. g., *Ruth* ii. 9: . . . *יְצַמֵּת תְּלַבְּקֹת* . . . "And if thou thirstest, thou shalt go to the vessels."

**2.** *Modified Imperfect* in *Protasis* is followed in the *Apodosis* by:

a. The *Perfect*:

e. g., *1 Sam.* ii. 16: . . . *יָאמַר לֹא* . . . "And if the man said unto him, &c., then he would say," &c.

b. The *Modified Imperfect*:

e. g., *Psalm* cvii. 25: . . . *יָאמַר יְעַמֵּד* . . . "He spake, then rose the stormy wind.

c. The *Participle*:

e. g., *Ex.* iv. 23: . . . *אֲנַכִּי הָרָגֶן* . . . *וְנִסְפַּאַנִּי* . . . "And if thou refuse to let him go, behold I will slay thy son."

**3.** With *Imperfect* in *Protasis*, followed in the *Apodosis* by:

a. Another *Imperfect*:

*אַחֲרָיו* . . . *תָּשִׁבְךָ* . . . *וְאַתָּה וּבְנֵיכֶךָ* . . . "When thy sisters, Sodom and her daughters, shall return to their place, and when Samaria and her daughters return to their place, then thou and thy daughters shalt return to your place."

b. By a *Voluntative*:

e. g., *Ps.* lxxvii. 4<sup>b</sup>: . . . *אֲשֶׁר־יְתַחַטֵּף רֹוחִי* . . . "When my spirit is overwhelmed I will complain."

c. By a *Modified Perfect*:

e. g., *Deut.* xxx. 8, 9: . . . *וְאִתֵּה תְּשׁוֹב יְשֻׁמָּעֵת* . . . *וְהַזִּהְבֵּרֶךְ* . . . "If thou shalt return and obey the voice of the Lord . . . . then the Lord thy God shall make thee plenteous," &c.

d. By a *second clause in which the verb is understood*:

e. g., *Ps.* cxxxix. 11: . . . *יָאמַר אָז בְּשַׁעַרְנִי* . . . "If I say, surely darkness shall cover me, then the night is light about me."

**4. The *Modified Perfect* in *Protasis*.**

This is of the most common occurrence of all forms of conditional sentences with Waw. We may have in the *Apodosis* either:

- a. Another *Modified Perfect*, which is the usual construction.  
e.g., *Gen.* xliv. 29: וְלֹקַחֲךָ יְהוָה “And if ye take this one also, and mischief befall him, then shall ye bring down my grey hairs in sorrow to the grave.”
- b. An *Imperfect*;  
e.g., *Neh.* i. 9: אִם־בְּרוּכָם וַיֵּשֶׁב “But if ye return to me, and keep my commandments though, &c. . . yet from thence will I gather them.”
- 5. The *Voluntative in Protasis*:
- a. Verb omitted in second clause;  
e.g., *Ps.* cxxxix. 8b: שָׁאֵל בְּגַדְעָה “If I make Sheol my bed, behold Thee!”

The verb in the *Protasis* is sometimes omitted, or instead of it we find שׁ or יְשַׁׁבַּׁ. In the *Apodosis* we may have:

- a. An *Imperfect*;  
e.g., *Amos* iii. 4: תִּרְאֶנָּה יְמִתְרָף אֵין לִ “Will a lion roar in the forest if he have no prey?”
- b. A *Jussive*;  
e.g., *Prov.* iii. 28: אַל־הַאֲפִיר יְשַׁׁׁבַּׁ אֶת־אֶחָד “Say not to thy neighbor, go and come again and to-morrow I will give, if thou hast it with thee.”
- e.g., *2 Sam.* xiii. 26: יְלֹא יָלַךְ־אַנְגָּל “And Absalom said, ‘If not, let Amnon, my brother, come with us.’”\*
- c. A *Perfect*;  
e.g., *Jud.* vi. 13: מִצְרָנָנוּ יְיַצֵּץ “If the Lord be with us why hath all this come upon us?”

CLASS III. More commonly, however, conditional sentences are introduced by special particles כִּי, אִי, בִּי, וְיִ or וְלֹא, and לֹא. Of these particles, כִּי and אִי may introduce any kind of condition, וְיִ and its compounds are used when the condition is viewed as impossible or as contrary to reality.

There is great diversity in the use of tenses after these particles, although the vast majority of instances fall under only a few heads. The *Imperfect* is the favorite tense in the *Protasis*; and the *Modified Perfect* (Relatively progressive Perfect, *bezuglich fortschreitendes Perfectum*), the favorite tense in the *Apodosis* when the supposition is a simple one.

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\*A better reading in this passage would be וְיִלְאֵ “And would that now my brother Amnon,” &c.

The *Perfect* is, however, frequently found in the *Protasis* in cases where it is difficult at first sight to detect any reason for preferring it to the *Imperfect*; usually, however, it refers to the completion of the condition either in past time or in future time viewed as past from the standpoint of the second clause.

The use of the *Perfect* in *Protasis* is much more common after סָמַךְ than after נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד, and is the most common use after נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד and its compounds.

The *Infinitive construct* is also found in the *Protasis* after סָמַךְ, in simple suppositions, and may be followed in the *Apodosis* by either Perfect or Imperfect as required. This use, however, is very rare.

The *Participle* is found in the *Protasis* several times after סָמַךְ, נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד, and נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד. It is most frequently followed in the *Apodosis* by the *Voluntative* (*Jussive* or *Imperative*), but also by *Imperfect* with נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד, *Imperfect*, or by another *Participle*.

In asseverations סָמַךְ and נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד are used, with the respective significations of *surely not* and *surely*, with an ellipsis of second clause, which may be supplied as "God do so to me and more also," or other form of imprecation. This second clause is sometimes expressed.

In this use the *Imperfect* most commonly occurs, but also the *Perfect* several times, and in several instances the verb is omitted, or its place supplied by וְ or וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד.

Often the verb in the *Protasis* has to be understood. Its place is sometimes supplied, as above mentioned, by וְ or וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד, but frequently it is simply omitted. With this use in the *Protasis*, the *Apodosis* most commonly will have either an *Imperfect* (or *Modified Perfect*) or a *Voluntative* (*Cohortative*, *Jussive*, *Imperative*). The *Perfect* and the *Participle* are, however, also found, (though rarely).

The Compound Particle סָמַךְ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד presents some difficult constructions. It may frequently be rendered "but if," or "for if," or "that if," or "unless," in all of which cases the conditional character is apparent; but it frequently, also, seems to lose its conditional force, and to become, when used with nouns, a preposition with the meaning of "except," "save," and when used with verbs will have the sense of "but," "only"; i. e., strongly adversative like the German "sondern."

In the first of these cases, when used with nouns, it is only necessary to understand the substantive verb as omitted, or to supply the verb which follows, and the conditional character will be clear, and the force and value of the particle will be apparent; e. g., Gen. xxxix. 6: "And he (Potiphar) knew not ought he had save סָמַךְ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵד the bread which he did eat."—This is equal to "he knew not ought he had except (but if) it were the bread," &c., or "unless he knew the bread."

But when בַּיָּנָן appears before a verb, and the conditional character is not apparent, it will be necessary to resort to an ellipsis to explain the use of the particle. Thus we have in *Jer.* vii. 22, 23: "For spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offering or sacrifices; but (בַּיָּנָן) this thing commanded I them," &c. He the ellipsis to be supplied will perhaps be "But (if or when) gave them any commands, this I commanded them." So also in *Yeshiah* xvi. 14, 15: "Therefore, behold the days come, saith the Lord that it shall no more be said, The Lord liveth that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but (בַּיָּנָן) The Lord liveth that brought up," &c. Here also there is evidently an ellipsis to be supplied; "but if, or when, (anything of the kind is said, it shall be said) The Lord liveth," &c.

The presence of בַּיָּנָן cannot be purposeless, and the particle, at some period at least of the history of the language, must have had a sensible value, though it is not necessary to suppose that the Hebrews were very conscious of any special force at the comparatively late period in which the books of the Old Testament were written. Some instances בַּיָּנָן can hardly be distinguished from בַּיִן, e.g., 2 Sa

xv. 21, *Prov.* xxiii. 17, *Jer.* xxxi. 30.

### CLASS III. First Clause introduced by a Conditional Particle (בַּיָּנָן)

#### a. When introduced by בַּיָּנָן

i. We have most commonly the *Imperfect* in the *Protasis* followed by:

##### a. The *Modified Perfect*:

e.g., *Gen.* xviii. 26: יְנַשֵּׁא תְּנַשֵּׁא בַּיָּנָן "If I find five righteous men in Sodom, I will spare the whole place for their sake."

So most frequently, when the verb is the first word in the second clause. When any other word intervenes, we have

##### b. The *Imperfect*:

e.g., *Gen.* xviii. 28, *et passim*: לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה אֶעֱשֶׂה בַּיָּנָן "I will not destroy it if I find forty and five."

c. The *Perfect* may also stand in the second clause, though rare:

e.g., *Ps.* cxxvii. 1: לֹא יָבֹנֶה עֲמָלֵל בַּיָּנָן לֹא יִצְמַרֵּךְ "Except the Lord build house, the builders of it will have labored in vain upon it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman will have watched in vain."

- d.* Very rarely the *Modified Imperfect*;
- e. g., *Ps.* lxx. 16b: אֵם לֹא יִשְׁבֶּעָ וַיְלִיןָ “If they be not satisfied, they remain all night.”
- e.* Frequently a *Voluntative* (*Cohortative, Jussive or Imperative*);  
e. g., *Ps.* cxxxvii. 5: אֵם אֲשֶׁר חָשַׁבְתָּךְ . . . “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning.” So also v. 6, and frequently.

Here the verb is *Jussive*; for *Imperative*, which is a rarer construction, *vide Job.* xxxiii. 5: אֵם הוּא תְשִׁיבָנִי עֲרָבָה לְפָנֵי חַחְצָבָה “If thou art able to answer me, set (thy words) in order before me, stand up.” (Here also belong *second clauses* with *הַלִּילָה*).

- f.* With *Participle* in the *second clause* (rare);  
e. g., *Jer.* ii. 22: בַּי אֲסֵדְתְּכֶבֶת . . . נְתַתָּךְ “For though thou wash thee with nitre, and take thee much sope, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, saith the Lord God.”
- g.* Without any verb expressed in *second clause*;  
e. g., *Ps.* cxxxix. 8: אֵם אָסַף שְׁמִים שְׁמָמָה “If I ascend up to heaven, Thou art there.” So also, though not so frequently, with שׁ or אֵין e. g., *Is.* viii. 20: אֲסֵלָא יָמְרוּ אֲשֶׁר אֵין לְיָמָר “To the law and the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, they are of those for whom is no morning.”
- h.* With *second clause* omitted by *Aposiopesis*;  
e. g., *Ex.* xxxii. 32a: וְעַתָּה אֲסֵלָה שׁוֹלֵא “And now, if Thou wilt forgive their sins——.”

## 2. Perfect in the Protasis:

- a.* With *Perfect* or *Modified Imperfect* in the *second clause* (rare);  
e. g., *Ps.* lxxiii. 15. *Perfect*: בַּנְּךָי . . . אֵם אָמַרְתִּי “If I had said, ‘I will speak thus,’ behold I should have offended against the generation of thy children.”
- Ps.* l. 18. *Modified Imperfect*: אֲסֵדְתִּיךְ . . . וְהַרְצֵן “When thou sawest a thief, then consentedst thou with him.”
- b.* With *Modified Perfect* or *Imperfect* in *second clause*;  
e. g., *Deut.* xxi. 14. *Modified Perfect*: הַחַיָּה אֲסֵלָא . . . חָפְצָה וְאֵשֶׁת “And it shall come to pass, if thou hast no delight in her, that thou shalt send her away,” &c.
- Num.* xxxii. 17. *Imperfect*. עד אֲשֶׁר . . . גַּחֲלָן “But we will go armed before the children of Israel, until we have brought them to their place.”

- c. With *Voluntative* (*Jussive and Imperative*) in *second clause*;  
e.g., Gen. xviii. 3. *Jussive*: אַל־נָא קָשָׁאֵתִי . . . אַל־נָא קָשָׁאֵתִי . . . “If now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away from thy servant.” Gen. l. 4., *Imperative*. . . אַל־נָא קָשָׁאֵתִי שְׂיַר־נָא “If now I have found favor in thy sight, place now thy hand,” &c.
- d. Without any verb expressed in *second clause*;  
e.g., Prov. xxx. 32. *Verb omitted*: אַל־נָבְלָתִי . . . אַל־נָבְלָתִי זֶה : לֹא “If thou hast done foolishly in lifting up thyself, or if thou hast thought evil, (lay) thy hand upon thy mouth.” Prov. xxiv. 14b: (וְאַתָּה כִּי־זֶה) “When thou hast found it, then is there a reward.”
- e. *Second clause omitted by Aposiopesis*;  
e.g., Gen. xxx. 27: אַל־נָא קָשָׁאֵתִי הַן בָּעִינָה “If now I have found favour in thy sight” (“do as I request,” understood).
- 3. With *Infinitive* in the *Protasis* (*rare*):
- a. With *Perfect* in *second clause*;  
e.g., Job. ix. 27, 28: . . . זֶה עֲשֵׂה “If I say, I will forget my sorrows, I will leave off my complaints and comfort myself; I am afraid of all my sorrows: I know that thou wilt not hold me innocent.” v. Ewald (*Ausführl. Lehrbuch*) p. 859.
- b. With *Imperfect* in *second clause*;  
e.g., 2 Sam. iii. 13: פִּי אָם . . . הַבָּאֵךְ לֹא תְּרָא “Thou shalt not see my face unless thou bringest back Michal the daughter of Saul.”
- 4. With *Participle* in *Protasis*:
- a. With *Imperfect* in *second clause*;  
e.g., Judg. xi. 9: . . . אַנְגִּיו אֲחִיהוּ “If ye bring me back to fight with the children of Ammon \* \* shall I be your head?”
- b. With *Voluntative* in *second clause*;  
e.g., Job. xxxi. 9, 10: *Jussive*. . . אַכְלָתָה . . . אַכְלָתָה . . . “If my heart hath gone aside after a woman . . . then let my wife grind for another.” Num. xi. 15: *Imperative*. . . נָא הַרְגַּנִּי נָא . . . הַרְגַּנִּי נָא קָרְבָּנָה “If thus Thou art about to do to me, slay me, I pray thee, at once.”
- c. With *Participle* in *second clause* (*rare*);

e.g., *Jer.* xxvi. 15: אָסְפָמְתִים אַתָּה . . . בְּנֵנִים . . . "But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall be bringing innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city," &c.

5. In *Asseverations*, where the second clause is understood, we find:

a. With *Imperfect* in *Protasis* (*frequent*);

e.g., *Gen.* xiv. 23: (אַנְ=not) . . . אָסְמָחֹות . . . "I will not (take) from a thread to a shoe latchet, and I will not take of anything that is thine."

e.g., *Gen.* xxiv. 38: (אַנְ=surely) . . . תָּלַךְ . . . אָסְלָא . . . "Thou shalt surely go to my father's house and my tribe."

b. With *Perfect* in *Protasis* (*not so common*);

e.g., *1 Sam.* xvii. 55: (אַנְ=not) : אָסְיָדָעַתִּי . . . "And Abner said, May thy soul live, O King, I do not know." =*present*.

e.g., *Jer.* xv. 11: (אַנְ=surely) אָסְלָא הַפְּנַעֲרִי . . . "The Lord said, 'Verily, it shall be well with thy remnant; verily, I will cause the enemy to treat thee well, in the time of evil and in the time of affliction.'" =*future*.

e.g., *2 Kings* ix. 26: (אַנְ=surely) . . . רָאִיתִי . . . אָסְלָא . . . נָתַלְתִּי . . . "Surely, I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth and the blood of his sons, saith the Lord; and I will requite thee in this plat, saith the Lord." =*past*.

c. With פִּי in the *Protasis* (*rare*);

e.g., *1 Kings* xvii. 12: (אַנְ=not) פָּעַג . . . "And she said, 'As the Lord thy God liveth, I have not a cake,' " &c.

6. *Verb* in the *Protasis* omitted:

a. With פִּי or נִן in *Protasis*:

(a) With *Imperfect* in second clause;

e.g., *2 Kings* ii. 10: נִנְהָרָה אָסְצָנֵן לֹא יְהִי . . . "but if not, it shall not be."

(a2) With *Modified Perfect* in second clause;

e.g., *Gen.* xliv. 26: נִינְרָנוּ אָסְלָשׁ . . . "If our youngest brother be with us, then will we go down."

b. With *Jussive* or *Imperative* in the second clause;

e.g., *Judges* ix. 15: יְהַאֲבָל . . . אָסְצָנֵן תְּאַזֵּן . . . "But if not, let fire come forth from the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon."

e.g., *Gen.* xxiv. 49: (with *Participle*) עֲשֵׂה אָם יְשַׁבֵּם עִשְׂרִים . . . הַגִּירֹו לְ . . . "And now if ye are those who will do favour and truth to my master, tell me."

c. With *Modified Imperfect* (*very rare*);

e.g., Job. xxxiii. 23, 24: . . וְיָמֵנוּ וַיֹּאמֶר . . אִם־יוֹשֵׁת “there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one of a thousand to shew unto man his uprightness; then he is gracious unto him and saith, ‘Deliver him from going down to the pit: I have found a ransom.’”

d. With *Participle* in *second clause* (*rare*);

e.g., Gen. xxx. 1: אֵם אֵין מִתְחָדָה אֲנֵכִי: “And she said Jacob, Give me my children, or if not I shall die.”

B. Without *any verb* (or שׁ or נִן) in *Protasis*:a.<sup>1</sup> With *Imperfect* in *second clause*;

e.g., Lev. xxv. 51: *Imperfect.* אִם־עָזָר . . יִשְׁרַב “And there be yet many years, according to them shall he give again the price of his redemption out of the money he was bought for.”

a.<sup>2</sup> e.g., Lev. xxvii. 4: *Modified Perfect.* אֵם גְּנַקְבָּה הָיָה וְהִיא “But if it be a female, then shall thy estimation be thirty shekels.”

b. With *Perfect* in *second clause* (*rare*);

e.g., Hosea xii. 12: הַיּוּ . . אִם־גִּלְעָד אֵין . . וְבָהּ “there is (idolatry) iniquity in Gilead, surely they are vanity; they sacrifice bullocks in Gilgal, yea their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields.” cf. Gen. xxviii. 13; Nahum i. 12.

c. With *Voluntative* in *second clause*;

e.g. 1 Chron. xii. 17b: (*Jussive*) . . וְרָא אִם־לְרָטְבִּתִּנִי “But if (it be) to betray me to my enemies, seeing there is no wrong in my hands, the God of our fathers look thereon and judge.”

e.g., Gen. xliv. 11: (*Imperative.*) אִסְכְּנֵן אָפִיא וְאֵחֶזְזֵנוּ “if it must be so now, do this.”

e.g., Gen. xlii. 9: (*Cohortative.*) סִירַחֲמָתָאֵל וְאִמְתִּינָה אִסְדְּקִתִּין : אִשְׁמָמָאֵילָה “if to the left, then I will go to the right; but if to the right, then I will go the left.”

d. With *Participle* in *second clause*;

e.g., 1 Sam. xxvi. 19: וְאֵם בְּנֵי הָאָדָם אֲרוּרִים הָם “But if be the children of men, cursed be they before the Lord.”

e.<sup>1</sup> *Second clause understood*;

e.g., Gen. xlvi. 16: כִּי מִן־נָלִים אָקָם אִם־לֹא “An oath not (*I swear*) as Pharaoh liveth, that ye are spies.”

e.<sup>2</sup> *Verb in second clause omitted.*

בַּלְוָא אִם־קָטֵן אֲפָה . . . רָאשׁ . . . אֲפָה  
 "And Samuel said, 'When thou wast little in thy sight, wast thou not made head over the tribes of Israel?'"

**C.** With *ellipsis* of first clause after כִּי אִם

*a.* With *Imperfect* in second clause;

e.g., Gen. xv. 4: קִיָּאֵם אֲשֶׁר יָצָא כִּמְעַד הוּא יִרְשֶׁת "This shall not be thine heir, but (if when thou hast an heir) he who springs from thy loins, he shall be thine heir."

*b.* With *Perfect* in second clause;

e.g., Jer. vii. 23: בִּי־אִם . . . צִוִּיחַי . . . "But this thing I commanded them, saying."—"But (if I commanded, which I did) this thing I commanded, saying—"

*c.* With *Imperative* in second clause;

e.g., Is. lxv. 18: קִרְאֵם־שָׂוֵישׁוֹ וְגִילֹּוֹ "But (when ye rejoice) rejoice forever in that which I create."

*d.* With *Participle* in second clause;

e.g., 2 Kings xvii. 40: הֵם עָשָׂו : . . . בִּי־אִם . . . "But they did not hearken, but (whatever they did, they did after their former manner.)"

*e.* Without any verb *expressed* in the second clause;

e.g., Ps. i. 2: בִּי־אִם בְּחִזְרָה יְחִזְקֵץ "But (when he takes delight) his delight is in the law of the Lord."

Occasionally we meet with compound conditional sentences which combine two or more of the above mentioned constructions. A striking instance of this is given in Job. viii. 4-6, where we have a triple condition with a single conclusion: (1) *Perfect* and *Modified Imperfect*, (2) *Imperfect*, (3) *verb omitted*. Conclusion, *Imperfect*. Cf. also Job. xxxi. 16-22, 38-40.

אֵם . . . חֲטָאוֹתֶךָ יִשְׁלַחְתָּ . . . אִם־אֲפָה קָשָׁר . . . אִם־אֲפָה קָשָׁר . . . בַּיִתְחַדֵּךְ: אִם־זֶה וְלֹשֶׁר אֲפָה . . . בַּיִתְחַדֵּךְ וְלֹשֶׁן "If thy children have sinned against Him, and He have cast them away in the hand of their transgression;"

"If thou wouldest seek unto God betimes, and make thy supplication to the Almighty;"

"If thou wert pure and upright; surely now would He awake for thee, and make the habitation of thy righteousness prosperous."

ב

Condition introduced by כִּי

*i.* With *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*:

*a.* With *Modified Perfect* in second clause;

e.g., Gen. xii. 12: "And when וְיֻתָּה בַּיִתְּרֹא . . . וְאָמַרְוּ the Egyptians see thee, it will come to pass that they will say," &c.

a. With Imperfect in second clause;

e.g., Gen. iv. 12: ". . . כִּי תַּעֲכֹד . . . לֹא-תִּתְּנַחַת When thou tillest the ground, it shall no more yield thee its strength."

b. With Perfect in the second clause;

e.g., Ps. xli. 12: ". . . כִּי לֹא-יָרַע I know that thou favourest me when mine enemy doth not triumph against me."

c. With Voluntative in second clause;

e.g., 2 Kings xviii. 32: (Jussive.) כְּרִנְפּוּת . . . כִּלְלָתְשָׁמֵעַ "Hearken not to Hezekiah when he persuadeth you, saying—."

e.g., Is. xxx. 21: (Imperative.) לֹא-בָּזֶה כִּי הַאֲמִינָנוּ וְכִי פְּשָׁתָאַרְלוּ "This is the way, walk ye in it, whether ye turn to the right hand or whether ye turn to the left."

d. With Participle in second clause;

e.g., Zech. vii. 6: יְכִי חָכְלָיו יְכִי חַשְׁבָּו בְּלָיא אָקֵם הַאֲלִילִים "And when ye ate and when you drank, were ye not eating, and were ye not drinking," &c.

Perhaps, however, this should be considered as an instance under the next subdivision, of verb omitted in second clause, considering האבלים and השותים as predicates.

כִּי יִצְמְטוּ אַיִגְנִי שְׂמַע (אֵי) "Though they fast, I will not hear their cry, and though they offer burnt offering and oblation I will not accept them."

e. Without any verb expressed in the second clause;

e.g., Jer. xii. 1: כִּי אָרֵב "Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee."

כְּרִמְגִישׁוּן . . . אָן רַע יְבִי בְּנֵישׁוּ . . . אָן רַע "But if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil?"

f. Second clause omitted;

e.g., Is. xxxvi. 7: יְכִי חָמֵר . . . בְּלָיא "But if thou say to me, we trust in the Lord our God, (*I reply*) Is it not He, whose high places, and whose altars, Hezekiah has taken away?"

2. With Perfect in Protasis:

a. With Perfect or Modified Imperfect in the second clause;

e. g., *Ps.* xxxii. 3: (*Perfect.*) . . . כִּי הָחְרַשְׁתִּי בָּלֹו “When I kept silence, my bones waxed old, through my roaring all the day long.”

e. g., *Gen.* vi. 1, 2: (*Modified Imperfect.*) נִיחִי פִּירְחָל . . . יִוְרָא “And it came to pass, when men began to multiply upon the face of the earth, that (or and) daughters were born unto them; and (or that) the B'né Elohim,” &c.

*b.* With *Imperfect* in second clause;

e. g., *Is.* xlivi. 20: (*Imperfect.*) (rare). קָבְבָרִי . . . בֵּידְגָמָהִי “The beast of the field shall honour me, the dragons and the owls, because (better when) I give (=shall have given) waters in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my chosen.”

*c.* With *Jussive*;

e. g., *Gen.* xlix. 6: (*Jussive.*) . . . אַל־קָבָא . . . בְּרִקְעָהֶד “O my soul, come not into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: because in their anger they slew men, and in their self-will they houghed oxen.” (A. V., “digged down a wall.”)

*d.* Without any verb expressed in second clause;

e. g., *Ps.* ciii. 16: כִּי רֹוח שָׁבְרָה־בָּא אִינְגָן “For as soon as the wind passeth over it, it is not.”

e. g., *Ezek.* xiv. 21: אֲף כִּי . . . שְׁלַחְתִּי “Thus saith the Lord God, How much more when I send my four sore judgments upon Jerusalem, the sword and the famine, the noisome beast and the pestilence?”

**3. With Participle in Protasis (rare):**

*a.* With *Perfect* in second clause (rare);

e. g., *Jer.* xliv. 19: . . . וְהַפְּךְ אֶנְחָנוּ מְקֹטְרִים . . . עֲשֵׂינוּ “And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink offerings unto her, did we make her cakes to worship her, and pour out drink offerings unto her, without our men?”

**4. With no verb expressed in Protasis:**

*a.* With *Modified Imperfect* in second clause;

e. g., *Hos.* xi. 1: כִּי גַּעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַתְּבָהוּ “When Israel was a child, then I loved him.”

*b.* With *Imperfect* in second clause;

e. g., *Josh.* xvii. 18: כִּי רַכֵּב בְּרוּלָה לְ “For

thou shalt drive out the Canaanite, because he hath chariots of iron, and because he is strong."

c. With *Jussive* or *Imperative* in the second clause;

e. g., *Prov.* xxiii. 22: (*Jussive.*) יְאַלְפָבּוּ כִּרְצָקֶת "And be not ashamed of thy mother when she is old."

This may also be *Perfect*, 3d sing., fem., instead of the adjective.

e. g., *Job.* xxxvi. 18: (*Jussive.*) כִּרְחַמָּה פֹּרְעָנֵתְךָ בְּשָׁפָקָה : וְרַב־בָּכָר אַל־נָזַר "If there be anger, lest he turn thee aside by punishment, then let not a great ransom turn thee away."

(A very difficult passage, but perhaps so best translated.)

e. g., *Prov.* xix. 18: (*Imperative.*) נִפְרֵר בְּנֶךָ כִּרְצָקֶת תְּקִיָּה "Chasten thy son, while there is hope." cf. *I Kings* xviii. 27.

## 2

Condition introduced by נ

1. With *Perfect* in the *Protasis*:

a. With *Modified Perfect* or *Imperfect* in the second clause;

e. g., *Lev.* xxv. 49b: : אִם־יָגַנְתָּה שְׂנִיהם יְדֵךְ — "Or if his hand attains to it, then he may redeem himself."

e. g., *Ex.* xxi. 36: (*Imperfect.*) אִם־נִזְעָן . . . שְׂלֵמָה יְשַׁלֵּם "Or if it be known that the ox hath used to push in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in, he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead shall be his own."

2. With *Imperfect* in *Protasis*:

a. With *Imperfect* in second clause;

e. g., *Ezek.* xiv. 17, 18: 17, . . . אִם־חַרְבַּב אֲבִיא . . . 18, לֹא יָצַל . . .

"Or if I send a sword upon the land, &c. Though these three men were in it, as I live, saith the Lord, they shall deliver neither sons nor daughters."

## 3

Condition introduced by ל, or one of its compounds לְלִילִי or אַלְיִוְרִי

1. With *Perfect* in the *Protasis*:

a. With *Imperfect* in second clause;

e. g., *Deut.* xxxii. 29: לוּ חֲבָטוּ יְכַשְּׁרוּ . . . יְבִרְנוּ "If they were wise they would understand this, they would consider their latter end."

## With Second or Modified Perfect in second clause:

e. g., *Micah* ii. 11: **לֹא . . . בָּשֵׂר . . . יְהִי** "If a man walking in the spirit and falsehood do lie, 'I will prophesy unto them of wine and strong drink,' then shall he be the prophet of this people."

## b. With Perfect or Modified Imperfect in the second clause;

e. g., *Is.* i. 9: (*Perfect.*) **לֹא . . . הַזָּהָר . . . רַמְנָנוּ . . . יְהִינָּנוּ** "If the Lord of Hosts had not left us a small remnant, we should be as Sodom, and should be made like unto Gomorrah."

e. g., *Is.* xlviii. 18: (*Modified Imperfect.*) **לֹא . . . קָשְׁבָּת . . . יְהִי** "If thou hadst hearkened to my commandments, then had thy peace been as a river," &c.

## c. Without any verb expressed in the second clause;

e. g., *1 Sam.* xiv. 30: **אַף . . . כִּי לֹא אָכַל אֶת־בָּל** "How much more if the people had to-day eaten of the spoil of their enemies that they found."

## d. With second clause omitted by Aposiopesis;

e. g., *Ps.* xxvii. 13: **לֹא לְאָמַן־הָאֱמָנָה** "If I had not trusted to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living!"

e. g., *Num.* xx. 3: **לֹא נָעַזְנוּ** "And if we had died with our brethren before the Lord—!" = *utinam.*

## 2. With Imperfect in the Protasis:

## a. With Second Perfect in second clause;

e. g., *Gen.* l. 15: **לֹא יָלַד יְחִיאָב וְשָׁׁבָב . . . יְהִיאָב וְשָׁׁבָב** "If perchance Joseph should hate us, he will requite to the uttermost to us all the evil which we did unto him,"

Perhaps this should be rather rendered as an *Aposiopesis*—“If perchance Joseph should hate us, and certainly requite us all the evil we did unto him—!” but the rendering given is to be preferred.

## b. Second clause omitted;

e. g., *Gen.* xvii. 18: **לֹא יִשְׂפַּעַל וְהִרְאָה לְפָנֶיךָ :** “If only Ishmael might live in thy presence.”

## 3. With Jussive or Imperative in the Protasis:

## Second clause omitted by Aposiopesis;

e. g., *Gen.* xxx. 34: (*Jussive.*) **הִנֵּה לֹא יְהִי בְּרָכָה:** “And Laban said, Behold, if it may be as thou hast said!” = would that it may be as thou hast said.

e. g., *Gen.* xxiii. 13: (*Imperative.*) **לֹא שִׁמְעָנָי** “Would that thou wouldst hear me.” “*Oh, hear me.*” “*Only hear me.*”

4. Without any verb in *Protasis*:a. With *Perfect* in second clause; .

e.g., *Num. xxii. 29*: **כִּי עָפָה בְּרַנְקֵךְ :** **לוֹיֶשׁ . . .** "If or ~~—~~  
there were a sword in my hand, surely then had I killed the ~~—~~  
or "If only there were a sword in my hand! (*Aposiopes* ~~—~~  
For then had I killed thee."

5. With *Participle* in the *Protasis*:a. With *Imperfect* in second clause;

e.g., *2 Sam. xviii. 12* (q'ri): **אֵלֶּה אָנֹכִי שָׁקֵל . . . לֹא אֲשִׁלֵּחַ** "A ~~—~~  
the man said unto Joab, though I should weigh upon my hand ~~—~~  
thousand shekels, I would not put forth my hand against ~~—~~  
king's son."

## b. Without any verb expressed in the second clause;

e.g., *2 Sam. xix. 7* (q'ri): **לֹא אָקְשָׁלֵם מַר וְלֹא נָמַת מְחִיכִים . . .** **כִּי אָנוּ יָשָׁר**  
and all of us had died, then it would have pleased thee well."

## אַלְוִי

This *Particle* is found only in the late books of *Esther* and *Ecclesiastes*, and but only once in each, and is connected with the *Perfect* in both clauses.

e.g., *Esth. vii. 4b*: **וְאַלְוִי . . . נִמְפְּרָנוּ הַחֲרַשְׁתִּי** "And if we  
had been sold for slaves and bondwomen, I would have kept  
silence."

## אַלְוִי

This *Particle* which is usually to be translated "*perchance*," "*per-adventure*," is used in *Num. xxii. 33* with the force of **לֹלִי**, which is in  
in all probability the correct reading (*v. Ewald—Lehrbuch S. 805, N. 2*),  
which has been changed into our present text by a copyist's error. The  
passage is as follows:

**אַלְוִי נִטְרָה . . . כִּי עָפָה . . . בְּרַנְקֵךְ . . . חַקְיוֹתִי:**

"If she had not turned aside from before me, surely now would ~~—~~  
have killed thee and saved her alive."

Examples like *Gen. xxvii. 12*, *Josh. ix. 7*, *Is. xlvi. 12*, *Hosea viii.*  
belong to Class I., the indirect question supplying the conditional force ~~—~~  
to the first clause. In *Amos v. 15*, *Jer. xxi. 2*, *Gen. xvi. 2* no conditional force is apparent.

## PART II.

HOW THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF CONDITIONS ARE  
EXPRESSED.

From the examples cited and those contained in the tables, we may draw the following conclusions:

That the tenses are used, not arbitrarily, but in accordance with their nature, and always with the proper force.

Hence, if the special force in the condition is upon the verbal idea itself, with no reference to time, the *Imperfect*, or one of its modifications, the *Cohortative*, *Jussive* or *Imperative* will be used.

When the time of the condition is emphasized, if it be *future*, the *Imperfect* is the usual tense; but in Prophetic language, the *Perfect*, according to a well-known rule, may be found in its place.

If *present*, the *Perfect* or *Participle* will be generally used.

If stress be laid in any degree upon the completion of the condition, or of the action expressed by the verb in the conditional clause, the *Perfect* will be used.

There are in Hebrew, as in other languages, four main classes of conditions, to which nearly every example may be referred:

- I. The first class assumes the condition to be real and actual.
- II. The second class assumes the condition to be probable.
- III. The third class makes no assumption in regard to the probability of the condition, and is merely indefinite.
- IV. The fourth class views the condition as impossible and as contrary to reality.

These conditions are usually introduced by a conditional particle, such as **אִם**, **כִּי**, **לִכְدرָה** (and its compounds **לִילֵּךְ** or **לִילַּךְ** and **לִאַלְּךְ**), and ; sometimes by an interjection, as **הֲ**, **הֲנִכְרֵת**; or by an interrogative expression, **כִּי**, **כַּא**, or by an indefinite relative, as **אֲשֶׁר**, **אֲלֹהֶיךָ**, &c.; or may also simply be expressed by the juxtaposition of the clauses, without or with the copula.

When introduced by a regular conditional particle, we find the following uses of the various tenses and verbal forms:

The *Imperfect*.

This tense is used mainly in conditions when the result is regarded as *probable*, or at least *indefinite*. Thus:

- I. If the condition imply *probability*, we shall usually find the *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*, followed by the *Perfect with Waw conversive* in the *Apodosis*, if the verb stand the first word in the clause; but if any words intervene, the *Imperfect* will be used instead. Sometimes, though rarely, the *Imperfect* stands first:

e. g., 2 Kings vii. 4b: אִם־יִחְיָנוּ נַחֲנָה יֵאָסְדִ־יִתְחַנֵּנוּ נַפְתָּחָנוּ: "If they save us alive, we shall live (*Imperfect*); but if they kill us, we shall die" (*Perfect with Waw*).

2. So also in all laws and commands we have the same construction:

e. g., Ex. xxii. 7: אִם־לֹא יִתְعַצֵּא הַנֶּגֶב נִקְרָב "If the thief be not found, then shall the master of the house be brought unto Haelohim," &c. (*Modified Perfect*.)

e. g., Ex. xxii. 6: אִם־יִתְعַצֵּא הַנֶּגֶב יִשְׁלַמְתָּ שְׁנָיו "If the thief be found, he shall pay double," (*Imperfect*).

3. When the condition is *probable* or *indefinite*, and the second clause contains a declaration of purpose, we have the same construction:

e. g., Gen. xviii. 26: וְיִשְׁאַלְתִּי אֶת־אַמְمָנָן and אִם־שְׁאַלְתִּי "If I find fifty righteous men in Sodom, I will spare the whole place for their sake." (*Perfect with Waw*.)

e. g., Gen. xviii. 28: לֹא אִשְׁחַרְתִּי אֶת־אַמְמָנָן "I will not destroy it if I find five and forty there." (*Imperfect*.)

In any of these cases the *Imperfect* may be replaced by a *Voluntative*:

e. g., Job. xxxi. 16–18 (*Jussive*); Ps. xl ix. 17 (*Jussive*); Deut. xii. 14 (*Imperative*); Is. xxi. 12 (*Imperative*); Hab. ii. 3b (*Imperative*), et passim.

4. When the hypothesis is *indefinite* and the conclusion merely considered *possible*, or when the supposition is extremely *improbable*, but yet *possible* (Class III.), the *Imperfect* is usually found in both clauses:

e. g., Job. viii. 5, 6: אָמֵן תְּשַׁׁחַר . . . בְּעַפְתָּנָן . . . בְּעַפְתָּנָן עַלְיךָ "If thou wouldest seek unto God betimes, and make thy supplication to the Almighty,—surely now he would awake for thee,

and make prosperous the dwelling of thy righteousness." So also xxii. 24, li. 53; Is. i. 18, x. 22; Amos ix. 2, 3; Obad. 4; Hos. ix. 12 (*Perfect with ו*); Ezek. xviii. 5; Hab. i. 5; Ps. xxiii. 4; Amos v. 22; 1 Sam. xx. 9, &c.

In one case, at least, we have a *Participle* in the *second clause*:

e. g., Jer. ii. 22: קְרַבְתִּי . . . נִכְתַּבְתִּי . . . בְּנִירְתִּי "If though thou wash thee with nitre, and take unto thee much sope, yet thine iniquity is marked before me, saith the Lord God."

The verb in the *second clause* may be here, as elsewhere replaced by וְ—e. g., Is. viii. 20, Jer. xv. 1.

5. The *Imperfect* is also used in conditions of *fact* (Class I.), where

the conclusion is regarded as imminent; but this is not a usual form of construction:

e.g., *Prov.* iii. 34: "Though he scorneth the scorner, yet he giveth grace to the lowly."

e.g., *Eccl.* ii. 3: "If the clouds be full of rain, they empty themselves upon the earth."

It is very unusual to find a *Perfect* in the conclusion after an *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*. Instances, however, occur:

e.g., *Num.* xxxii. 23: (Class II.): אִם־לَا תְּשׁוֹן בֶּן הַנָּה בְּתַאֲמָרָה

"But if ye will not do so, behold ye have (=ye shall have) sinned against the Lord." Cf. *Ps.* xli. 12, *Is.* i. 12, *Lam.* iii. 8, *Mal.* i. 4.

Still more unusual is it to find the *Imperfect* with *Waw conv.* in the *second clause*, but see

*Ps.* lxi. 16: יְיָלִינוּ "If they are not satisfied, then they remain all night."

As noticed in Part I., the verb in the *second clause* may be understood (if it is the substantive verb, or the same that has been used in the *Protasis*), or its place may be supplied by יֵשׁ or יְהִי.

The entire *second clause* may be omitted by *Aposiopesis*, when the sense may be supplied from the context.

In such cases the class of condition must be determined by the verb in the *Protasis* and by the context.

**NOTE.**—The *Imperfect* in both clauses may also express the condition viewed as *contrary to reality*, but this is rare, and when found should be considered simply as a poetic or rhetorical expansion of the use in the condition implying mere possibility:

e.g., *Jer.* xxxi. 36: . . אִם־יִמְשֻׁוּ יִשְׁבְּתוּ "If those ordinances depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel shall cease from being a nation before me for ever." So also v. 37.

### The *Perfect* in the *Protasis*.

This use, which is the prevalent one in Arabic, is not so common in Hebrew, and would seem to have become disused after having once existed. (Cf. *Ewald Lehrb.* p. 858.)

In most, if not all, of the instances in which it is used, the special force of the tense (viz., the completion of the action) may be discovered:

1. It is found with the *Modified Perfect* or the *Imperfect* in the *Apo-dosis*, also not infrequently with the *Voluntative*.

2. It is also found frequently with the *Perfect*, more rarely with the *Modified Imperfect* in the *second clause*.

3. Rarely also with the verb of the *second clause* omitted, or with an *Aposiopesis* of the *clause* itself.

It is normally used in conditions, in which the idea expressed by the verb is conceived of as completed either in the past, present, or in what still is future but which will be present or past when the condition is realized.

It is the most common construction after הָלַךְ and its compounds, which introduce conditions contrary to reality. It is found with some frequency after סָמַךְ, less commonly after יָמַד, in real, probable, or impossible conditions; and is again the commonest tense when the hypothesis is expressed by a relative or an interrogative sentence, or by the simple juxtaposition of the clauses.

The Perfect, then, may be found in the Protasis of a conditional sentence implying probability when there is especial reference to the completion of the action expressed by the verb. It is then most frequently followed by the Perfect with Waw conversive, or by the Imperfect; for which (as we have seen in the case of the Imperfect in the Protasis) may be substituted the Cohortative, Jussive, or Imperative:

e. g., Gen. xxxii. 27: (Second clause—Imperfect.) לא אַשְׁלַךְ כֵּי אִם־בָּרְכָּנָא “I will not let thee go, except thou bless me (=shalt have blessed me).”

e. g., Gen. xxxiii. 10: (Perfect with Waw.) אִם־זֶה אָמַתְּחָיו . . . וְיָמַדְתָּ “If now I have found favour in thy sight, thou wilt take an offering from my hand.”

e. g., Gen. xviii. 3: (Jussive in second clause.) אל־נָא תַּעֲבֹר “If now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away from thy servant.”

So also with second clause omitted by Aposiopesis:

e. g., Gen. xxx. 27: “And Laban said to Jacob, ‘If now I have found favour in thy sight——.’”

With Imperative in second clause:

e. g., Gen. xlvii. 29: שִׁיבְנָא יְמַדְתָּ “If now I have found favour in thy sight, place thy hand beneath my thigh.”

This future perfect meaning passes sometimes into what is very nearly a future:

e. g., Num. xxxii. 17: (Imperfect in second clause.) אֶנְחָנוּ נִחְלָשׁ אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל “And we will go armed before the children of Israel, until we have brought them into their place.”

e. g., Deut. xxi. 14: (Modified Perfect in second clause.) “And it shall be (יְמִיתָה) if he finds (shall have found) no pleasure in her (קָשָׁתָה) that he shall send her away,” &c.

e. g., 2 Kings vii. 4: (Modified Perfect in second clause.) אִם־אָפַרְנָה

וְיִמְתַּחֲנוּ . . . וְאָסַדְשְׁבָנִי . . . "If we say (shall have said) let us go into the city, and the famine is in the city, then we shall die there, but if we sit here we shall die also."

e.g., Is. xxx. 17: (*Imperfect in second clause.*) קָנֵסֹעַ אֶל אַסְדָּה . . . וְכִרְפְּקָה "A thousand shall flee at the rebuke of one; at the rebuke of five shall ye flee, until ye be left (=shall have been left) as the beacon on the top of the mountain," &c.

e.g., Is. xlvi. 20: (*Imperfect in second, כי in first clause.*) קָבְבְּרָנִי . . . כִּי נָקְפָּא . . . "The beast of the field shall honour me, the dragons and the owls, when (or because) I give (=shall have given) water in the wilderness," &c.

When the condition is in accordance with fact, we usually find the *Perfect* followed either by another *Perfect* or by the *Imperfect* with *Waw conversive*:

e.g., Gen. vi. 1: (כי in *Protasis, past time.*) "When men began to multiply upon the face of the earth, and daughters were born to them, it came to pass (וְיָהִי) that the Sons of God saw," &c.

Here the condition is of the 1st Class.

So also in Judges ii. 18: (כי in *Protasis, past time.*) "And when the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge."

Here the verb in the conclusion is יָהִי, *Perfect* with simple *Waw*.

Compare also Ps. l. 18: (כִּי in *Protasis, indefinite past.*) "When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him (וְעַזְלָתָי)"

So also in a condition of the 4th Class, i. e., contrary to fact:

e.g., Ps. lxxiii. 15: (כִּי in *Protasis, definite past time.*) "If I had said, let me be made like unto them, behold I should have despised (וְקָנָתָה) the generations of thy children."

We have seen that this class of conditions *may* be expressed, when referring to indefinite present or future time, by the *Imperfect* in both clauses (v. p. 61). The more common method, however, is by means of the *Perfect* after וְ, which will be considered later on under that particle.

Other examples of the use of the *Perfect* after כִּי in this class of conditions are—Ezek. iii. 6, Jer. xxiii. 22, xxxiii. 25, Psalms xliv. 21, lxi. 18, Job. ix. 15, 16, Deut. xxxii. 30, Ruth i. 12.

In all of these, however, we find an *Imperfect* in the second clause, even where we should expect a *Perfect*, showing that to the Hebrew mind the assumption of possibility or probability implied by the very act of putting the idea in a hypothetical form, influenced the choice of

tenses in the clauses, and conformed them to the common type of probable suppositions:

e. g., *Ezek.* iii. 6: "Surely had I sent thee to them, they would hearken (*עָשׂוּשׂ*) unto thee."

So also *Jer.* xxiii. 22: אִם־עָמַדְתִּי וַיֹּשְׁבָּהּ "But if they had stood in my counsel, and had caused my people to hear my words, then should they have turned them from their wicked way and from the evil of their doings."

So *Ps.* lxvi. 18: "If I had looked at vanity in my heart (*רַאֲנֵה*) the Lord would not have heard me (*עָמַדְתִּי*). But God has heard," &c.

As after the *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*, so also we may have, after a *Perfect*, the verb in the second clause omitted entirely, or its place supplied by שִׁיר or אָן

This occurs sometimes when the condition is probable; (Class II.)  
e. g., *Prov.* xxiv. 14: (שִׁיר) "So shall knowledge be unto thy soul:

when thou hast found it there is a reward."

Sometimes when the condition is viewed as an actual fact:

e. g., *Ps.* ciii. 16: וְאֶלְגָּזֵעַ "As soon as the wind passeth over upon it, then it is not."

The second clause is sometimes, though rarely, omitted, as with an *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*, when its sense may be supplied from the context:

e. g., *Gen.* xxx. 27: "If now I have found favour in thy sight—  
(tarry with me)—."

So also *1 Sam.* xxi. 6, *Ezek.* xiv. 22.

### The Participle.

When it is desired to lay especial emphasis upon the existing or enduring nature of the verbal idea expressed in the *Protasis*, the Participle may be used; in this case the condition is almost always probable (Class II.).

a. It is most frequently followed by an *Imperative* in the second clause;

e. g., *Num.* xi. 15: וְאַסְ-כָּה אַתְּ-עָשָׂה לְיִהְרְגֵּנִי נֵא הַרְגֵּן "And if thus though art dealing with me, slay me, I pray thee, at once."

e. g., *Judg.* ix. 15: בָּאוּ חֶסֶד מְשֻׁחָרִים . . אָם "And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow," &c.

It is also sometimes followed by an *Imperfect*:

e. g., *Lev.* iii. 1: "If he offer it of the herd, whether it be male"

or female, he shall offer it without blemish before the Lord." (קָרְבָּנוּ)

**Or by the Modified Perfect:**

e. g., *Lev.* iii. 7: "If he offer a lamb for his offering, then shall he offer it before the Lord." (הִקְרִיב)

**Or by the Perfect without :**

e. g., *Judg.* xv. 3: (כִּי) in *Protasis*. Class III.) "And Samson said concerning them, now shall I be more blameless (shall I have been) than the Philistines, though I do them a displeasure." (בַּקְרִיחַי)

It is once at least followed by the *Perfect* in a condition in accordance with fact in *Jer.* xliv. 19: (כִּי in *Protasis*.) "And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, &c., did we make her cakes to worship her, or pour out drink offerings unto her, without our men?" (עֲשֵׂינוּ)

It may be also followed by another *Participle*, in which the immediateness of the action is made prominent:

e. g., *Jer.* xxvi. 15: (כִּי in *Protasis*) "But ye may know for a certainty that, if ye kill me, ye will bring (נִתְנִסְתֶּה אַתֶּה) innocent blood upon yourselves," &c.

### Condition *contrary to reality* introduced by לוֹ

We have seen that conditions *contrary to reality* may be expressed by the *Imperfect* in both clauses after כִּי, or (rarely) by the *Perfect* in both clauses after כִּי or זִי, and somewhat more often by the *Perfect* in *Protasis* and *Imperfect* in the *Apodosis*.

The more usual and regular method is by means of sentences introduced by לוֹ and its compounds, in which the *Perfect* is generally found in the *Protasis*; usually with another *Perfect* in the second clause:

e. g., *Is.* i. 9; "If the Lord of Hosts had not left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and should have been made like unto Gomorrah." (לֹא .. הַזְחִיר הַמִּינָה .. הַיּוֹנוֹ)

So *Ps.* cxix. 92: "If my delight had not been in thy law, I should have perished in my trouble." (אָבְרָהָם)

But also by the *Imperfect*:

e. g., *Deut.* xxxii. 29: "If they were wise, they would consider this." (וְיִשְׁכְּרִילוּ וְיִבְנִנוּ)

The verb in the second clause is sometimes omitted:

e. g., *1 Sam.* xiv. 30: "How much more if the people had eaten this day of the spoil of their enemies." . . (אַף קִי לֹא אָכְל אָכְל הַצְבָּא)

(הַצְבָּא)

Sometimes the second clause is omitted by *Aposiopesis*, and the particle becomes like בַּן a particle of asseveration:

e. g., Ps. xxvii. 13: “**לִוְלָא רָאָפְנָה לְרֹאֵת**” “If I have not trusted (=verily, I have trusted) to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.”

The condition after הַל sometimes relates to present or future time, in which case we may have the *Imperfect* in the *Protasis* followed by a *Voluntative*:

e. g., Deut. xxxii. 26, 27: (*Cohortative*) “I said, I would scatter them into corners, I would make the remembrance of them to cease among men, were it not that I fear the wrath of the enemy.”  
(**אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ לִוְלָא אָגָּרוּ** . . .)

Or a *Jussive* in the *Protasis*:

e. g., Gen. xxx. 34: (*Second clause omitted*) “And Laban said, ‘May it be according to thy word.’” (**לֹא יְהִי**)

Or an *Imperative* in the *Protasis*:

e. g., Gen. xxiii. 13: (*Second clause omitted*) “If only thou wouldst hear me!” (**וְעַמְצָה הַל**)

Or a *Participle* in *Protasis*:

e. g., 2 Sam. xviii. 12: (*Imperfect*) “And the man said to Joab, If I held (were now holding) in my hand a thousand pieces of silver, I would not put forth my hand against the king's son.” (**וְלֹא יַעֲשֶׂה** . . . **אֲנָכִי שָׁקֵל** . . .)

Or it may have the verb *omitted* and its place supplied by בַּשׁ

e. g., Num. xxii. 29: (*Perfect* in the *second clause* after בַּשׁ) “If there were a sword in my hand, surely now would I kill thee.” Or considering an ellipsis before בַּשׁ “If only there were a sword in my hand! for then would I have killed thee.” (**הַרְגִּנְתִּיךְ**)

So also Job. xvi. 4: “If your souls were in my soul's stead, I would heap up words against you.” (**אֲחַזְקָה כְּבָרָה** *Cohortative*.)

With the Aramaic form בְּלַי the *Perfect* is found in both clauses, and the condition is *contrary to reality*:

e. g., Eccl. vi. 6: **וְאֶלְיוֹחֶיהָ לֹא רָאָה** “Yea, if he live thousand years twice told, yet hath he seen no good.” Cf. Est. vii. 4., these being the only instances in which it occurs.

### Asseverations.

In *asseverations* we find the Hebrew made use of incomplete conditional sentences introduced by בְּנֵן, בְּנֵן לְנֵן, בְּנֵן לְנֵן. These may be considered as simple conditions implying *probability*, with the second

clause suppressed. The second clause if expressed, as it is sometimes, has a Voluntative force. Accordingly, in such sentences בְּאָנֹכִי has the meaning of "surely not," and לֹא בְּאָנֹכִי of "surely," "verily."

The second clause is sometimes expressed, and is usually some such form as "Be it profane to me (חַלֵּלְךָ)", or "God do so to me and more also (בְּנֵתֶךְ וְעַזְתֶּךְ)" or some corresponding form of imprecation.

In these forms of condition the usual tense is the *Imperfect*, with either a future or an aorist sense:

a. *E.*, 1 Sam. xiv. 45b: "God forbid, as the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground." חַלֵּלְךָ תְּרִיוֹתָה אַנְךָ (— נָא)

b. *E.*, 1 Sam. xix. 6: "And Saul sware, 'as the Lord liveth, he shall not be slain.'" תְּרִיוֹתָה אַסְ-יוֹמָתָה (— נָא)

The *Perfect* is more rarely found, sometimes with its usual past signification:

c. *E.*, 2 Kings ix. 26: "Surely I have seen yesterday the blood of Na'aboth and the blood of his sons, saith the Lord." . . . אַנְךָ-לֹא (— נָא)

Sometimes with a present signification:

d. *E.*, Ps. cxxxii. 2: "Surely I have behaved and quieted myself (and still do) as a child that is weaned from his mother." אַנְךָ-לֹא (— נָא)

שׁוֹבֵת רִמְמָתְךָ

Sometimes in the Prophets with a future signification:

e. *Ez.* xiv. 24: "The Lord of Hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely (אַנְךָ-לֹא) as I have sworn, so shall it come to pass (בְּנֵתֶךְ), and as I have purposed it shall stand" (הִיא קְרִיב Imperfect).

So *Jer.* xv. 11: "The Lord said, Verily (אַנְךָ-לֹא) it shall be well with thy remnant; verily, I will intreat the enemy for thee in the time of evil and affliction." הַקְבִּיעָתְךָ

### Verb in *Protasis* omitted.

We have seen in Part I. that the verb in the *first clause* of a conditional sentence is often omitted, and that its place is often supplied by וְ and יְנִינָה. This may take place in any of the classes of conditions, but is most common when the supposition is *probable* (Class II.), and when the verb in the *second clause* is a *Jussive* or *Imperative*:

e. g., 2 Sam. xvii. 6b: (וְאַתָּה Imperative.) "If not, speak thou." אַתָּה אַתָּה בְּגֹרֶךָ

So Judges ix. 20: (וְאַתָּה Jussive.) "But if not, let fire come forth from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem and the house of Millo." אַתָּה פְּאַתָּה בְּגֹרֶךָ

So also 1 Chron. xii. 17b: (Verb omitted—Jussive.) "But if (it be) to betray me to mine enemies, seeing there is no wrong in mine hands, the God of our fathers look thereon and rebuke it." יְרָא וַיִּזְכֹּר

e. g., Jer. xl. 4: (Verb omitted—Imperative.) "If (it be) good in thine eyes to come with me to Babylon, come; and I will look well unto thee," &c. (בָּן and בְּנֵךְ)

It is also frequently followed by the *Imperfect* or the *Modified Perfect* when expressing probability:

e. g., 2 Kings ii. 10: (וְאַתָּה Imperfect.) "But if not, it shall not be so." אַתָּה לֹא יָהִי

e. g., 1 Sam. xi. 3b: (וְאַתָּה Modified Perfect.) "And then if (there be) no man to save us, we will come out to thee." אַתָּה נָצַר

e. g., Gen. xviii. 21: (Verb omitted—Cohortative.) "I will go down now and see whether they have done altogether according to the crying of it which is come unto me, and if not, I shall know." אַתָּה אָדָע

e. g., Ex. i. 16: (Verb omitted—Modified Perfect.) "If it (be) a son, then ye shall kill him; but if it (be) a daughter, then she shall live." וְהַנְּתַנְתֶּן and וְחַיֶּה

e. g., Lev. xxv. 51: (Verb omitted—Imperfect.) "And if there (be) yet many years, according to them shall he give again the price of his redemption out of the money he was bought for." וְיִשְׁבֶּט

It is also, but rarely, followed by a *Participle* in the conclusion of a probable hypothesis:

e. g., 1 Sam. xix. 11: (וְאַתָּה with Participle in Protasis.) "If thou save not thy life to-night, to-morrow slain art thou." אַתָּה אַיִלָּךְ מִמְּלֹט and אֲקָרֶת מִזְבֵּחַ

Gen. xxx. 1b: (וְאַתָּה alone.) "Give me children, or if not, dying am I." בְּנֵךְ אַנְבֵּנָה

1 Sam. xxvi. 19b: (Verb omitted.) "But if (it be) the children of men, cursed be they before Jehovah!" אַרְוֹרִים הֵם

When the supposition is simply in accordance with reality, we may

find in the conclusion a *Perfect*, or even a *Modified Imperfect*. The instances, however, of this construction are very few:

e. g., *Hos.* xii. 12: (*Verb omitted—Perfect.*) "If (there is) idolatry (in) Gilead, surely they are vanity." (גַּם־)

*Job.* xxxiii. 23, 24: (*בָּאֵן, Modified Imperfect.*) "If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one of a thousand, to show unto man his uprightness, then he is gracious unto him," &c. (בְּבָאֵן־)

When, however, the supposition is either *improbable, indefinite, or contrary to reality* (Class III. and Class IV.), the *Imperfect* is the usual tense in the conclusion:

e. g., *1 Sam.* xiv. 39: (*יִנֶּצֶת, Class III.*) "For as the Lord liveth which saveth Israel, though it be Jonathan my son, he shall surely die." (כִּי־הַיְמֹתָה)

*Job.* xxi. 4: (*Verb omitted, Class IV.*) "As for me (is) my complaint to man, and if (it were so) why should not my spirit be troubled?" (כִּי־קָצַר)

So also once with לְ as cited above, *Job.* xvi. 4 (v. p. 66).

When בְּאֵין is used before nouns, the implied supposition is always of the first class, i. e., *in accordance with reality*, as may be seen by the examples already cited (p. 47, Part I.). Compare also *Josh.* xiv. 4, *Deut.* x. 12 (where the particle stands before an *Infinitive* with לְ).

*2 Kings* xiii. 7 *et al.*

The *Perfect* is the usual tense in the *second clause*:

e. g., *Josh.* xiv. 4b: "Therefore they gave no part unto the Levites in the land, save cities to dwell in." (וְנִשְׁׂרָפָה)

However, in *Num.* xxxv. 33 the *Imperfect* is used, as also in *Prov.* xviii. 2 to express a general truth without limit of time, and also in *Jer.* xliv. 14 to express a true *future*:

e. g., *Num.* xxxv. 33: "For the land cannot be purified from the blood that is shed in it, except by the blood of him that shed it." (לֹא־יָפַקֵּד)

*Jer.* xliv. 14b: "For none shall return except those who escape." (לֹא־יָשִׁיבוּ)

When this compound particle is used with verbs, it is usually followed by an *Imperfect* or *Voluntative*, and the condition may be considered as implying probability, and so of Class II. A few examples will show this use:

e. g., *Jer.* ix. 23: "But he that glorieth (i. e., But if any man glorieth), let him glory in this." (לְלֹא־יָגַדְתָּ)

e. g., *Jer.* xxxix. 12: (*K'tib.*) "Take him, and look well unto

him, and do him no harm, *but* (whatsoever thou doest unto him) do unto him even as he shall say unto thee." (כִּי־אָתָּךְ פָּאֵשׁ יְהֹוָה)

אליך בן עשרה עטו

When followed by the *Perfect*, the *reality* of the supposition is implied:

e. g., 2 Kings xxiii. 9: "Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the Lord at Jerusalem, *but* (if they had priestly privileges) they did eat of the unleavened bread among their brethren." כִּי אֲסֵאָבְלָה (אַל)

So also *Jer.* vii. 23, cited above: "But (if I commanded them anything) this thing commanded I them, saying," &c. (אָמַרְתִּי)

Very frequently the verb in the *second clause* is omitted entirely, in which case the class of condition must be determined from the context:

c. g., Jer. xxiii. 7, 8: "Therefore, behold the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, The Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but (כִּי) if they say anything, they shall say (The Lord liveth," &c.)

In one passage we have a *Participle* in the second clause:

e.g., 2 Kings xvii. 40: "Howbeit they did not hearken, but according to their former manner they are doing (to this day.)"  
**הַיְמָנִים עֲשֵׂה**

## The *Infinitive.*

When the *Infinitive* stands in the *Protasis* after conditional particles, it is followed by the *Imperfect* when the supposition is *probable* (Class II.), but the construction is rare:

e.g., 2 Sam. iii. 13b: "Thou shalt not see my face unless thou bringest **הַבִּיאָה** Michal the daughter of Saul," &c.

So 2 Sam. v. 6.

It is also once followed by the *Perfect* in a sentence belonging to Class I. (Hypothesis in accordance with *reality*):

e.g., Job. ix. 27, 28: "If I say אַמְרֵי I will forget my complaints, &c. I am afraid of all my sorrows יִגְדְּלֵהוּ I know בְּדָעָה that thou wilt not hold me innocent."

Conditions introduced by *N* being mainly continuative, are governed by the context. All that have been observed, however, belong to the class of *probable* suppositions (Class II.).

### Condition introduced by Waw.

Very frequently a condition introduced by בַּיִן or יְנִין, is continued in a following sentence by וְ . In this case, as with יְנִין, the class of condi-

tion is determined from the context, and the use of the tenses is the same as if the particles had been used.

Frequently, however, Conditional Sentences are introduced by Waw, without any preceding conditional particle or clause.

When this occurs, we usually find the *Modified Perfect* in the *Protasis*, followed in the *Apodosis* either by another *Modified Perfect* or, though rarely, by an *Imperfect*. Sentences of this form almost always imply probability:

e. g., Ex. xii. 13: (*Modified Perfect* in second clause.) "And the blood shall be to you for a sign upon the houses where ye are, and when I see the blood I will pass over you." (יְרֹא אֶת־דָם וְיַעֲלֵה עַל־מִזְבֵּחַ)

e. g., Num. xxiii. 20b: (*Imperfect* in second clause.) "Since he blesseth, then I cannot reverse it." (בָּרוּךְ הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ)

A probable condition may also be expressed by the *Imperfect* in the *Protasis* followed by a *Modified Perfect*, another *Imperfect*, or a *Voluntative*:

e. g., Deut. xxx. 8, 9: (*Modified Perfect* in second clause.) "And if thou shalt return and obey the voice of the Lord, and do all his commandments which I command thee this day, then the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thine hand." (וְאִם תָּשׁׁׁוב בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהִשְׁמִיר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל)

e. g., 1 Sam. ix. 7: (*Imperfect* in second clause.) "Then said Saul unto his servant, But behold if we go, what shall we bring the man?" (וְאִם נִגְּלֻךְ וּמִפְּנֵינוּ)

e. g., Ps. lxxvii. 4: (*Cohortative* in second clause.) "When I am in heaviness (יְהִינָה נִגְּלָךְ) I will remember God (אָמַרְתִּי רְאֵבָה) when my spirit is overwhelmed (וְאִמְשִׁיכָה רְוֹחֵב) I will complain." (אָשְׁר־יְהִינָה נִגְּלָךְ וְאָמַרְתִּי רְאֵבָה)

The same kind of condition is very rarely expressed by a *Modified Imperfect* in the *Protasis*, followed by a *Participle*:

e. g., Ex. iv. 23: "And if thou refuse (וְאִמְמַדְתִּי) to let him go, behold I will slay thy son, (אָנֹכִי הַרְגֵּנִי) even thy firstborn."

The literal translation would be: "And thou hast refused to let him go, behold I am slaying," &c. (The action is viewed as completed and bringing with it its consequences.)

Another variation is in the use of the *Voluntative* in the *Protasis*:

e. g., Ps. cxxxix. 8: (With verb omitted in second clause.) "If I make Sheol my bed, behold Thee!" (אָשְׁר־יְשִׁיבָה שָׁאֵל רְאֵבָה)

e. g., Job. xvi. 6: (With *Imperfect* in second clause.) "—and if I speak, what am I eased?" (וְאִתְּחַדֵּל מִתְּחַדֵּל)

It may, indeed, be questioned whether all the instances of the *Imper-*

fect thus occurring after *Waw* should not be regarded as ~~properly~~  
*Jussive*, according to the corresponding use in Arabic.

But besides these methods of expressing a condition regarded as probable when introduced by *Waw*, there are a number of instances where the verb in the first clause must be regarded not as a *Modified* but as a simple *Perfect*. I pass by many examples where (as in Ge. xxxiii. 13) it must be considered at least doubtful whether the verb is ~~to be~~ rendered as a *Perfect* or as a *Modified Perfect*, and in which there is no difference in accent by which the tense may be recognized; but in four instances at least—*Job.* x. 15, *Ezek.* iii. 18, xxxiii. 8, *Nah.* i. 2—the accent shows that the verb was regarded as *Perfect* by the Masoretes

e. g., *Job.* x. 15: (*Imperfect* in second clause.) “If (וְאֵל) I be wicked, woe unto me, and if I be righteous (יִתְּחַנֵּן) yet will I not lift up my head.”

e. g., *Ezek.* iii. 18: (*Imperfect* in second clause.) “When I say (בָּאָמַרְתִּי) to the wicked, ‘Thou shalt surely die,’ if thou givest him not warning, (וְלֹא הַזְרַחֲתָה) and if thou speakest not (וְלֹא דִבְרָךְ) to turn the wicked from his evil way, &c.—he shall die (וְיֻמָּתֶה) in his iniquity, but his blood will I require (שְׁקַנְאֵל) at thy hands.”

When the *Condition* is in accordance with reality (Class I.), we may have the *Perfect* or the *Modified Imperfect* in the *Protasis*, with the corresponding tenses in the *Conclusion*:

e. g., *Ex.* xvi. 21: (*Perfect* in both clauses.) “And when the sun grew hot, it melted.” (וְיָמַר הַשְׁמַשׁ וְגַם)

e. g., *1 Sam.* ii. 16: (*Modified Imperfect* and *Perfect*.) “And if the man said (וַיֹּאמֶר) to him, &c., then he would say.” (וְאָמַרְתִּי)

e. g., *2 Sam.* xviii. 16: (*Modified Imperfect* in both clauses.) “And when Joab blew the horn (וַיָּרַקע הַרְקָעַ) the people returned from following after Israel.” (וְיָשַׁב הָעָם)

To express conditions in which the supposition is contrary to reality (Class IV.), we find sometimes the *Perfect* in the *Protasis*, with the *Imperfect* in the *Conclusion*:

e. g., *Num.* xii. 14: “And Moses said, If her father had but spit in her face (וְיָרַק פָּנָה) should she not be unclean (וְיִכְלַס) sever days?”

Sometimes the *Imperfect* with the *Imperfect* in the *Conclusion*:

e. g., *Ezek.* xvi. 55: “When thy sisters, Sodom and her daughters shall return (וְיָשְׁבִנָה) to their former estate, and when, &c., then thou and thy daughters shalt return (וְיָשְׁבִנָה) to your former estate.”

Once, at least, the *Modified Perfect* in *Protasis*, and no verb expressed in *second clause*:

e.g., *Ezek.* xvi. 53: "When I shall bring again (וְיִרְאֶה) their captivity, the captivity of Sodom and her daughters, and the captivity of Samaria and her daughters, then (will I bring again) the captivity of thy captives in the midst of them."

### *Sentences without any Introductory Particle.*

A sentence which contains an interrogative idea, i.e., either a direct or an indirect question, may stand as the *Protasis* of a conditional sentence, or, as we have seen, two clauses placed together, either without any connecting particle or with simple *Waw*, may bear to each other the relation of *condition* and *conclusion*.

When the supposition is a *probable* one, or simply *indeterminate*, the usual construction is with the *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*—usually with the *Imperfect* or the *Modified Perfect* in the *second clause*:

e.g., *Is.* xlvi. 7b: "Yea (if) one shall cry unto him (קֹרֵא), yet can he not answer (לֹא יָנַע), nor save him out of all his trouble."

It may also be followed by an *Imperative*, though when this is used the *Perfect* usually precedes:

e.g., *Ps.* xxvii. 7: (וְיִצְעַן־זָהָה קְזִלִּי אֶקְרָא) "(When) I cry with my voice, hear, O Lord."

Or the verb may be understood in the *second clause*:

e.g., *2 Sam.* xxiii. 4: "And (he shall be) as (is) the light of the morning (when) the sun ariseth." (בְּרַא)

The *Voluntative* (*Jussive* or *Imperative*) may be found in the *Protasis* in place of the *Imperfect*.

In this case the verb in the *second clause* may be in the *Imperfect*:

e.g., *Prov.* xix. 25: "Smite a scorner (חָמֵת ψ), and the simple will beware (לֹא־יָגַד), and reprove (בְּרַחֲךָ יְהִי) one that hath understanding, he will understand knowledge." (בְּרַחֲךָ יְהִי)

Or it may be in the *Perfect*, with *Future Perfect* sense:

e.g., *Is.* xxvi. 10: "Let favour be shown (לְךָ) to the wicked, yet will he not learn (have learned) (לֹא־לָמַד) righteousness."

Or it may be another *Jussive* or *Imperative*:

e.g., *Ps.* lxviii. 2: "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered." (בְּאֵין וְיִפְצַח)

e.g., *2 Kings* v. 13: "Wash and be clean." (בְּרַחֲךָ וְטַהֲרֶךָ)

The *Perfect* is sometimes found in a condition implying *probability*, but only when the verb in the *second clause* is of *Jussive* signification:

e.g., *Prov. xxv. 16*: (*Imperative.*) "Hast thou found honey, eat so much as is sufficient for thee." (חָמֵץ מַתְאַקְתָּן וְכָלְאַתְּ)

e.g., *Judg. vii. 3*: (*Jussive.*) "Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him return, and depart early from Mt. Gilead." (יִשְׁבֶּן יְרֻאָה וְנִשְׁבַּב)

e.g., *Prov. xxii. 29*: (*Jussive.*) "Seest thou a man that is diligent in business; he shall stand before kings." (יִגְדֹּל בְּעֵמָה)

e.g., *Is. xxvi. 11*: (*Imperfect with Jussive force.*) "Lord, though thine arm is lifted up, they will not see." (יְהוָה כָּלֵב)

(The two last are the only instances observed where there can be any question as to the *Jussive* character of the verb.)

Beside these forms of the finite verb, the *Construct Infinitive* with a *Preposition* נִ or לִ may stand in the *Protasis* of a conditional Sentence implying probability.

When the verb in the *second clause* is expressed, it is usually, if not always, in the *Imperfect*:

e.g., *Ps. iv. 5*: "The Lord will hear when I call unto him." (יְהֹוָה יִשְׁפַּע בְּקָרְאִי אָלָיו)

When the supposition is viewed as a *fact*, the most common construction is with the *Perfect* in the *Protasis*, and also in the *Conclusion*:

e.g., *Ps. cxix. 51*: "Though the proud have had me greatly in derision, I have not declined from thy law." (נִסְרִיחַי חַלְצָנָנִי)

So also *Is. xlvi. 21*: (הָזֹלְלָבָב, לֹא צָמָמָה) "And they thirsted not (though) He led them through the deserts."

The verb in the *second clause* is sometimes *understood*, as in all classes of conditional sentences:

e.g., *Prov. xxvi. 12, xxix. 20, xxiv. 10, Lev. xv. 3*.

Though the *Perfect* is the usual tense in conditions of this description, we also, in poetry, find the *Imperfect* not infrequently, and always when the verb is expressed followed by another *Imperfect*:

e.g., *Ex. xv. 7*: (אָקְלָמָיו, חַלְעָר) "When thou sentest forth thy wrath, it devoured them like stubble."

e.g., *Job. xii. 15*: (יְוַיְשַׁבְתָּן, עֲשָׂרָתָן) "Behold, he shutteth up the waters, and they dry up." "When or if he shutteth up the waters, they dry up."

*Ps. civ. 28, 29, 30*: : . . . יְשַׁבְּעָנָן . . . תְּפִחָה . . . וְלִלְטָנוֹן . . . תְּקִנָּה . . .

• . . יְבָהָלוֹן . . . תְּפִלָּה . . . יְנִיעָנָן . . . תְּשִׁלָּחָה . . . יְבָרָאָן

"Thou givest them, they gather; thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good; Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust; Thou sendest forth thy word, they are created."

Another not unusual form of this condition is with the *Participle* in

the *Protasis*, followed usually by the *Perfect* in the *second clause*.

This occurs most frequently in the book of *Proverbs*, and is a very terse form of expression:

e. g., *Prov.* xvii. 5<sup>a</sup>: "(Whoso) mocketh the poor, reproacheth his maker." (לֹעֲגֵן חָרְבָּה)

The *Modified Imperfect* is once found:

*2 Kings* vi. 5: "It came to pass, when one was felling a beam, that the axe head fell in the water." (. . . נִפְאַל רְאַחֲדָה בְּמִזְבֵּחַ)

The *Infinitive with Preposition* may stand as the *Protasis* in a condition of this kind, though this is of rare occurrence. It is followed by an *Imperfect* in *Lam.* ii. 12: (. . . אָמַרְוּ בְּהַתְּצִדְקָה . . .) "They say to their mothers, where is corn and wine? when they swoon in the streets of the city, when their soul is poured out (בְּקַרְבָּה) into their mothers' bosom."

In *Ps. lxii.* 10 the verb in *second clause* is omitted: (בְּמַאֲנוֹנִים לְעִלּוֹת) "When they are laid in a balance they (are) alike with emptiness."

In *Ps. xlvi.* 11 the verb in *second clause* is *Perfect*: (חָרְפָּנִי . . .) (כִּי אֶתְּנָאַתְּנָאַתְּ) "As with a sword in my bones, mine enemies reproach me, when they daily say unto me, where is thy God?"

Conditions *contrary to reality* are rare without an introductory Particle, but occur in a few instances. They are sometimes expressed by the *Perfect* in the *Protasis*, followed by the *Imperfect* in the *second clause*:

e. g., *2 Kings* v. 13: "Had the prophet said (רָבָּה) some great thing unto thee, wouldst thou not have done it?" (הַלְּאָתָּה עָשָׂה)

And also by the *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*, followed either by an *Imperfect* in the *second clause*:

e. g., *Job.* xiii. 15: (q'ri) after הִנֵּה "Behold, though He kill me (יְקַלְּנָה) yet will I trust in Him" (אַיִלְלָה).

Or by a *Perfect*:

e. g., *Job.* ix. 13: "If God withdraw not his wrath, the proud helpers will stoop beneath him." (לֹא־יִשְׁכַּבְנָה . . .)

The *Cohortative* also may appear in *Protasis*, followed by the *Perfect* in *second clause*:

e. g., *Ps.* xl. 6: "If I should (wish to) declare them (אַגְּדָה) or speak of them, (אַגְּבָרָה) they are more than can be numbered." (עַמְּדוּ מִפְּנֵי)

The *Participle* also may stand in the *Protasis*, and be followed by ~~an~~ *Imperfect*:

e. g., 2 Kings vii. 2 and also 19: "Behold, if the Lord open ~~the~~<sup>ed</sup> ~~the~~ windows in heaven, might this thing be?" ~~תְּהִלָּה תְּהִלָּה בַּהֲרֵב~~ ~~תְּהִלָּה~~

(~~תְּהִלָּה~~)

From the instances that have been given, in this article and in the accompanying Tables, it may be seen that, while there are *four* classes of condition which must appear in any translation of the Hebrew into a modern language, there are in fact only *three* that are distinguishable by the verbal forms used:

- 1st. When the supposition is a *fact* (Class I.).
- 2d. When the supposition is *probable, possible, or even a mere assumption* (Classes II. and III.).
- 3d. When the supposition is *contrary to fact or very highly improbable* (Class IV.).

In the first, the *Perfect*, or its corresponding secondary tense, is most common in the *Protasis*.

In the second, the *Imperfect*, or its corresponding secondary tense, is usual in the *Protasis*.

In the third, the condition is usually indicated by ~~וְ~~ or one of its compounds. When this is the case the *Perfect* is the usual tense; but if the introductory particle be ~~כִּי~~, or if there be no special introductory particle, we generally find the *Imperfect*.

In the *Apodosis* there is great liberty of usage in all forms of condition, but the appearance of a *Voluntative* form (*Jussive, Cohortative, or Imperative*) will invariably show the hypothesis in the *Protasis* to be ~~probable~~, while a *Perfect* or a *Modified Imperfect* are rarely found in the conclusion, except after suppositions in accordance with *reality*.

The underlying principles are the same as in Greek or English, but the niceties of expression and the exactness of grammar had been lost to the Hebrew language long before it began to be preserved and fixed by being committed to writing.

From the analogy of the Arabic, we may see that the use of the *Perfect* to express a *probable* hypothesis in *future* time, is a remnant of an earlier, more highly developed, grammatical structure, similar to the Arabic. The same may also be inferred from the use of the *Jussive* in conditions, and of the *Imperfect* in a *Jussive* sense, even where *Indicative* in form.

NOTE.—In the accompanying Tables will be found the whole collection of Conditional Sentences observed by the writer, from which the above instances have been taken. He has no idea that the collection is a complete one, but trusts that it is sufficiently extensive to justify the inferences drawn from it in this article.

**TABLE OF INSTANCES**  
**OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES IN HEBREW, WITH A GENERAL**  
**SUMMARY AND RECAPITULATION.**

This Table explains itself. In the first column is found the reference; in the second, the tense, verbal form, or substitute therefor, used in the *Apodosis*; in the third column, the number indicates to which of the four classes of conditions the particular instance is to be referred. The passages are arranged according to the verbal form used in the *Protasis*, and are given in the order of arrangement of the English Bible.

## I.

*Without any Introductory Particle.*I.—With *Perfect* in the *Protasis*.

	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
<i>Lev.</i>	x. 19.	Imperfect,	4		<i>Prov.</i>	xi. 2.	Mod.Imperfect, 1
	xv. 3.	Verb omitted,	1			xvii. 5. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect (Jus- sive force), 2
<i>Nam.</i>	xii. 14.	Imperfect,	4			xviii. 22.	Perfect, 1
<i>Deut.</i>	xx. 5.	Jussive,	2			xix. 24.	Imperfect, 3
	xx. 6.	Jussive,	2			xxii. 3. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect (q'ri), Imp'f't (k'tib) 1
	xx. 7.	Jussive,	2			xxii. 3. <sup>b</sup>	Perfect, 1
	xxxii. 30.	Imperfect,	4			xxii. 29.	Jussive, 2
<i>Zosh.</i>	xxii. 18.	Mod. Perfect,				xxiv. 10.	Verb omitted, 1
<i>Zudg.</i>	vii. 3.	Jussive,	2			xxv. 16.	Imperative, 2
<i>Ruth.</i>	i. 12.	Imperfect,	4			xxvi. 12.	Verb omitted, 1
<i>Sam.</i>	i. 28.	Participle,	2			xxvi. 15.	Perfect (cf. xix. 24), 3
<i>2 Kings</i>	xvii. 34.	Perfect,	1			xxvii. 12. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect, 1
<i>Zob.</i>	v. 13.	Imperfect,	4			xxvii. 12. <sup>b</sup>	Perfect, 1
	iv. 2.	Imperfect,	2		<i>Eccl.</i>	vi. 10.	Perfect, 1
	iv. 21.	Imperfect,	2		<i>Is.</i>	xxvi. 11.	Imperfect, 3
	vii. 20.	Imperfect,	2			xlviii. 21.	Perfect, 1
	xix. 4.	Imperfect,	3			liii. 7.	Imperfect, 1
	xxi. 21.	Verb omitted,	1		<i>Jer.</i>	xxxiii. 25.	Imperfect, 4
	xxiii. 10.	Imperfect,	2		<i>Lam.</i>	i. 21.	Imperfect, 1
	xxiv. 24.	יְהִי and Perfect, 3				iii. 37.	Perfect, 1
	xxvii. 19.	יְהִי	1		<i>Hos.</i>	ix. 6.	Imperfect, 3
<i>Ps.</i>	xxxix. 12.	Mod.Imperfect, 1				x. 13.	Perfect, 1
	lxix. 33.	Imperfect,	2		<i>Amos.</i>	iii. 8. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect, 2
	ciii. 16.	יְהִי and Imp'f't, 1				iii. 8. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect, 2
	cxix. 51.	Perfect.	1		<i>Hag.</i>	ii. 16. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect, 1
	cxix. 61.	Perfect,	1			ii. 16. <sup>b</sup>	Perfect,
	cxxxix. 18. <sup>b</sup>	Verb omitted,	1				1

2.—With *Imperfect* in *Protasis*.

	Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.
<i>Gen.</i>	l. 25.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Ps.</i>	xxviii. 1. <sup>b</sup>	*Mod. Perfect,	
<i>Ex.</i>	iv. 1.	2d cl. omitted,	2		xci. 15.	Imperfect,	
	xiii. 19.	Mod. Perfect,	2		civ. 22.	Imperfect,	
	xv. 7.	Imperfect,	1		civ. 28.	(2) Imperfect,	
	xxxiii. 5.	Mod. Perfect,	3		civ. 29.	(2) Imperfect,	
<i>Lev.</i>	xviii. 5.	Mod. Perfect (cf. <i>Neh.</i> ix. 29),	2		civ. 30.	Imperfect,	
<i>Num.</i>	xxiii. 3.	Mod. Perfect,	2		cxxxix. 18.	Imperfect,	
<i>Deut.</i> viii. 12-14.		Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Prov.</i>	ii. 2, 5.	Imperfect,	
<i>2 Sam.</i> xxiii. 4.		Verb omitted,	2	<i>Is.</i>	xlvi. 7.	Imperfect,	
<i>1 Kings.</i> xviii. 12.		Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i>	iii. 1.	Imperfect,	
<i>Neh.</i>	i. 8.	Imperfect,	3	<i>Ezek.</i>	xvii. 10.	Imperfect,	
	ix. 29.	Mod. Perfect (cf. <i>Lev.</i> xviii. 5),	2		†xx. 11.	Mod. Perfect,	
<i>Job</i>	ix. 13.	Perfect,	4		xx. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	
	ix. 29.	Imperfect,	3	<i>Mal.</i>	i. 4.	Imperfect,	
	xxiii. 8.	יְמִינָה	1				
	xxix. 24.	Imperfect,	1				
<i>Ps.</i>	xxvii. 7.	Imperative,	2				

\*Accent brought back by *pauſe*†Common reading in this verſe  
יְמִינָה, but יְמִינָה as in v. 13 is evident

to be read.

3.—With *Jussive* or *Cohortative* in *Protasis*.

	Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.
<i>2 Sam.</i> xviii. 22.	Jussive,	2		<i>Prov.</i>	i. 23.	Jussive,	
<i>Ps.</i>	xl. 6.	Perfect,	4		iv. 6. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	
	lxviii. 2.	Jussive,	2		xix. 25.	Imperfect,	
	civ. 20.	Jussive,	2		xxvi. 26.	Jussive,	
	cix. 25.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Job</i>	ix. 34.	Jussive,	
	cxxxix. 9, 10.	Imperfect,	2		xv. 17.	Imperative,	
	cxlii. 4.	Jussive,	2		xx. 24.	Jussive,	
	cxlvii. 18.b	Jussive,	2	<i>Is.</i>	xxvi. 10.	Perfect,	

4.—With *Imperative* in *Protasis*.

	Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.
<i>Gen.</i>	xxx. 28.	Cohortative,	2	<i>Ps.</i>	xxi. 14.	Cohortative,	
	xxxiv. 12.	Cohortative,	2		xxxiv. 12.	Jussive,	
	xlii. 18.	Imperative,	2		l. 15.	Imperfect,	
	xlii. 37.b	Imperfect,	2		li. 16.	Jussive,	
<i>Ex.</i>	vii. 9.	Jussive,	2		lxxxvi. 11. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	
	xviii. 19.	Jussive,	2		cxviii. 19.	Imperfect,	
<i>1 Kings</i> xxii. 12.	Imperative,	2			cxix. 17.	Cohortative,	
	xxii. 15.	Imperative,	2		cxix. 145.	Cohortative,	
<i>2 Kings</i> v. 13.	Imperative,	2	<i>Prov.</i>	iii. 3, 4.	Imperative,		
<i>2 Chron.</i> xx. 20. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2		iii. 7.f	Jussive,		
	xx. 20.b	Mod. Perfect,	2		iii. 9.f	Imperfect,	
<i>Job</i>	i. 11.	Imperfect,	2		iii. 21.f	Imperfect,	
	ii. 5.	Imperfect,	2		iv. 4.b	Imperative,	
	xii. 7.	Jussive,	2		iv. 6.b	Imperfect,	
	xii. 8.	Jussive,	2		iv. 8.	Imperfect,	
	xxii. 21.	Imperative,	2		iv. 10.	Imperfect,	
	xl. 32.	Imperative and Jussive,	2		vi. 3.a	Imperative,	
					vi. 3.b	Imperative,	

4.—With *Imperative* in *Protasis*.—Continued.

Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.
<i>Prov.</i> vi. 6.b	Imperative,	2	<i>Is.</i> viii. 9.	Imperatives (3),	2
vii. 2.	Imperative,	2	viii. 10.	Jussive,	2
ix. 6.	Imperative,	2	lv. 1, 3.	(1) Jussive,	2
xiii. 20.	Imperative (k't),	2		(2) Cohortative,	2
xvi. 3.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i> xvii. 14. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2
xx. 22.	Imperfect,	2	xvii. 14. <sup>b</sup>	Cohortative,	2
xxiii. 19.	Imperative,	2	xxv. 5.	Imperative,	2
xxv. 5.	Imperfect,	2	xxxv. 15.	Imperative,	2
xxvii. 11. <sup>a</sup>	Imperative,	2	<i>Amos</i> v. 4.	Imperative,	2
xxxi. 6.f	Jussive,	2	v. 6.	Imperative,	2

5.—With *Participle* in the *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.
1 <i>Sam.</i> xvii. 34.	Perfect,	1	<i>Prov.</i> xiii. 20.	Imperfect (q'ri),	2
2 <i>Sam.</i> xvii. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	3	xiv. 31. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect,	1
2 <i>Kings</i> vi. 5.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	xiv. 31. <sup>b</sup>	Perfect,	1
vii. 2.	Imperfect,	4	xvii. 5. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect,	1
vii. 19.	Imperfect,	4	xix. 17.	Perfect,	1

6.—With *Infinitive* with *Preposition* in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.
<i>Ps.</i> iv. 5.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Lam.</i> ii. 12.	Imperfect,	1
xlii. 11.	Perfect,	1	<i>Ezek.</i> iii. 18.	Imperfect,	2
lxii. 10.	Verb omitted,	1	xii. 15.	Perfect,	2

## II.

*Condition Introduced by Waw.*1.—With *Imperfect* in the *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.
<i>Deut.</i> xxx. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Ps.</i> lxxvii. 4. <sup>a</sup>	Cohortative,	2
1 <i>Sam.</i> ix. 7.	Imperfect,	2	lxxvii. 4. <sup>b</sup>	Cohortative,	2
xx. 12.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2	cxxxix. 11.	Verb omitted,	2
			<i>Ezek.</i> xvi. 55.	Imperfect,	2

2.—With *Modified Perfect* in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.
<i>Gen.</i> ix. 16.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Exod.</i> xxxiii. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	1
xxxiii. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	3	xxxiii. 23.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xlii. 38.	Mod. Perfect,	3	<i>Lev.</i> xxii. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xliv. 22.	Mod. Perfect,	3	xxvi. 41.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xliv. 29.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Num.</i> x. 3-5.	Mod. Perfect,	2
<i>Exod.</i> iii. 13.	Imperfect,	2	x. 17.	Mod. Perfect,	1
iv. 14.	Mod. Perfect,	2	x. 21.	Mod. Perfect,	1
xii. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xiv. 15.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xii. 23.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xv. 39.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xiv. 3.f	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxi. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xxiii. 25.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Deut.</i> iv. 29. <sup>a</sup>	Mod. Perfect,	2

2.—With *Modified Perfect* in *Protasis*.—Continued.

Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.	
<i>Judg.</i> vii. 18.	Mod. Perfect,	2		<i>Prov.</i> vi. 22.	Imperfect,	2	
<i>1 Sam.</i> xxix. 10.	Imperative,	2		ix. 12.	Imperfect,	2	
<i>1 Kings</i> viii. 30.	Mod. Perfect,	2		<i>Jer.</i> vii. 27.	Mod. Perfect,	2	
xvii. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xviii. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	2	
xviii. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	1		xviii. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2	
<i>Neh.</i> i. 9.	Imperfect,	2		<i>Ezek.</i> iv. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	2	
<i>Job.</i> v. 24.b	Imperfect,	2		xvi. 53.	Verb omitted,	2	
<i>Prov.</i> iii. 24.	Perfect,	2		xviii. 10-13.	Mod. Perfect,	2	

3.—With *Voluntative* in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.	
<i>Job.</i> xvi. 6.	Imperfect,	2		<i>Ps.</i> cxxxix. 8.	Verb omitted,	2	

4.—With *Perfect* (not *Modified*) in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.	
<i>Ex.</i> xvi. 21.	Perfect,	1		<i>Job</i> xxiii. 13.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	
<i>Lev.</i> x. 19.	Imperfect,	4		<i>Ezek.</i> iii. 18.	Imperfect,	2	
<i>Num.</i> xii. 14.	Imperfect,	4		xxxiii. 3.	Imperfect,	2	
<i>Ruth</i> ii. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxxiii. 8.	Imperfect,	2	
<i>1 Sam.</i> xvii. 34.	Perfect,	1		<i>Nah.</i> i. 12.	Imperfect,	2	
<i>Job.</i> x. 15.	Imperfect,	2					

5.—With *Modified Imperfect* in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.	
<i>Ex.</i> xiv. 23.	Participle,	2		<i>2 Sam.</i> xviii. 16.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	
<i>1 Sam.</i> ii. 16.	Perfect,	3		<i>Ps.</i> cvii. 25.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	

6.—Waw with verb omitted in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodoſis.	Class.	
<i>Gen.</i> xliv. 26.	Mod. Perfect, (וְ in Protasis)	2		<i>Prov.</i> iii. 28.	Jussive (וְ in Protasis)	2	
<i>Deut.</i> xiii. 15.	Imperfect,	2		<i>Ezek.</i> xvii. 10.	Imperfect (Par- ticiple in Pro- tasis),	2	
<i>Judges</i> vi. 13.	Perfect (וְ in Protasis),	4		<i>Am.</i> iii. 4.	Imperfect (וְ in Protasis),	2	
<i>2 Sam.</i> xiii. 26.	Jussive,	2					
<i>2 Kings</i> v. 17.	Jussive,	2					
x. 15.	Imperative,	2					

## III.

*Condition Introduced by Particles—*a.* by כִּי*I.—With *Imperfect* in *Protasis*.

	<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Apodosis.</i>	<i>Class.</i>		<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Apodosis.</i>	<i>Class.</i>
<i>Cos.</i>	iv. 7. <sup>a</sup>	Verb omitted,	2	<i>Levit.</i>	v. 1.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	iv. 7. <sup>b</sup>	Participle,	2		vii. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xiii. 16.	Imperfect,	2		xii. 5.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xviii. 26.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xii. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xviii. 28.	Imperfect,	2		xiii. 23.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xviii. 30.	Imperfect,	2		xiii. 28.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxiv. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxvi. 3.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxviii. 17.	Second clause omitted,	2		xxvii. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxviii. 30.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxvii. 18.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxx. 31.	Imperfect,	2		xxvii. 19.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxx. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Num.</i>	xvi. 29.	Perfect,	2
	xxx. 50.	כִּי	2		xvi. 30.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxxi. 52.	Verb omitted,	2		xix. 12.	imperfect,	2
	xxxii. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxi. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2
<i>Exod.</i>	xlii. 37.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2		xxii. 18.	Imperfect,	3
	iv. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxx. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	iv. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxx. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xix. 5.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxx. 13.	Imperfect,	2
	xx. 25.	Imperfect,	2		xxx. 15.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 3. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2		xxx. 16.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 3. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	2		xxxii. 23.	Perfect,	2
	xxi. 4.	Imperfect,	2		xxxiii. 55.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 5. <sup>b</sup>	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Deut.</i>	viii. 19.	Imperfect,	2
	xxi. 9.	Imperfect,	2			Perfect (cf. iv. 25),	2
	xxi. 10.	Imperfect,	2		xi. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 11.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xi. 22.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 19.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xi. 28.	Verb omitted,	2
	xxi. 21.	Imperfect,	2		xv. 5.	Imperfect,	2
	xxi. 23.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xx. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 27.	Imperfect,	2		xxii. 25.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 30.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxv. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxi. 32.	Imperfect	2	<i>Joshua</i>	xiii. 8.	v. s. כִּי	
	xxii. 1.	Verb omitted,	2		xxiii. 12.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2
	xxii. 3.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Judges</i>	iv. 8. <sup>a</sup>	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxii. 6.	Imperfect,	2		iv. 8. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	2
	xxii. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	2		vi. 37.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxii. 11. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2		xi. 10.	Imperfect,	2
	xxii. 11. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	2		xiii. 16.	Imperfect (2),	2
	xxii. 22.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Ruth</i>	iii. 13. <sup>a</sup>	Mod. Perfects,	2
	xxii. 24.	Imperfect,	2		iii. 13. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2
	xxii. 25.	Imperfect,	2	<i>I Sam.</i>	i. 11.	Mod. Perfect	2
	xxiii. 22.	Mod. Perfect,	2			and Impf.,	2
	xxiii. 32.	2d clause omit'd by Aposiopesis, 2			vi. 9.	Verb omitted (cf. 2d clause),	2
<i>Exod.</i>	iv. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2				
	iv. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	2				

1.—With *Imperfect* in *Protasis* after בָּנָה.—Continued.

Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosis.
<i>1 Sam.</i> viii. 19.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Esther</i> iv. 14.	Imperfect,
xii. 25.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Job.</i> viii. 5, 6.	Imperfect,
xiv. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2	viii. 18.	Mod. Perfect
xiv. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2	ix. 3.	Imperfect,
xiv. 9. <sup>a</sup> חַלְלָתָן	2		ix. 20.	Imperfect,
xvii. 9. <sup>a</sup>	Mod. Perfect,	2	ix. 23.	Imperfect,
xvii. 9. <sup>b</sup>	Mod. Perfect,	2	xi. 10.	Imperfect,
xx. 7.	Imperative,	2	xiii. 10.	Imperfect,
xx. 9.	Imperfect,	2	xiv. 7.	Imperfect,
xx. 21.	Imperative,	2	xiv. 14.	Imperfect,
xx. 22.	Imperative,	2	xvi. 6.*	Imperfect,
xxiv. 7. חַלְלָתָן	2		xvii. 13.	Verb omitted
xxv. 22.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2	xix. 5.	Imperative,
<i>2 Sam.</i> iii. 35.	Imperfect (Jus- sive sense),	2	xx. 12, 14.	Participle,
x. 11.	Mod. Perfect (2),	2	xx. 6.	Imperfect,
xv. 26.	רָגִנֵּי and Impf.,	2	xxii. 23.	Imperfect,
xv. 34.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxvii. 5. חַלְלָתָן	
xviii. 3.	Imperfect (2),	2	xxvii. 14.	Verb omitted
xix. 14.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2	xxvii. 16, 17.	Imperfect,
xx. 20. נָגִינָתָן	2		xxx. 7, 8.	Cohortative a Jussive,
<i>1 Kings</i> i. 52.	Imperfect,	2	xxxi. 13, 14.	Imperfect,
viii. 25.	Imperfect,	2	xxxi. 16, 17.	Apodosis wa- ing,
ix. 4.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxxi. 19.	Apodosis war- ing,
ix. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxxi. 25.	Verb (or per- haps secor- d clause) om't
xiii. 8.	Imperfect,	3	xxxi. 38.	Jussive,
xx. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxxiii. 5.	Imperative,
xx. 10.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2	xxxiv. 14.	Imperfect,
xxii. 28.	Verb omitted (cf. 1 Sam. vi. 9),	2	xxxvi. 11.	Imperfect,
<i>2 Kings</i> ii. 10.	Jussive,	2	xxxvi. 12.	Imperfect,
vi. 31.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2	<i>Psalms</i> vii. 13.	Imperfect,
vii. 4. <sup>c</sup>	Imperfect,	2	xxvii. 3. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,
vii. 4. <sup>d</sup>	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxvii. 3. <sup>b</sup>	Participle,
xx. 19.	Verb omitted,	1	l. 12.	Imperfect,
xxi. 8.	Imperfect,	2	lix. 16.	Mod. Imperfe-
<i>1 Chron.</i> iv. 10.	Second clause omitted,	2	lxviii. 14.	Verb omitted
xxii. 13.	Imperfect,	2	lxxxi. 9.	Cohortative,
<i>2 Chron.</i> vi. 16.	Imperfect,	2	lxxxix. 31-3.	Mod. Perfect
vii. 13.	Imperfect,	2	xcv. 7, 8.	Jussive (acc. Mas. pointin- verb omitted)
vii. 19.	Mod. Perfect,	2	cxxvii. 1.	Perfect (2),
xxxiii. 8.	Imperfect,	2	cxxx. 3.	Imperfect,
<i>Neh.</i> i. 19.	Imperfect and Mod. Perfect,	2	cxxxii. 12.	Imperfect,
ii. 5.	Imperfect,	2	cxxxvii. 5.	Jussive,

\* Cohortative in *Protasis*.

1.—With *Imperfect* in *Protasis* after **כִּי**.—Continued.

	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
<b>Deut.</b>	cxxxvii. 6.	Jussive,	2	<b>Jer.</b>	iv. 1. <sup>a</sup>	Jussive,	2
	cxxxviii. 7.	Imperfect,	2		iv. 1. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	2
	cxxxix. 8 <sup>a</sup> .	Verb omitted,	3		v. 2.	Imperfect,	2
	cxxxix. 8. <sup>b</sup>	Verb omitted,	3		vii. 5, 7.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	cxxxix. 19.	Second clause omitted,	1		xii. 17.	Mod. Perfect,	2
<b>Prov.</b>	ii. 1-5.	Imperfect,	2		xv. 1.	כִּי	4
	iii. 24.	Imperfect,	2		xvii. 27.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	iii. 34.	Imperfect,	1		xxii. 4.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	iv. 12.	Imperfect,	2		xxii. 5.	Perfect (cf. Deut. iv. 25),	2
	iv. 16. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2		xxii. 24.	Imperfect,	4
	iv. 16. <sup>b</sup>	Participle,	2		xxiii. 38.	Mod. Perfect,	1
	xix. 19.	Imperfect,	2		xxxi. 36.	Imperfect,	4
	xxiv. 11.	Imperfect,	2		xxxi. 37.	Imperfect,	4
<b>Isaiah.</b>	iv. 10. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	1		xxxviii. 17.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	iv. 11.	Mod. Perfect,	1		xxxviii. 18.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	iv. 12.	Imperfect,	1		xlii. 5.	Jussive,	2
	v. 11.	Verb omitted,	1		xlii. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	vi. 3.	Verb omitted,	4		xlii. 15.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	x. 4.	Jussive,	2	<b>Ezek.</b>	ii. 5.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	x. 11.	כִּי	2		ii. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xi. 3. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	1		iii. 11.	Mod. Perfect,	2
<b>Cassiod.</b>	xi. 8.	Imperfect (Jus- sive force),	2	<b>Hosea</b>	ix. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2
<b>Isaiah</b>	v. 8.	Imperfect,	2	<b>Amos</b>	v. 22.	Imperfect,	3
	viii. 7.	Imperfect,	3		vi. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	i. 18.	Imperfect (2),	3		ix. 2. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	3
	i. 19.	Imperfect,	2		ix. 2. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	3
	i. 20.	Imperfect,	2		ix. 3. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	3
	vii. 9.	Imperfect,	2		ix. 3. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	3
	viii. 20.	Imperfect,	4	<b>Obad.</b>	4.	Imperfect,	4
	x. 22.	Imperfect,	4	<b>Hab.</b>	ii. 3. <sup>b</sup>	Imperative,	2
<b>Jer.</b>	xxi. 12.	Imperative,	2	<b>Zech.</b>	vi. 15.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	ii. 22.	Participle,	4	<b>Mal.</b>	ii. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	iii. 28.	Jussive,	2				

2.—With *Perfect* in *Protasis* after **כִּי**

	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
<b>Gen.</b>	xviii. 3.	Jussive,	2	<b>Gen.</b>	xliii. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxiv. 19.	Imperfect,	2		xlvii. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	2
	xxiv. 33.	Imperfect,	2		xlvii. 16.	Imperative,	2
	xxviii. 15.	Imperfect,	2		xlvii. 18.	Imperfect,	2
	xxx. 27.	2d clause omit'd by Aposiopesis,	2		xlvii. 29.	Imperative,	2
	xxxii. 27.	Imperfect,	2	<b>Ex.</b>	1. 4.	Imperative,	2
	xxxiii. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxii. 2.	Verb omitted,	2
	xxxviii. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	1		xxxiii. 13.	Imperative,	2
	xl. 14.	Mod. Perfect, (with Jussive force) and Im- perative,	2		xxxiv. 9.	Jussive,	2
				<b>Lev.</b>	xxii. 6.	Imperfect,	2
					xxv. 28.	Mod. Perfect,	2
				<b>Num.</b>	v. 19.	Imperative,	2
					v. 27.	Mod. Perfect,	2

2.—With *Perfect* in *Protasis* after ~~εν~~.—Continued.

	Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.		Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.
<i>Num.</i>	v. 28.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Ps.</i>	xli. 7.	Imperfect,	1
	xi. 15.b	Imperative,	2		xliv. 21.	Imperfect,	2
	xv. 24.	Mod. Perfect,	2		l. 18.	Mod. Imperfect,	1
	xxi. 9.	Verb omitted,	2		lxiii. 17.	Imperfect,	2
	xxii. 20.	Imperative,	2		lxvi. 18.	Imperfect,	2
	xxx. 6.	Imperfect,	2		lxxiii. 15.	Perfect,	4
	xxxii. 17.	Imperfect,	2		lxxviii. 34.	Perfect,	1
	xxxv. 16.	Verb omitted,	2		xciv. 18.	Imperfect,	1
	xxxv. 17.	Verb omitted,	2	<i>Prov.</i>	ix. 12. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect,	2
	xxxv. 22-24.	Mod. Perfect,	2		ix. 12.b	Imperfect,	2
<i>Deut.</i>	xxi. 14.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxiv. 14.	<del>ψι</del>	2
	xxii. 20.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxv. 21.	Imperative (2),	2
	xxxii. 30.	Imperfect,	2		xxx. 32.	Verb omitted,	2
	xxxii. 41.	Imperfects,	2	<i>Eccl.</i>	x. 10.	Imperfect,	2
<i>Josh.</i>	xviii. 24.	Second clause omitted,	2	<i>Isaiah</i>	iv. 34.*	Mod. Perfect,	2
					vi. 11.	Clause omitted,	2
<i>Judges</i>	vi. 3.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxiv. 13.	Verb omitted,	2
	ix. 16-19.	Imperative,	2		xxviii. 25.	Mod. Perfect,	1
	xv. 7.	Imperfect,	2		xxx. 17.	Imperfect,	2
<i>Ruth</i>	iii. 21.	Jussive,	2		xl. 7.	Perfect,	1
	iii. 18.	Imperfect,	2		lv. 10, 11.	Imperfect (2),	2
1 <i>Sam.</i>	xxvi. 19.	Jussive,	2		lxv. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	2
2 <i>Sam.</i>	xv. 33.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i>	xiv. 7.	Imperative,	2
1 <i>Kings</i>	xx. 18.	Jussive,	2		xiv. 18.	Verb omitted,	2
2 <i>Kings</i>	iv. 24.	Jussive,	2		xxiii. 22.	Imperfect,	4
	vii. 4. <sup>a</sup>	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxxvii. 10.	Imperfect,	4
	4.b	Mod. Perfect,	2		xlvi. 27.	New Condition	21
	v. 20.	Mod. Perfect,	2			Clause with	
						Perfect,	1
1 <i>Chron.</i>	xii. 17. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2		xlix. 9. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	3
<i>Esther</i>	v. 8.	Jussive,	2		xlix. 9.b	Perfect,	3
	viii. 5.	Jussive,	2	<i>Lam.</i>	iii. 22.	Mod. Perfect,	1
<i>Job</i>	vii. 4.	Perfect,	1	<i>Ezek.</i>	iii. 6.	Imperfect,	1
	ix. 15.	Imperfect,	4		xxxv. 6.	Imperfect,	1
	ix. 16.	Imperfect,	4	<i>Amos.</i>	iii. 4.	Imperfect,	1
	ix. 30.	Imperfect,	3		iii. 7.	Imperfect,	1
	x. 14.	Mod. Perfect,	2		vii. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	1
	x. 15. <sup>a</sup> <del>τί</del>	<del>τί</del>	2	<i>Obad.</i>	5. <sup>a</sup>	†Imperfect,	1
	x. 15.b	Imperfect,	2		5.b	Imperfect,	1
	xii. 13.	Imperfects,	2	<i>Micah</i>	v. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	1
	xxi. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	2				
	xxii. 20.	Perfect,	1				
	xxxi. 5, 6.	Cohortative,	2				
	xxxi. 20-22.	Jussive,	2				
	xxxi. 39, 40.	Jussive,	2				
	xxxv. 6.	Imperfect,	3				
	xxxv. 7.	Imperfect,	3				
<i>Ps.</i>	vii. 4, 5.	Jussives,	2				

\* In Protasis we have the unusual construction of a Perfect followed by an Imperfect with the same force.

† Cf. *Jer.* xlix. 9.

3.—With *Participle* in *Protasis* after **כִּי**

	Apodosis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
xx. 7.	Imperative,	2	<i>Judg.</i>	ix. 15.	Imperative,	2
v. 42.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xi. 9.	Imperfect,	2
v. 49.	Imperative,	2	1 <i>Sam.</i>	xi. 3.	Mod. Perfect,	2
lili. 5.	Imperfect,	2		xix. 11.	Participle,	2
ii. 17.	Participle,	2	2 <i>Chron.</i>	xxv. 8.	Imperative,	2
ix. 2.f	Participle,	2	<i>Job</i>	xiv. 5.	Imperative,	2
ii. 15.	Jussive,	2		xxxii. 9, 10.	Jussive,	2
iii. 1.	Imperfect,	2		xxxvi. 8.	Imperfect,	2
iii. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i>	xxvi. 15.	Participle,	2
ci. 15.	Imperative,	2		xlii. 15.	Imperative,	2
36, 37.	Mod. Perfect,	2				

ithout any Verb in *Protasis* after **כִּי**—(a) With **וּבָדֵק** or **וְנַעֲשֶׂה**

	Apodosis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
xx. 1.	Participle,	2	<i>Judg.</i>	ix. 20.	Jussive,	2
iv. 26.	Mod. Perfect,	2	1 <i>Sam.</i>	xiv. 39.	Imperfect,	4
xii. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2	2 <i>Sam.</i>	xvii. 6.	Imperative,	2
i. 32.b	Imperative,	2	2 <i>Kings</i>	ii. 10.	Imperfect,	2
v. 8.	Participle,	2	<i>Job</i>	xxxiii. 23.	Mod. Imperfect,	3
vii. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxxiii. 32.	Imperative,	2
ii. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxxiii. 33.	Imperative,	2
ii. 11.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Prov.</i>	xxii. 27.	Imperfect,	2
ix. 15.	Jussive,	2				

· 4. (b)—Verb omitted in *Protasis* after **כִּי**

	Apodosis.	Class.		Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
iii. 9.	Cohortative,	2	2 <i>Chron.</i>	ii. 5.	Verb omitted,	1
ii. 21.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Neh.</i>	ii. 7.	Jussive,	2
iii. 13.	Perfect,	2	<i>Esther</i>	i. 19.	Jussive,	2
iii. 16.	Cl. ommitted,	2		iii. 9.	Jussive,	2
iii. 11.	Imperative,	2		v. 4.	Jussive,	2
i. 16.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Job</i>	vi. 13.	Imperfect,	2
ix. 13.	Imperfect,	2		vii. 3.	Jussive,	2
iii. 1.	Verb omitted,	2		viii. 5.	Jussive,	2
cv. 23.	Imperfect,	2		ix. 13.	Jussive,	2
tv. 51.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Job</i>	ix. 19.	Imperfect (2),	2
vii. 3.	Mod. Perfect,	2		ix. 24.	Verb omitted,	2
vii. 4.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xi. 14.	Imperative,	2
vii. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xvii. 16.	Imperfect,	2
vii. 9.	Imperfect,	2		xxi. 4.	Imperfect,	4
ii. 11.	Mod. Perfect,	2		xxiv. 25.	Imperfect,	2
iii. 19.	Imperative,	2		xxx. 24.	Imperfect,	1
ii. 22.	Jussive,	2		xxxiv. 16.	Imperative,	2
iii. 23.	Jussive,	2		xxxvii. 13.	Imperfect,	1
iv. 15.	Imperative,	2	<i>Prov.</i>	xxiii. 2.	Mod. P'rft (Jus-	
ii. 16.	Perfect,	2			sive sense),	2
vi. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i>	xl. 4.	Imperative,	2
xv. 7.	Verb omitted,	1	<i>Hosea</i>	iv. 15.	Jussive,	2
i. 19.b	Participle,	2		xii. 12.	Perfect,	1
xii. 8.	Cohortative,	4	<i>Nahum.</i>	i. 12.	Perfect,	2
ii. 17.b	Jussive,	2	<i>Zech.</i>	xi. 12.	Imperative (2),	2
xv. 2.	Verb omitted,	1	<i>Mal.</i>	i. 6.	Verb omitted,	3

4. (c)—Verb omitted in *Protasis* after **כִּי־**=*Except, Save.*

	<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Apodosis.</i>	<i>Class.</i>		<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Apodosis.</i>	<i>Class.</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	xxxix. 6.	Perfect,	1	<i>2 Kings</i>	v. 17.	Imperfect,	
	xxxix. 9.	Perfect,	1		ix. 35.	Perfect,	
	xlii. 15.	Imperfect,	2		xiii. 7.	Perfect,	
<i>Ex.</i>	x. 4.	Participle,	2	<i>1 Chron.</i>	ii. 34.	Perfect,	
<i>Num.</i>	xxvi. 33.	Perfect,	1		xxiii. 22.	Perfect,	
	xxvi. 65.	Perfect,	1	<i>2 Chr.</i>	xviii. 30.	Imperfect,	
	xxxv. 33.	Imperfect,	1		xxi. 17.	Perfect,	
	xiv. 30.	Imperfect,	2		xxiii. 6.	Jussive,	
<i>Deut.</i>	x. 12.	Participle,	1	<i>Neh.</i>	ii. 12.	יְנָא	
<i>Josh.</i>	xiv. 4.	Perfect,	1				
	xvii. 3.	Perfect,	1	<i>Esther</i>	ii. 15.	Perfect,	
<i>1 Sam.</i>	xxx. 17.	Perfect,	1		v. 12.	Perfect,	
	xxx. 22.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Prov.</i>	xviii. 2.	Imperfect,	
<i>2 Sam.</i>	xii. 3.	יְנָא	1	<i>Eccl.</i>	iii. 12.	יְנָא	
	xix. 29.	Perfect,	1		viii. 15.	יְנָא	
<i>1 Kings</i>	xvii. 1.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i>	iii. 10.	Perfect,	
	xvii. 12.	וְ	2		xxii. 17.	יְנָא	
	xxii. 31.	Imperfect,	2		<i>xliv.</i> 14.	Imperfect,	
<i>2 Kings</i>	iv. ii.	יְנָא	1	<i>Dan.</i>	x. 21.	יְנָא	
	v. 15.	יְנָא	1	<i>Micah</i>	vi. 8.	Perfect,	

4. (d)—With Ellipsis of *First Clause* after **כִּי־**=*But.*

	<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Apodosis.</i>	<i>Class.</i>		<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Apodosis.</i>	<i>Cl.</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	xv. 4.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Psalms</i>	i. 4.	Verb omitted,	
	xxxv. 10.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Prov.</i>	xxiii. 17.	Verb omitted,	
<i>Lev.</i>	xxi. 2.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Is.</i>	xxxiii. 21.	Verb omitted,	
	xxi. 14.	Imperfect,	2		xxxvii. 19.	Verb omitted,	
<i>Num.</i>	x. 30.	Imperfect,	2		lix. 2.	Perfect,	
<i>Deut.</i>	vii. 5.	Imperfect,	2		lxv. 18.	Imperative,	
	xii. 5.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i>	vii. 23.	Perfect,	
	xii. 14.	Imperfect,	2		vii. 32.	Verb omitted,	
	xii. 18.	Imperfect,	2		ix. 23.	Imperfect,	
	xvi. 6.	Imperfect,	2		xvi. 15.	Verb omitted,	
<i>Josh.</i>	xxiii. 8.	Imperfect,	2		xix. 6.	Verb omitted,	
<i>1 Sam.</i>	ii. 15.	Verb omitted,	2		xx. 3.	Verb omitted,	
	viii. 19.	Imperfect,	2		xxiii. 8.	Verb omitted,	
	xxi. 2.	Verb omitted,	1		xxxi. 30.	Imperfect,	
<i>1 Kings</i>	viii. 19.	Imperfect,	2		xxxviii. 4.	Verb omitted,	
	xxiii. 8.	Verb omitted,	1		xxxviii. 6.	Verb omitted,	
	xxiii. 18.	Verb omitted,	1		xxxix. 12.	Imperfect,	
<i>2 Kings</i>	xiv. 6.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Ezek.</i>	xii. 23.	Imperative,	
	xvii. 36.	Imperfect,	2		xxxiii. 11.	Verb omitted,	
	xvii. 39.	Imperfect,	2		xxxvi. 22.	Verb omitted,	
	xvii. 40.	Participle,	1		xliv. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	
	xix. 18.	Verb omitted,	1		xliv. 22.	Imperfect,	
	xxiii. 9.	Perfect,	1		xliv. 25.	Imperfect,	
	xxiii. 23.	Imperfect,	1	<i>Amos</i>	viii. 11.	Verb omitted,	
<i>Job</i>	xlii. 8.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Zech.</i>	iv. 6.	Verb omitted,	
<i>Psalms</i>	i. 2.	Verb omitted,	1				

severations and Denials, the *Apodosis* being understood as a  
*Jussive*, after סָמַךְ, נָתַךְ סָמַךְ, סָמַךְ בִּרְכָה

s.	Protasis.	Class.	Passage.	Protasis.	Class.
iv. 23.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Job</i> xxxvi. 29.	Imperfect,	2
xii. 23.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Job</i> xxxvii. 1.	Imperfect,	2
iv. 38.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Psalms</i> xcvi. 2.	Perfects (present),	2
vi. 29.	Imperfect,	2	cxxxii. 3.	Imperfect,	2
iii. 15.	Imperfect,	2	cxxxii. 4.	Imperfect,	2
xvii. 7.	Perfect,	2	<i>Cant.</i> ii. 7.	Imperfect,	2
iv. 28.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Isaiah</i> iii. 5.	Imperfect,	2
iv. 29.	Imperfect,	2	v. 9.	Imperfect,	2
iv. 35.	Imperfect,	2	xiv. 24.	Perfect (fut.),	2
iv. 22.	Imperfect,	2	xxii. 14.	Imperfect,	2
i. 25.	Imperfect,	2	lxii. 8.	Imperfect,	2
xiv. 9.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i> xv. 11.	Perfect (fut.),	2
v. 8.	Imperfect,	2	xxii. 6.	Imperfect,	2
iii. 14.	Imperfect,	2	l. 45.	Imperfect,	2
vii. 55.	Perfect,	2	li. 14.	Perfect,	2
xix. 6.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Ezek.</i> v. 11.	Imperfect,	2
iv. 22.	Imperfect,	2	xiv. 16.	Imperfect,	2
xv. 34.	Perfect,	2	xiv. 20.	Imperfect,	2
iii. 10.	Imperfect,	2	xvii. 16.	Imperfect,	2
xx. 15.	Imperfect (2),	2	xvii. 19.	Verb omitted,	2
xi. 11.	Imperfect,	2	xviii. 3.	Imperfect,	2
iv. 11.	Imperfect,	2	xx. 3.	Imperfect,	2
i. 51.	Imperfect,	2	xx. 23.	Imperfect,	2
xvii. 1.	Imperfect,	2	xx. 31.	Imperfect,	2
xx. 23.	Imperfect,	2	xxi. 18.	Imperfect,	2
xx. 25.	Imperfect,	2	xxxiii. 11.	Imperfect,	2
ii. 2.	Imperfect,	2	xxxiii. 27.	Imperfect,	2
ii. 4.	Imperfect,	2	xxxiv. 8.	Verb omitted,	2
ii. 6.	Imperfect,	2	xxxvi. 5.	Perfect,	2
iii. 14.	Imperfect,	2	xxxvi. 7.	Imperfect,	2
iv. 30.	Imperfect,	2	xxxviii. 19.	Imperfect,	2
ix. 26.	Perfect (of past time),	2	Besides these forms, יְהִי may stand in Protasis.		
iii. 25.	Imperfect,	2	2 Sam. xiv. 19. יְנַחֵל = יְהִי	2	
i. 11.	Imperfect,	2	1 Kgs. xvii. 12. יְהִי	2	
ii. 5.	Imperfect,	2	xviii. 10. יְהִי	2	
xvii. 2.	Verb omitted,	2	<i>Prov.</i> xxiii. 18. יְהִי	2	
xx. 25.	Imperfect,	2			
xxi. 29.	Imperfect,	2			
xxi. 31.	Perfect,	2			
xxi. 33.	Perfect,	2			
xxi. 36.	Imperfect,	2			

## 6.—With Infinitive Construct in Apodosis after כִּי

Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
2 Sam. iii. 13.	Imperfect,	2	Job ix. 27, 28.	Perfect,	
v. 6.	Imperfect,	2			

## b.—After יְהִי=if, when, since. I. With Imperfect in Protasis.

Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
Gen. iv. 12.	Imperfect,	2	Levit. xxii. 29.	Imperfect,	
iv. 24.	Verb omitted,	2	xxiii. 10.	Imperfect,	
xii. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxv. 25.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxiv. 41.	Imperfect,	2	xxv. 35.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxxii. 18.	Mod. Perfect,	2	Num. v. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	
Exod. i. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2	v. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	
vii. 9.	Mod. Perfect,	2	ix. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	
xii. 25.	Mod. Perfect,	2	x. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	
xii. 26.	Mod. Perfect,	2	x. 32.	Mod. Perfect,	
xiii. 14.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xv. 14.	Mod. Perfect,	
xviii. 16.	Participle,	1	xxvii. 8.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxi. 1.	Imperfect,	1	xxx. 3.	Imperfect,	
xxi. 7.	Imperfect,	2	xxx. 4.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxi. 14.	Imperfect,	2	xxxiii. 15.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxi. 18.	Mod. Perfect,	2	Deut. iv. 25.	Inserted clause in place of regular Apodosis,	
xxi. 20.	Imperfect,	2	iv. 29.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxi. 22.	Imperfect,	2	vi. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxi. 26.	Imperfect,	2	vi. 20.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxi. 28.	Imperfect,	2	vi. 25.	Imperfect,	
xxi. 33.	Imperfect,	2	vii. 1.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxi. 37.	Imperfect,	2	vii. 17.	Imperfect,	
xxii. 4.	Imperfect,	2	xiii. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxii. 6.	Imperfect,	2	xiv. 24.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxii. 9.	Imperfect,	2	xv. 7.	Imperfects,	
xxii. 13.	Imperfect,	2	xv. 16.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxii. 26.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xviii. 6.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxx. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xix. 16.	Mod. Perfect,	
Levit. i. 2.	Imperfect,	2	xx. 19.	Imperfect,	
ii. 1.	Imperfect,	2	xxi. 22.	Imperfect,	
iv. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxii. 28.	Mod. Perfect,	
v. 1.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxiv. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	
v. 3.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxviii. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	
v. 15.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxviii. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	
vii. 21.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxx. 21.	Mod. Perfect,	
xii. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2	Josh. viii. 5.	Mod. Perfect,	
xiii. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xx. 5.	Imperfect,	
xiii. 16.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxii. 28.	Mod. Perfect,	
xiii. 24.	Mod. Perfect,	2	Judg. xi. 22.	Mod. Perfect,	
xiii. 31.	Mod. Perfect,	2	I Sam. x. 7.	Mod. Perfect,	
xiii. 42.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xx. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	
xv. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xi. 10.	Imperative,	
xix. 33.	Imperfect,	2	I Kings viii. 35.	Inf. with ?	
xx. 27.	Imperfect,	2	viii. 37.	Jussive,	
xxi. 9.	Imperfect,	2	viii. 44.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxii. 11.	Imperfect,	2	viii. 46.	Mod. Perfect,	
xxii. 12.	Imperfect,	2			
xxii. 27.	Mod. Perfect,	2			

*Imperfect in Protasis after יְהוָה.—Continued.*

Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosia.	Class.
<i>Kings</i> iv. 29.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Isaiah</i> i. 12.	Perfect,	1
vii. 12.	*Impst. with יְהוָה	2	i. 15.	Partic. with יְהוָה	2
xviii. 22.	2d clause om'd,	2	iii. 6.	Imperfect,	2
xviii. 32.	Jussive,	2	viii. 19.	2d clause om'd,	2
<i>Chron.</i> vi. 28.	Jussive,	2	xvi. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2
vi. 34.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxvi. 9. <sup>b</sup>	Perfect,	2
vi. 36.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xxxvi. 7.	2d clause om'd,	2
ob iii. 22.	Imperfect,	2	xxx. 21. <sup>a</sup>	Imperative,	2
v. 21.	Imperfect,	2	xxx. 21. <sup>b</sup>	Imperative,	2
xiii. 19.	Mod. Perfect,	2	xliii. 2. <sup>a</sup>	Verb omitted,	
xix. 28, 29.	Imperative,	2	xliii. 2. <sup>b</sup>	and Imperfect,	2
xxvii. 8.	Verb omitted,	1	lx. 5.	Imperfect,	2
xxvii. 9.	Imperfect,	2	v. 19.	Imperfect,	2
xxxi. 14. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2	xiii. 1.	Verb omitted,	1
xxxi. 14. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	2	xiii. 6.	Jussive,	2
xxxvi. 27.	Imperfect,	1	xiii. 22.	2d clause om'd,	2
xxxvi. 31.	Imperfect,	1	xiv. 12. <sup>a</sup>	Partic. with יְהוָה	2
xxxviii. 40.	Imperfect,	1	xiv. 12. <sup>b</sup>	Partic. with יְהוָה	2
xxxviii. 41.	Imperfect,	1	xv. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2
<i>2 Kings</i> ii. 12.	Imperative,	2	xvii. 6.	Imperfect,	2
viii. 4.	V. 5 takes place of regular Apo- dosis,	1	xxxviii. 25.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xxiiii. 4.	Imperfect,	3	xlix. 16.	Imperfect,	3
xxxvii. 24.	Imperfect,	3	li. 53.	Imperfect,	3
xlii. 12.	Perfect,	1	<i>Lam.</i> iii. 8.	Perfect,	1
xlxi. 17.	Jussive,	2	<i>Ezek.</i> xiv. 9. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect (follow'd by Mod. Per- fects.)	2
xlxi. 18, 19. <sup>a</sup>	Imperfect,	2	xiv. 12.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xlxi. 19. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	3	xviii. 5.	Imperfect,	2
lxii. 11.	Jussive,	2	xviii. 21.	Imperfects,	2
lxii. 23.	Imperfect,	2	xxxiii. 2.	Imperfect,	1
lxxiii. 21.	Imperfect,	2	xxxiii. 6.	Perfect,	1
lxxv. 3.	Imperfect,	2	xlvi. 17.	Mod. Perfect,	2
cii. 1.	Verb omitted,	1	<i>Hosea</i> iv. 14.	Imperfect,	2
cxxvii. 5.	Imperfect,	2	viii. 7.	Imperfect,	2
ii. 10.	Imperfect,	2	viii. 11.	Imperfect,	2
iii. 25.	Jussive,	2	<i>Micah</i> v. 4.	Mod. Perfect,	2
iv. 3.	Imperfect,	2	vii. 8. <sup>b</sup>	Verb omitted,	2
vi. 30.	Imperfect,	1	<i>Hab.</i> i. 5. <sup>b</sup>	Imperfect,	3
xxii. 6.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Zeck.</i> vii. 6.	Verb omitted,	1
xxiiii. 13.	Imperfect,	2	viii. 6.	Imperfect,	3
xxiiii. 31.	Jussive,	2	<i>Mal</i> i. 4.	Perfect,	1
xxiv. 12.	Imperfets,	2	i. 8.	יְהוָה (2),	1
xxvi. 25.	Jussive,	2			
xxx. 22.	Verb omitted,	2			

\* Very unusual construction.

2.—*Perfect in Protasis after י*

Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
<i>Gen.</i> vi. 1.	Mod. Imp'fects,	1	<i>Job</i> xxix. 11.	Mod. Imperfect,	1
xxxi. 15.	Perfect,	1	xxxiv. 33.	Imperfect,	3
xlix. 6.	Jussive,	2	<i>Psalms</i> xxi. 12.	Imperfect,	1
<i>Exod.</i> xiii. 15.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	xxxii. 3.	Perfect,	1
<i>Num.</i> v. 20.	2d clause om'd,	2	lviii. 11.	Imperfect,	2
xxii. 22.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	ciii. 16.	יְאָנָה	2
<i>Josh.</i> xvii. 13.	Mod. Imperfect,	1			
<i>Judg.</i> i. 28.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	cix. 83.	Perfect,	2
ii. 18.	Perfect,	1	<i>Isaiah</i> xliii. 20.	Imperfect,	2
vi. 7.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	<i>Jer.</i> xii. 5.	Imperfect,	2
xvi. 16.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	xxxii. 25.	Imperfect,	2
<i>Ruth</i> i. 12.	Imperfect,	4	<i>Ezek.</i> iii. 19.	Perfect,	2
<i>1 Sam.</i> i. 12.	Perfect,	1	xiv. 22.	2d clause om'd,	2
<i>2 Sam.</i> vii. 1.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	xxxiii. 9.	Perfect,	2
xix. 26.	Mod. Imperfect,	1	<i>Hosea</i> ix. 19.	Imperfect,	2
<i>Neh.</i> ix. 18.	Perfect,	1	<i>Micah</i> vii. 8. <sup>a</sup>	Perfect,	2
<i>Job</i> vii. 13.	Mod. Perfect,	1	<i>Nah.</i> i. 14.	Imperfect,	2
xxii. 29.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Zech.</i> vii. 5.	Perfect,	1

3.—*Participle in Protasis after י*

Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
<i>Num.</i> xxxiv. 2.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Deut.</i> xviii. 9.	Imperfect,	2
xxxv. 10.	Mod. Perfect,	2	<i>Jer.</i> xliv. 19.	Perfect,	1

4.—Without any verb expressed in *Protasis*.

## (a) Verb omitted.

Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
<i>Josh.</i> xvii. 18.	Imperfect,	3	<i>Prov.</i> xix. 18.	Imperative,	2
<i>1 Kgs.</i> xviii. 27.	Imperative,	2			
<i>Job</i> xxxvi. 18.	Jussive,	2			
<i>Prov.</i> xxiii. 22.	Jussive,	2			
<i>Hosea</i> xi. 1.	Mod. Imperfect,	2			

## (b) וּ

c.—*Condition Introduced by נ*1.—*Imperfect in Protasis.*

Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.	Passage.	Apodosis.	Class.
<i>1 Sam.</i> xx. 10.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Exod.</i> ii. 36.	Imperfect,	2
<i>Ezek.</i> xiv. 17.	Imperfect,	2	<i>Levit.</i> xxv. 49.	Mod. Perfect,	2
xiv. 19.	Imperfect,	2			

2.—*Perfect in Protasis.*

d.—Condition Introduced by נִלְוָנִי, נִפְלָא

(d) 1.—With *Imperfect* in *Protasis*. 2.—With *Jussive* or *Imperative* in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodoia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodoia.	Class.
*Gen. xvii. 18.	2d clause om'd, 4 l. 15. Imperfect,	4	*Gen. xxiii. 13.	2d clause om'd, 4 *xxx. 34. 2d clause om'd, 4	4
Deut. xxxii. 27.	Imperfect,	4			
*Job vi. 2.	2d clause om'd, 4				
Ezek. xiv. 15.	Imperfect,	4			
Note.—Perhaps 1 Sam. xx. 14 belongs here, reading נִלְוָנִי for נִפְלָא					

\* In these and similar passages נִלְוָנִי has come to be equal to a particle of wishing=utinam. Perhaps verb in Job vi. 2 should be considered a *Jussive*.

3.—With *Perfect* in *Protasis* after נִלְוָנִי or its compounds.

Passage.	Apodoia.	Class.	Passage.	Apodoia.	Class.
Gen. xxxi. 42.	Perfect,	4	Esther vii. 4.	Perfect (נִלְוָנִי), 4	
xliii. 10.	Perfect,	4	Ps. xxvii. 13.	2d clause om'd, 4	
Num. xiv. 2.	(2) 2d clause omitted,	4	xciv. 17.	Perfect,	4
xx. 3.	2d clause om'd, 4		cvi. 23.	Mod. Imperfect,	4
Deut. xxxii. 29.	Imperfect,	4	cxix. 92.	Perfect,	4
Josh. vii. 7.	2d clause om'd, 4		cxxiv. 1.	Perfect,	4
Judges viii. 19.	Perfect,	4	cxxiv. 2.	Perfect,	4
xiii. 23.	Perfect,	4	Eccl. vi. 6.	Perf. (נִלְוָנִי), 4	
xiv. 18.	Perfect,	4	Isaiah i. 9.	Perfect,	4
1 Sam. xiv. 30.	Verb omitted,	4	xlviii. 18.	Mod. Imperfect,	4
xxv. 34.	Perfect,	4	lxiii. 19.	2d clause om'd, 4	
2 Sam. ii. 27.	Perfect,	4	Micah iii. 4.	Mod. Perfect,	4

4.—With *Participle* in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodoia.	Class.
2 Sam. xviii. 2.	(q'ri) Impf.,	4
2 Kings iii. 14.	Imperfect (after בַּשׁ neg.),	4
Ps. lxxxi. 14.	Imperfect,	4

5.—With *verb omitted* in *Protasis*.

Passage.	Apodoia.	Class.
Num. xxii. 7.	Perfect (נִלְוָנִי)	4
2 Sam. xix. 7.	(q'ri) Verb omitted,	4
Job xvi. 4.	Imperfect (נִלְוָנִי)	4

Note.—In Num. xxii. 33 we have נִלְוָנִי in the sense of נִילָא with *Perfect* in both clauses. It is probably a textual error for the latter word. Cf. Ewald, Lehrbuch, 805. Note 2.

## GENERAL SUMMARY.

VERBAL FORM.	No. of Instances	I.	II.	III.	IV.
<i>Imperfect in Protasis after בָּנָה</i>	243	17	201	16	8
" " " בִּי	182	21	154	7	0
" " " אֲזַבְּנָה	3	0	3	0	0
" " " לָבַדְנָה	5	0	0	0	5
" " " וְ	7	0	7	0	0
" " alone,	33	9	18	5	1
Total No. instances of <i>Imperfect</i> ,	473	47	383	28	14
<i>Perfect in Protasis after בָּנָה</i>	109	12	82	8	7
" " " בִּי	35	19	14	1	1
" " " אֲזַבְּנָה	2	0	2	0	0
" " " לָבַדְנָה	24	0	0	0	24
" " " וְ	11	3	6	0	2
" " alone,	53	26	15	6	6
Total No. instances of <i>Perfect</i> ,	234	60	119	15	40
<i>Participle in Protasis after בָּנָה</i>	21	0	21	0	0
" " " בִּי	4	1	3	0	0
" " " לָבַדְנָה	3	0	0	0	3
" " " וְ	1	0	0	1	0
" " alone,	10	6	2	0	2
Total No. instances of <i>Participle</i> ,	39	7	26	1	5

VERBAL FORM.	No. of Instances.	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Verb omitted in <i>Protasis</i> after <b>כִּי</b>	161	48	108	2	3
" " " " <b>בָּ</b>	6	1	4	1	0
" " " " <b>לְ</b>	3	0	0	0	3
" " " " ,	8	0	7	0	1
Total No. instances,	178	49	119	3	4
In Asseverations and Denials with <b>כִּי</b> , <b>אַנְתָּה</b> we have					
<i>Imperfect in Protasis,</i>	59	0	59	0	0
<i>Perfect in Protasis,</i>	11	0	11	0	0
Verb omitted in <i>Protasis</i> ,	3	0	3	0	0
<b>כִּי</b> in <i>Protasis</i> ,	4	0	4	0	0
Total No. instances,	77	0	77	0	0
<i>Infinitive in Protasis after כִּי</i>	3	1	2	0	0
" " alone,	6	3	3	0	0
Total No. instances,	9	4	5	0	0
<i>Voluntative in Protasis after בְּ</i>	2	0	0	0	2
" " " ;	2	0	2	0	0
" " " alone,	71	0	69	1	1
Total No. instances,	75	0	71	1	3
<i>Modified Perfect in Protasis,</i>	38	4	31	3	0
<i>Modified Imperfect in Protasis,</i>	4	2	1	1	0
Total No. instances,	42	6	32	4	0

## RECAPITULATION.

VERBAL FORMS.	No. of Instances.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	-
<i>Imperative in Protasis,</i> - -	531	47	442	28	14	—
<i>Perfect</i> " - -	245	60	130	15	40	—
<i>Participle</i> " - -	39	7	26	1	5	—
<i>Verb omitted</i> " - -	185	49	126	3	7	—
<i>Infinitive</i> " - -	9	4	5	0	0	—
<i>Voluntative</i> " - -	75	0	71	1	3	—
<i>Mod. Perfect</i> " - -	38	4	31	3	0	—
<i>Mod. Imperfect</i> " - -	4	2	1	1	0	—
Total No. of instances, - -	1,126	173	832	52	69	—

An examination of the forms used in the *Apodosis* will give us the following Summary:

## VERBAL FORMS IN APODOSIS.

VERBAL FORMS.	No. of Instances	I.	II.	III.	IV.	-
<i>Imperfect in Apodosis,</i> - -	381	33	277	37	32	—
<i>Perfect</i> " - -	101	62	17	4	19	—
<i>Participle</i> " - -	21	3	16	1	1	—
<i>Apodosis omitted</i> " - -	108	2	95	0	9	—
<i>Verb omitted</i> " - -	93	44	42	4	4	—
<i>Voluntative</i> " - -	167	0	166	0	1	—
<i>Mod. Perfect</i> " - -	233	10	218	5	1	—
<i>Mod. Imperfect</i> " - -	22	19	1	1	2	—
Total No. of instances, - -	1,126	173	832	52	69	—

Dr. Pick's paper will be found in the December proceedings.

# Journal, December, 1882.\*

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## The New Testament Witness to the Authorship of Old Testament Books.

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BY PROF. FRANCIS BROWN.

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A careful examination of this subject seems to be demanded by the conflicting and equally positive statements current in regard to it.  
*E. g.:*

Turpie, (*The New Testament View of the Old*, London, 1872), who has given the matter the fullest consecutive treatment, assumes, almost without argument, that the language of the New Testament is decisive of questions of authorship, in the case of many important books of the Old Testament. Thus, (p. 124), when speaking of Rom. x. 20, 21,—“Isaiah is very bold and saith”—the citation being from Is. lxx. 1, 2,—he remarks: “Paul thus lets us know the source whence the quotations are drawn. They are taken from Isaiah. Isaiah spake them.” On p. 130, he says: “The formula *Ιαβεὶδ λέγει*, ‘David says,’ followed by quotations from several Psalms, *viz.*, xvi., xxxii., lxix., and cx., shows us that he was the writer of them.” On p. 158, we read: “From our Lord’s words, then, ‘Have ye not read in the Book of Moses at the bush,’ [Ex. xii. 26], I infer that Moses is set forth as the author of the Pentateuch.” Similar remarks occur elsewhere in Turpie’s book.

Prof. W. H. Green, D. D., says, (*Moses and the Prophets*, p. 345): “The history and legislation of the Pentateuch lies at the basis of all the subsequent history of the Old Testament. It is presupposed in

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\* The paper of the Rev. Dr. Craven has not been received.

the Psalms. It is presupposed in the prophets. Moses' authorship has the explicit sanction of our blessed Lord himself."

In our popular religious literature, this argument is dwelt on with great emphasis.

On the other hand, there are other persons, of excellent Christian reputation, who are committed to the opinion that these questions are not settled by New Testament evidence. One of the most emphatic statements to this effect is from the pen of Prof. E. Benj. Andrews, of Brown University, (*Hebrew Student*, Dec., 1882, p. 100): "Let even Wellhausen's view be adopted: there are several ways in which, we are happy to think, every recorded utterance of Christ touching the Pentateuch might be explained in accord with the perfect truthfulness and supernatural character of his teachings."

The existence of opposite views on such an important matter may fairly justify a careful examination of the New Testament writings, with a view to deciding, if possible, which opinion is correct.

The examination proposes no further end than the simple testing of a particular argument. It is not an inquiry into the actual authorship of Old Testament books. Nor does it necessarily involve an answer to such an inquiry. For while it is true that if the New Testament argument is shown to be conclusive, the result will be to establish the authorship of the books in question, it is not true that the opposite decision would involve a denial of particular authorship. It would involve simply a denial that such particular authorship can be proved from the New Testament. For it is agreed on all hands, that the New Testament does not directly, and in terms, deny the particular authorship of any Old Testament book. It is perfectly conceivable, therefore, that the argument might be shown to be unavailable for the purpose for which it is employed, at the same time that the conclusions sought to be established by the argument were impregnable on other grounds. It is not the more general question as to the *facts* of authorship, but the more limited question as to the bearing of the New Testament argument, which now concerns us.

The inquiry is carefully to be distinguished from certain other more or less kindred questions with which it has been at times unfortunately confounded.

(a.) From questions as to the historical character of the Old Testament books, or any parts of them, and as to the New Testament witness to such character. For the purposes of our inquiry it might or might not be that such character is the fact, or that the New Testament proves it. That is a question by itself, and not involved in

the present discussion. So far as it may be necessary to take any position in the matter, the historical character of such Old Testament writings as claim to be history is here assumed.

(b.) From questions as to the inspiration, authority and canonicity of the Old Testament books, and as to the New Testament witness to these characteristics. These matters are fully and entirely assumed, at the outset of the discussion, and cannot, therefore, be raised in the progress of it.

(c.) From questions as to the inspiration, authority and canonicity of the New Testament books, and as to the binding force of teachings uttered by our Lord Jesus Christ, or by inspired men, and contained in the New Testament books. These matters, also, are fully and entirely assumed at the outset, so that whatever, on thorough examination, shall prove to rest on the authority of our Lord, or of the Holy Spirit speaking in and through inspired men, is thereby and at once raised out of the sphere of this discussion.

(d.) From all questions as to the meaning, interpretation, application, etc., of the Old Testament passages which are cited in the New.

We have simply to ask: What kind and degree of evidence is furnished by the New Testament as to the authorship of Old Testament books? It is plain that one may conceive of the evidence as being either conclusive, or non-conclusive; and if the latter, then as either purely negative evidence, or as presumptive evidence. If it is presumptive evidence, then the question as to authorship is not settled thereby, but must be finally decided in view of other testimony. This paper does not occupy itself, however, as has been already said, with other testimony, and it concerns us only to notice that it is perfectly conceivable that testimony from other sources may be such as to confirm any presumptive evidence which the New Testament may furnish, or, on the other hand, such as to destroy the weight of the presumption, and prove the opposite.

It remains only to add, as a last preliminary remark, that in the examination of passages in detail, while the importance of distinguishing between the language of Christ and that of the inspired New Testament men may easily be exaggerated, there is still some advantage in treating them separately.

The question before us is essentially one of exegesis, and we shall be prepared, in a few moments, to inquire as to the meaning of particular passages. The fact, however, that the number of passages is so small, may be regarded as one among several indications that it was not a prime object of the New Testament speakers and writers,

or of the Holy Spirit, presiding over its composition, to teach the authorship of Old Testament books.\*

Assistance has been derived, in making the above table, from Böhl's *Altestamentliche Citate*, and Turpie's *Old Testament in the New*. The number of citations is difficult to fix with accuracy. It is believed that the table is approximately correct.

On the other hand, it is not to be wondered at, that, living as we do in the midst of a venerable tradition in regard to the authorship of Old Testament books, the citations under the names of particular persons which the New Testament makes from the Old should lead us, antecedently to all detailed examination, to the inference that the writers and speakers who thus cite regarded the persons named as the authors of the books in which the words cited stand. The chief condition to the validity of this inference is the absence of evidence to the contrary. For it must be clear that the natural deduction from New Testament language, in the absence of contrary evidence, does not necessarily determine the question as to the natural deduction *in the face* of such evidence.

These considerations to some extent balance each other, and we leave them for the present behind, in order to inquire into the New Testament facts.

\* The following table will show how the case stands:

Genesis	is cited 28 times.	Under Moses'	name, o time.
Exodus	" " 33 "	" "	" 2 times.
Leviticus	" " 12 "	" "	" 1 time.
Deuteronomy	" " 41 "	" "	" 7 times.
1 and 2 Samuel	" " 3 (?) "	" Samuel's	" 1 (?) ti'e.
1 Kings	" " 2 "	" Author's	" o "
Job	" " 1 time.	" "	" o "
Psalms	" " 68 times.	" David's	" 10 times.
Proverbs	" " 6 "	" Author's	" o time.
Ecclesiastes	" " 1 time.	" "	" o "
Isaiah	" " 61 times.	" Isaiah's	" 17 times.
Jeremiah	" " 7 (?) "	" Jeremiah's	" 2 "
Hosea	" " 6 "	" Hosea's	" 1 time.
Joel	" " 2 "	" Joel's	" 1 "
Amos	" " 2 "	" Amos'	" o "
Micah	" " 1 time.	" Micah's	" o "
Habbakuk	" " 4 times.	" Habbakuk's	" o "
Haggai	" " 1 time.	" Haggai's	" o "
Zechariah's	" " 6 times.	" Zechariah's	" o "
Malachi	" " 5 "	" Malachi's	" o "

The following books of the Old Testament are, by citation or otherwise, connected in the New Testament with the names of particular men: Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy (name of Moses), Samuel (?), Psalms (name of David), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, Joel. Of these, Jeremiah's name occurs in such a connection but twice; those of Samuel (if at all), Daniel, Hosea and Joel, only once each. It will be convenient to begin with this group, following the order of the names in our English Bibles.

**SAMUEL.** Acts iii. 24: "All the prophets from Samuel and them that followed after, as many as have spoken they also told of these days." No Messianic prophecy is attributed to Samuel in the Old Testament, and it has accordingly been doubted whether there is reference here to any word or writing connected with his name. It might mean "from the days of Samuel," so that the first of the prophets referred to must have lived at or about the time of Samuel. But the earliest recorded prophecy from near that time is Nathan's, (2 Sam. vii. 12-16), and, when that was uttered, Samuel had been many years dead, (1 Sam. xxv. 1). The reference cannot be to the prophecies of David in the Psalms, for in that case we can hardly doubt that David himself, and not Samuel, would have been named. Further, although it may be said that Samuel was the founder of the order of prophets, it does not need an investigation of this matter to convince us that the words as they stand, on their most natural interpretation, include Samuel among those who testified of the Messianic times. The expression is a peculiar one: *καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν χαθεζῆς ὅστις ἐλάλησαν καὶ κατήγγειλαν τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας.* If the phrase *καὶ τῶν χαθεζῆς* is to be taken literally, the whole expression means, "the prophets from Samuel and [from] those who followed [him]"; for "Samuel" and "those who followed him" are in the same construction. More than this, they form one group, for the preposition is not repeated. An interpretation must therefore be found which will suit them both. If *ἀπὸ* denotes simply a prior limit of the time within which *οἱ προφῆται* prophesied, then *οἱ χαθεζῆς* are not represented as prophesying, any more than Samuel is. But if *οἱ χαθεζῆς* must certainly include Nathan and David. Nathan's prophecy (referred to above) is quite explicit, and David is repeatedly cited by Peter himself (who utters Acts iii. 4) as a prophet of the Messiah, so that it is utterly improbable that these should be ignored. But if *οἱ χαθεζῆς* are regarded as prophesying, then there is no exegetical ground for excluding Samuel from the same category. We may compare Luke xxiv. 27: *ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ*

*Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν*,—where the construction of the genitives is the same, and where the preposition is repeated, as it is not in Acts iii. 24; in this case there can be no doubt that the use made of Moses is identical in kind with the use made of all the prophets.

And if we regard the phrase as an inexact one, in which two constructions are mingled: (1.) "All the prophets, from Samuel on, as many as spoke," and (2.) "All the prophets, Samuel and the following, as many as spoke,"—still it is plain that (in 2) Samuel is included under the prophets who spoke, and the fact that such a mingling of the two constructions was possible, shows that Peter, or whoever is responsible for the precise form of the utterance as we have it, did not discriminate between "Samuel" and "the prophets," or between "Samuel" and "those who followed," in their respective functions.

It must be further observed that *ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν* does not, on the most natural interpretation, limit the *πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται*, (so that, e. g., Samuel might not be included), but rather emphasizes *πάντες*. For *ἐλάλησαν* must be taken in a general sense, to denote the utterance of prophecy, or perhaps, more exactly, of predictive prophecy. The meaning then is: "All the prophets—as many as exercised their prophetic functions in (predictive) utterance—told of these days." If we attempt to limit the meaning of *ἐλάλησαν* to Messianic prediction, then a tautology results; and no one will maintain that *ἐλάλησαν* can be used in mere contrast with prophets who wrote, or prophets who were silent. Those, then, who "told of these days" are the same persons who "spoke," and these are the same with "all the prophets," including "Samuel and those who followed." Doubtless the statement of the verse, thus understood, is hyperbolical, because there were some persons, e. g., Elijah, Elisha, Nahum, and many besides, who were prophets, and who "spoke," but who did not, so far as we are aware, "tell of these days." But this does not warrant us in supposing that the one prophet whose name is expressly mentioned, is to be classed among those who are thus, in the use of hyperbole, ignored.

But if Samuel uttered no Messianic prophecy, and is yet included among those who did utter such prophecies, there is no reasonable explanation of this, except that he is so included because the book which goes by his name contains such a prophecy, and we should understand the reference to Samuel to be at bottom a reference to the words of Nathan, 2 Sam. vii. 12–16,—the one great Messianic proph-

ccy of the book. Now, just as little as Peter, on this interpretation, would intend to say that Samuel was the original speaker of the words which Nathan actually spoke, would he necessarily imply, or be understood to imply, that Samuel wrote the book which bears his name. For the object of using the name of Samuel would be to identify the prophecy. And whatever cause, independent of his actual authorship of it, might lead to the connection of Samuel's name with this book, that cause, or the resulting habit of so connecting book and name, would suffice to explain Peter's use of the name to designate the book. If, e. g., it were commonly called "Book of Samuel," or "Samuel," because Samuel was a prominent figure in it, then Peter would not imply that Samuel wrote it, when he used this name for it. As a matter of fact, intelligent Bible-students, who now use the name do not mean by it "the book which Samuel wrote," but simply "the book which goes by Samuel's name." It is as a mere title that the term is employed, as in the case of "the Books of Kings" and other anonymous writings of the Old Testament. There cannot, therefore, be even a fair presumption in favor of the view that if Peter here refers, as he probably does, to the "Book of Samuel," under the name of "Samuel," he thereby implies that Samuel wrote the book to which he refers.

**JEREMIAH.** Matt. ii. 17 and xxvii. 9. The introductory formula is the same in each case : *Tότε ἐπλήρωθη τὸ μῆνον διὰ Ἱερευίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος.* It is true that there are some variant readings to Matt. xxvii. 9, but these, it is well known, are of insignificant authority. (See Westcott and Hort, *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 18.)

We are all familiar with the efforts of commentators to reconcile this undoubted reading with the equally indubitable fact that in the Prophecies attributed to Jeremiah, in the Old Testament, no such passage occurs,—the citation is manifestly from Zech. xi. 12, 13. Such efforts are the attempts to show, e. g., that Zechariah is simply repeating and enlarging prophecies of Jeremiah (xviii., xix.), (Hengstenberg); that Matthew cites from some lost writing of Jeremiah (so from Origen, various Comm.); or an orally transmitted prophecy uttered by Jeremiah (Calovius); or that Jeremiah headed the collection of prophets, and the whole collection was therefore called by his name (Lightfoot and others); or that a mistake in writing occurred when the Gospel was first issued (Morrison). The recognition of the baseless character of all these attempts leads Turpie to the thoroughly consistent (if not original) view, "that Jeremiah really

did write that portion of Zechariah's book whence the quotation is made," (*i. e.* chap. ix.-xi.). Now this involves, not only the di-  
membership of the book of Zechariah, but also one of two other things: either there was a genuine and trustworthy tradition connecting these prophecies with Jeremiah's name,—a tradition which has strangely vanished from all other testimony which we possess, and appears only in this incidental mention in Matthew,—in which case it is impossible to understand why these prophecies were not from an early time attributed to Jeremiah, and united with his other prophecies; or the true authorship was expressly revealed to Matthew, and to him alone, in which case there would be an apparently purposeless and useless breaking through of the general principle already noticed, namely, that questions of authorship were not prominent concerns of revelation;—purposeless and useless, unless it can be shown to be of great consequence to the bearing of the prophecy on the case to which it is applied, that it should have been from Jeremiah and no other. The hypothesis is thus not to be entertained unless we are prepared to deny the rights of exegetical science and the efficacy of exegetical methods in interpreting the Scriptures. And yet this appears to be the most nearly tenable view of all those that have been mentioned. For if the words *τὸν ἥγθεν διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντας* are of sufficient importance to occasion any difficulty, they must be taken in their real meaning, *i. e.*, "that which was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet, saying" (= "who said" or "when he said"). The views of Hengstenberg and Lightfoot do not satisfy these words; the view of Morrison would destroy all confidence in the New Testament text; and the views of Origen and Calovius are even less likely to be right than that which Turpie maintains, since it is easier to suppose that Jeremiah wrote Zech. ix.-xi. than to suppose that words which occur with such an approximate accuracy in Zech. xi. 12, 13 occurred also, and originally, in some otherwise unknown written or spoken utterance of Jeremiah. But the only reason for adopting either of these views is the supposed necessity of giving a literal force and binding authority to the words *τὸν ἥγθεν διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντας*. Before we decide that this supposed necessity is a sufficient reason for resorting to such frail explanations, it is well to remind ourselves that the case before us does not stand quite alone in the New Testament. Whether the reference to Isaiah, in Mark i. 2, is at all similar, need not now be decided; that passage will be considered in another connection. But there is a nearly parallel instance in the Epistle of Jude. Jude 14, 15, we read:

'And to these also Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, Behold, the Lord came with ten thousands of his holy ones, Gr. *τὸν ἀγίαν μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ*], to execute judgment upon all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness which they have ungodly wrought, and of all the hard things which ungodly ~~men~~ have spoken against him.' The introductory formula of quotation is here: 'Ἐπροφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις ἐρδομος ἀπὸ Αδὰμ ἵνῳ λέγων, in which, although the divine origin of the prophecy is not brought out as it is in τὸ βῆθεν διὰ Ἰερεμίου, the human authorship is even more distinctly asserted. The demand to either accept or explain away the statement as to Jeremiah involves, *à fortiori*, the same demand as to Enoch. But in the latter case none of the explanations attempted in the former case can by any means apply. One of the alternatives would here be still more violent. We should have to say that either Enoch, seventh from Adam, did actually utter his prophecy which Jude records, or Jude's book is not authoritative, and ought to go out of the canon. Now the canonicity of Jude is firmly established, so that interpreters have been pressed toward the first alternative. But in fact we find the passage which Jude cites in the pseudepigraphical Book of Enoch I. 9. We append three translations of that original passage:

*De Sacq.*—(Cf. Magasin Encyclopédique, VI., i. 382), cited in Huther's Comm. on Jude, 4th Germ. ed., 1877, Eng. trans., 1881: "Et venit cum myriadibus sanctorum, ut faciat judicium super eos, et perdat impios et litigat cum omnibus carnalibus pro omnibus quae fecerunt et operati sunt contra eum peccatores et impii."

*Dillmann.*—(Das Buch Henoch, 1853): "Und siehe er kommt mit Myriaden von Heiligen, um Gericht über sie zu halten, und wird die Gottlosen vermichten und rechten mit allem Fleisch über Alles, was die Sünder und die Gottlosen gagen ihn gethan und begangen haben."

*Schodde.*—(Book of Enoch, 1882): "And behold he comes with Myriads of the holy to pass judgment upon them, and will destroy the impious, and will call to account all flesh for everything the sinners and the impious have done and committed against him."

Now, if these words, which are thus referred to a period antedating the Christian era by only a little, are cited by Jude, as they are, under the name of Enoch, and if the alternative forced upon us is, either to consider them an actual utterance of Enoch, the ancient patriarch, or to look upon Jude as an untruthful—and hence uncanonical—book, probably no sober scholar would hesitate to decide

in favor of the latter. But if we are not willing to accept this alternative, then we must be willing to take the position that the formula of quotation in Jude 14 does not oblige us to consider the patriarch Enoch the actual author of the words there quoted. But the neither does the formula of quotation in Matt. xxvii. 9 oblige us to consider the prophet Jeremiah the actual author of the words there quoted.\*

Some may perhaps claim that while Jude quotes from the Book of Enoch, and gives it a certain authority, he yet writes in the full consciousness of the pseudonymic character of its title, and that his hearers are aware of this also, so that he is not mistaken in the matter, and they are not misled. To this it might be replied: (1.) Such a thing is indeed not inconceivable, and as one among several possibilities it might be allowed to stand; but as the only ground upon which a defence of Jude could be based, it is insufficient. There is no evidence in favor of it except the supposed necessity of having it true. And little as we can believe that the Book of Enoch contained prophecies 3,000 years older than itself, just as little can we affirm that men in the first Christian century, even if they knew of the comparatively recent origin of the book, were sure that it did *not* contain such prophecies. If Jude himself thought this might be the case, then his words express this opinion; if his readers thought so, then his words would confirm them in their belief. In the absence of testimony on this point, we cannot make the possibility of their greater enlightenment into the corner-stone of our own faith. (2.) The straightforwardness and the precise shape of the citation-formula are opposed to the view that the book cited was believed to be pseudepigraphical with no genuine contents. (3.) It is difficult to see on what ground Jude could regard the book as authoritative, and therefore fit to be cited, if he held it to be a pseudepigraph, of which no part was genuine, since it certainly was not regarded as one of the sacred, canonical books. (4.) That he did so, or even may have done so, ought least of all to be claimed by those who are strenuous

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\* The composition and date of the Book of Enoch present questions too complicated, and requiring too elaborate discussion, for an examination here. It is sufficient for our purposes to say that the book seems to be a Jewish work, put together from several distinct documents of the second and first centuries B. C., with some Christian interpolations. The absence of any allusion to the menacing armies of Rome indicates that the latest portions cannot be put far down in the first century A. D.

for the conclusiveness of New Testament statements as to the authorship of Old Testament books, for the same arguments can be used upon the other side, under far more favorable conditions, as we shall presently see.

It would therefore be unsafe to rest any important interest upon the possibility of such a distinction between the use of the citation-formulas in Jude 14 and Matt. xxvii. 9, as that just suggested. Another distinction is of more consequence, but it bears in the opposite direction. If, as is altogether probable, Jude supposes himself to be citing words of Enoch, we should have to regard him as holding a wrong opinion. But if that may be, then much more may it be that the Evangelist, by a momentary oversight, attributed to Jeremiah words which, as a little reflection or reading would have shown him, belonged to Zechariah.

The result of the foregoing considerations should be to convince us that we need not hesitate to follow Augustine and Calvin, and the great body of candid, thorough modern commentators (De Wette, Meyer, Alford, Weiss, Keil, Plumptre, C. H. H. Wright (Comm. on Zechariah, p. 336), etc., etc.), in holding that there is here a slight error in the gospel, on a point which in no respect, even the most distant, affects the important teachings to be conveyed.

Now the introductory formula is just the same in Matt. ii. 17 as in Matt. xxvii. 9. It follows therefore: that if there were important evidence from other sources, tending to show that the words cited in the former passage were not spoken or written by Jeremiah, the presence of the formula of quotation would not oblige us to hold that they were. We find the words, in fact, in Jer. xxxi. 15, and there is no reason to believe that they are not genuine words of Jeremiah. If there were such a reason, however, the presence of the citation formula in Matt. ii. 17 would not destroy its force, for the general nature of the conclusion already reached as to the non-decisive character of the formula is as little affected by the presence or absence of positive evidence from other sources, as it is by the possible necessity of modifying our view as to the nature of the inaccuracy, in order to make it apply to both cases.\*

DANIEL. Matt. xxiv. 15. τὸν πρῆγμαν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου, followed by words which occur in Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11, cf. ix. 27. A

\*It is evident that if, in two (or more) instances, a writer wrongly attributed a citation to Jeremiah, his inaccuracy could hardly be attributed to a momentary oversight. The parallel would then be Jude's citation from Enoch.

new element is introduced in this passage, if the words of citation are really an utterance of Christ himself.\* Now, the assumption that Jesus might have been here in error would not satisfy those who argue most strenuously for the authenticity of Old Testament books on the ground of New Testament statements, nor ought it to satisfy them. For while we have indications in more than one place that Jesus did not know all things at all times (Ma. v. 30-32; xiii. 32, cf. Matt. xxiv. 36, etc.), still, we do not find him affirming that which he does not know, and we may confidently say—slightly modifying a fine remark of Rothe's (*Zur Dogmatik*. 2te Aufl. 1869, p. 175), “that Jesus never extended the sphere of his desire to know, and his belief that he knew, beyond the limits of what was actually known by him.” But the question still remains, whether Jesus does here commit himself to the authorship of the book of Daniel by a prophet of that name. It will be remembered that the passage cited in Matt. xxiv. 15 is from the second division of the book, a division which, with the exception of certain brief introductory notes, contains prophecies exclusively, and that this division is distinctly marked off from the preceding by the nature of its contents, and by the brief introduction, Dan. vii. 1. Now suppose evidence were to be presented from other quarters to show that while the book as a whole was not written by Daniel, the last six chapters contained prophecies of Daniel, which the later author had incorporated in his book. On that supposition, the words of Jesus, taken in their most rigid, literal meaning, would be perfectly satisfied.

We may go yet further. If other evidence should be adduced, tending to show that “Daniel, the prophet” was a pseudonym, still, there would be nothing in Jesus' use of the expression to commit him to any other view. For the words were certainly written, and written in the form of a prophecy, and were a prophecy, and the book containing them was an inspired, canonical, and authoritative book; the citation was therefore suitable and forcible, for Jesus' purposes, whoever the author may have been, and the use of a current pseudonym to designate the author no more committed Jesus to a

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\*It is very possible that these words, which are lacking in the parallel Ma. xiii. 14, are inserted here by the evangelist. (See, particularly, Weiss, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1876, p. 508.) In that case the formula — would be susceptible of the same treatment as the foregoing, in the event of the disproof, on the ground of other evidence, of Daniel's authorship. But it will be more satisfactory to treat it here as if it were certainly uttered by Jesus.

declaration that that was the author's real name, than our use of the expression "Junius says" would commit us to a declaration that the "Letters of Junius" were composed by a person of that name; or than, on the supposition already discussed, that "Enoch" was regarded as a pseudonym, Jude 14 would indicate the belief of the author that Enoch himself actually uttered the words which he quotes.\*

But it may be replied that the opinion held by the people of Jesus' time must be taken into account. That opinion must have been either countenanced or contradicted by him. Now the prevailing belief of the time was that Daniel was the author of the book which bears his name. Jesus did not contradict this belief; he thereby countenanced and lent his authority to it. In reply, it may be observed: (1.) In the absence of precise knowledge as to the belief of the time in regard to the authorship of the Book of Daniel, it is rash to affirm that those to whom Jesus spoke (it was, be it remembered, his disciples, who "came unto him privately," Matt. xxiv. 3), believed that Daniel was its author. The assertion is not sufficiently established to serve as the foundation for an argument. (2.) But even if it were shown to be true, it is an unwarranted inference that would commit Jesus to this belief. For we cannot venture to condition Jesus' own understanding of the words he employed, by the understanding of limited, prejudiced, ignorant hearers. If, however, we attempt to do so, we must be thoroughgoing. We must blot out John ii. 19, because Jesus speaks of destroying the temple, meaning thereby his body (ver. 21), while the Jews understand it of the temple of Herod. We must blot out Mark v. 39, and John xi. 11, because Jesus speaks of persons as sleeping, when they are really dead, and his words are literally understood, occasioning scornful laughter in one case, and relief in the other. We must expunge most of John viii. We must consent to lose all those parables of Jesus whose

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\* To assume that "Enoch" is used in Jude 14 as a pseudonym, affords a ground for assuming that "Daniel" may be so used, (if evidence from other quarters is adverse to his real authorship of the book which goes by his name), in Matt. xxiv. 15. But the fact that *Daniel* is a canonical and *Enoch* an uncanonical book, far from making it more difficult to suppose that the former is pseudonymous, makes it easier. For *Daniel* is canonical and authoritative because it is inspired,—whether *Daniel* wrote it or not,—while *Enoch*, being uncanonical, and lacking strong internal marks of inspiration, must have been considerably dependent for its authority upon the personal weight of its author.

moral lesson was not understood by the hearers. If Jesus, in these deeply significant utterances, exposed himself to utter misapprehension, and was in fact utterly misapprehended, and we take no offense, then there is no reason for seeing in the passage before us any violation of the law of truth, even if the words which Jesus employed to introduce the prophecy were understood by the listeners in a different sense from that in which he understood them. Indeed, there is far less reason in this case than in the others; for the subject of misunderstanding was of unspeakably less consequence,—the inspiration and authority of the citation being secure,—than the profound spiritual teachings referred to above.

We may go farther yet. Let us suppose that the belief of his hearers was to the effect that Daniel wrote the book which bears his name, and that this belief was wrong, and that Jesus knew it was wrong. If he had combatted deeply rooted opinion on this point, it might easily have raised a violent opposition, which would have embarrassed and perhaps thwarted him in his work, and would certainly have diverted thought from the main truths which he was concerned to teach. His work itself obliged him to combat deeply rooted opinions at many points; all the less was he called upon to arouse antagonism in regard to non-essentials. Certain cases of acquiescence in popular belief must indeed be regarded as countenancing that belief. We say, and say rightly, that Jesus could not have acquiesced in the belief about demoniacal possessions, unless that belief were well founded; otherwise his treatment of demoniacs was charlatany, and his teaching in connection with such treatment was deceptive. But the reference to Daniel does not in the least give peculiar support to the teachings connected with this reference, as long as we admit that a book may be inspired and authoritative, even if its author be unknown; and this we cannot deny without casting a goodly number of Old Testament books out of the canon. Since, therefore, there was no important issue connected with the matter before us, we shall hardly dare to hedge Jesus about with a restriction not set by an imperative moral judgment.

The conclusion is, that if other arguments should make it probable that Daniel was not the real author of the book bearing his name, or of the latter section of it, and even allowing that the words "through Daniel the prophet" are words of Jesus, Jesus is not thereby committed to an opposition to such other arguments.

**HOSEA.**—Rom. ix. 25, where the introductory words, *ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὶ λέγεται*, are followed by a citation from Hos. ii. 23, i. 10. God is represented as speaking “in Hosea” (not *διὰ τοῦ Ὡσηᾶ*), *i. e.*, in all probability, in the book known as “Hosea,” just as we have “in David” (Heb. iv. 7), and “Moses is read” (Acts xv. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 15). The name is nothing but the title or designation of the book, by which it is, or may be, commonly known. From this there is no necessary inference as to the writer’s position about the authorship of the book. (Cf. what said on this subject under **SAMUEL**.)

**JOEL.**—Acts ii. 16: *τοῦτο ἔστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωάννου*, followed by a citation from Joel ii. 28–32, (Heb., LXX., iii. 1–5). The case is here similar to that of “Jeremiah” in Matt. ii. 17. Here, as there, we shall have to say, in view of considerations already advanced, that while, as a matter of fact, there is no reason for doubting that these words were uttered by Joel, yet, if there were, the citation formula of Acts ii. 16 could not decide the matter in the face of such reason.

We pass to consider those New Testament passages which connect citations from the Old Testament with the names of David, Isaiah, and Moses.

**DAVID.**—The following passages fall into the same category with those which cite Jeremiah and Joel, (see above):\*

Acts i. 16. *διὰ στόματος Ιωακείου*, followed in v. 20 by citations from Ps. Ixix. 26, cix. 8.

Acts iv. 25. *διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου στόματος Ιωακείου*, followed by a citation from Ps. ii. 1, ff.

Rom. iv. 6. *Ιωακείον λέγεται*, with citation from Ps. xxxii. 1, ff.

Rom. xi. 9. *Ιωακείον λέγεται*, with citation from Ps. Ixix. 23.

The following resembles the citation from Hosea, given above: Heb. iv. 7: *ἐν Ιωακείῳ λέγεται*, with citation from Ps. xciv. 8.

Somewhat different is Acts ii. 25: *Ιωακείῳ γὰρ λέγεται εἰς αὐτόν*, with citation from Ps. xvi. 8–11; here, v. 29 seems to make the person of David important, and to throw emphasis upon his authorship of the words cited. So also:

Acts ii. 34: *λέγεται δὲ αὐτός*, with citation from Ps. cx. 1, where the preceding words, *οὐ γὰρ Ιωακείῳ ἀξέρη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς*, make David’s person important to the argument.

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\* See, also, foot-note to p. 106.

Peter seems to be thus committed to the Davidic authorship of the Psalms which he here quotes,—Ps. xvi, and cx.

There is some likeness between the cases just noted and the single citation which Jesus connects with David's name. It is from Ps. cx. 1, and is recorded by all the Synoptists:

Matt. xxii. 43. πῶς οὖν ἀ. ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν χύριον, λέγων, etc.

Ver. 45. εἰ οὖν ἀ. καλεῖ αὐτὸν χύριον, etc.

Mark xii. 36. αὐτὸς ἀ. εἰπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀγίῳ, etc.

Ver. 37. αὐτὸς ἀ. λέγει αὐτὸν χύριον, etc.

Luke xx. 42. αὐτὸς γάρ ἀ. λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ Ψαλμῶν, etc.

Ver. 44. ἀ. οὖν αὐτὸν χύριον καλεῖ, etc.

In these passages the argument turns upon the assumption that David, and none other, uttered the words cited, so that, by a literal and rigid interpretation we should reach the conclusion that Jesus countenanced the Davidic authorship of Ps. cx. The question, however, has been raised more than once, and is a fair one, whether Jesus may not here have been employing the beliefs of his opponents for the purpose of convicting them of an imperfect understanding of their own sacred books, or an imperfect conception of the Messiah. If so, then there is here no commitment of Jesus to the Davidic authorship of Ps. cx.; and while the same argument cannot be used in regard to Acts ii. 34, the number of passages which authoritatively connect David's name with Ps. cx. would be reduced from four to one.

**ISAIAH.** The following passages fall into the same category with those which cite Jeremiah and Joel:\*

Matt. iii. 3. διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, with citation from Is. xl. 3.

Matt. iv. 14. *id.*, with citation from Is. ix. 1 ff.

Matt. viii. 17. *id.*, with citation from Is. liii. 4.

Matt. xiii. 17. *id.*, with citation from Is. xlvi. 1-4.

Luke iii. 4. ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, with citation from Is. xl. 3-5.

Luke iv. 17. βίβλων τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίου, with citation from Is. lxi. 1 ff. This and the preceding seem to belong here rather than in the category of "Hosea" (see above).

John i. 23. καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαῖας ὁ προφῆτης, with citation from Is. xliv. 3.

\*See also foot note to page 106.

John xii. 38. ἵνα δὲ λόγος Ὡσείου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ ὃν εἶπεν,  
with citation from Is. liii. 1.

John xii. 39, 41. εἶπεν Ὡσείας, with citation from Is. vi. 9 ff.

Acts viii. 28, 30. ἀνεγίνωσκεν τὸν προφήτην Ὡσείαν, with citation  
from Is. liii. 7. This probably belongs here, rather than with  
“Hosea” (see above).

Acts xxviii. 25. διὰ Ὡσείου τοῦ προφήτου, with citation from Is.  
~~vi.~~ vii. 9 ff.

Rom. ix. 27. Ὡσείας δὲ χράζεται, with citation from Is. x. 22 ff.

Rom. ix. 29. προείρηκεν Ὡσείας, with citation from Is. i. 9.

Rom. x. 16. Ὡσείας γάρ λέγεται, with citation from Is. liii. 1.

Rom. x. 20. Ὡσείας δὲ ἀποτολμᾶται λέγεται, with citation from Is.  
~~xxv.~~ xv. 1 ff.

Rom. xv. 12. Ὡσείας λέγεται, with citation from Is. xi. 10.

The following are utterances of Jesus, and belong to the same  
category with the passage which cites Daniel (see above):

Matt. xiii. 14.\* ἡ προφητεία Ὡσείου ἡ λέγουσα, with citation from  
Is. vi. 9 ff.

Matt. xv. 7. ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ὡσείας λέγων, with citation  
from Is. xxix. 13.

Mark vii. 6. ἐπροφήτευσεν Ὡσείας . . . ὡς γέγραπται δέ, fol-  
lowed by a citation from Is. xxix. 13.

Thus far, there is nothing which determines the question for us,  
whether Isaiah was the author of the book which bears his name, or  
of this or that portion of it.

But a passage yet to be examined, not only fails to reverse this de-  
cision, but strengthens the argument upon which it is in large part  
based.

This passage is Mark i. 2: γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ὡσείῳ τῷ προφήτῃ,  
followed first, by a citation from Mal. iii. 1, and then by a citation  
from Is. xl. 3. If the citation from Malachi were not present, the  
clause would offer no difficulty, but might be classed, either with  
“Jeremiah” and “Joel” or with “Hosea.” But as the text stands,  
and there is no sufficient reason for questioning it, †—the author  
apparently cites words of Malachi as words of Isaiah. There are

\* It is quite likely, however, that the parallel, Mark iv. 12, where no prophet is named, reports Jesus' words more accurately. (See, especially, Weiss, *Marcusevangelium*, p. 145, and *Matthäusevangelium*, p. 341). In that case Ὡσείου belongs here to the Evangelist, and the passage falls into the category of Jeremiah and Joel.

† In BDL Vulg. Orig. and all critical edd.

three classes of attempts to explain this difficulty away. One seeks to do so by dwelling on the appropriateness of including the whole range of prophecy, "from Isaiah to Malachi," in the prediction about Christ's Forerunner. But surely that is a design which would need to be expressed with some clearness, if it were to accomplish its result. Another tries to account for the insertion of the citation from Malachi on the ground that it prepared the way for the right understanding of the passage from Isaiah. But Isaiah's prophecy is more concrete and intelligible in its application to John, than the other. Neither does a commentary generally precede the text it is designed to explain. This cannot be the relation of the two cited passages. Another tries a mechanical explanation; Turpie (p. 52) gives a crude form of this: "*ἐν τῷ Ἡσίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ*" would thus be the name of the book from which Mark quotes, which might contain more writings than Isaiah's only. Now, may we not suppose, then, that Isaiah's name was given to a division of the sacred writings, because his name was placed first in it, or for some other reason, and that Mark consequently described the division by its usual well-known name?" We might refute Turpie by Turpie, for he says elsewhere (p. 158), that "the four last books of the Pentateuch were named 'the book of Moses,' not because they tell the story of his life [or 'for some other reason?'] but because he wrote them." But we may be permitted, further, to wonder what has become of all the (doubtless) abundant testimony which must, on Turpie's theory, have once been extant, to the effect that of "a division of the sacred writings" which contained Isaiah and Malachi, Isaiah was the "usual and well-known name?" So every supposition as to a possible explanation from the heading of the MSS. of the Minor Prophets is devoid of proof. The substitution of יִשְׁעֵיהּ for עַזְּזָה, or ἩΣΑΙΑΣ for ΟΣΙΕ needs some evidence if it is to be accepted.

Neither is it possible to ignore the difficulty altogether. If Mark had been, as he wrote, conscious of the fact that Isaiah was not the author of the first citation, he could not have expressed himself as if Isaiah were the author. No Englishman or American with a clear remembrance of what were Shakespeare's words and what Milton's could write:

"As Milton says:

" 'Mark you this, Bassanio,——  
The devil can quote Scripture for his purpose.'"  
" 'But all was false and hollow, though his tongue  
Dropped manna; and could make the worse appear

The better reason, to perplex and dash  
Maturest counsels.'"—(Parad. Lost, ii. 112, ff.)

We conclude that the citation-formula is here not an authoritative guide to the real authorship of the words which immediately follow, and it is thus all the more evident that the argument in the case of "Jeremiah" was correct, and that there is no conclusive evidence from the New Testament as to the authorship of the book which bears Isaiah's name.\*

We have now, in the last place, to turn our attention to the Pentateuch. The name of Moses occurs some eighty times in the New Testament, but the number of passages to be considered does not exactly coincide with this, since the name of Moses is sometimes repeated in the same immediate connection. We have fifty-eight New Testament passages to examine, and these may be classified as follows, using the words of the Revised Version for convenience sake, on account of the length of some of the citations:

(1.)—WORDS OF JESUS.

(a.) Referring to acts of Moses:

1. John iii. 14. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness.
2. John vi. 32. It was not Moses that gave you the bread out of heaven.

(b.) Referring to Moses as lawgiver, in general:

1. Matt. xxiii. 2. The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat.

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\* The question as to how the mistake occurred need not here be elaborately discussed. Meyer attributes it to an error of memory on Mark's part, resulting from the similarity in contents of the two passages, their frequent employment in the same connection, and the more prominent place and richer contents of Isaiah's prophecies. If Mark wrote on the basis of earlier documents, then we might suppose that Matthew, who gives the two citations in different places (Is. xl. 3, attributed to Isaiah, Matt. iii. 3, and Mal. iii. 1, attributed to no one, Matt. xi. 10), shows us their original connection, and that Mark, who does not elsewhere cite Old Testament prophecies, has combined them. It would then be intelligible, that in writing, where there is always the possibility of a more or less mechanical error, when the words of older documents are combined, both citations should be attributed to the famous prophet, to whom the second was attributed by Matthew, and presumably in the document which Mark had before him.

2. John vii. 19. Did not Moses give you the law?  
Or as giver of particular laws:
3. Matt. viii. 4. Offer the gift that Moses commanded.  
(Law for purification of leper, Lev. xiv.)
4. Mark i. 44. *Id.*
5. Luke v. 14. *Id.*
6. Matt. xix. 8. Moses . . . suffered you to put away your wives. (Ref. to Deut. xxiv., 1ff.)
7. Mark vii. 10. Moses said, Honor thy father and thy mother. (Ref. to Ex. xx. 12, or Deut. v. 16.)
8. John vii. 22, 23. For this cause hath Moses given you circumcision (not that it is of Moses, but of the fathers).  
. . . If a man receives circumcision on the Sabbath, that the law of Moses may not be broken. (Ref. to Levit. xii. 3.)

(c.) Speaking of the Book of Moses, Law of Moses, or "Moses" (=Book of Moses):

1. Mark xii. 26. Have ye not read in the book of Moses, in *the place concerning* the Bush? (Ref. to Ex. iii. 6.)
  2. Luke xvi. 29, 31. Moses and the prophets.
  3. Luke xxiv. 44. All things . . . which are written in the law of Moses.
- (d.) Citing words on the (oral or written) authority of Moses:
1. Mark x. 3, 5. What did Moses command you? . . . For your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment. (Parallel with Matt. xix. 8.)
  2. Luke xx. 37. Moses shewed, in *the place concerning* the Bush, when he calleth the Lord God the God of Abraham. (Parallel with Mark xii. 26.)
  3. John v. 45-47. There is one that accuseth you, *even* Moses, on whom ye have set your hope. For if ye believed Moses ye would believe me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?

Here are sixteen passages. The two under (a.) have no bearing on our question. Neither have the eight under (b.). For to say that Moses gave the law, or certain laws, is not to say that he himself wrote down the law, or these laws, still less that he wrote the Pentateuch, which contains the laws and much besides. The three passages under (c.) are inconclusive for the same reason that "Hosea" —

(Rom. ix. 25) is inconclusive as to the authorship of the Old Testament book which goes by the name of that prophet. (See above, under **HOSEA**.) Under (d.), Mark x. 3, 5 is satisfied by the supposition that Moses wrote what Deut. xxxi. 9 (cf. v. 24) says he wrote; but this is not even equivalent to the whole book of Deuteronomy, still less to the whole Pentateuch. Luke xx. 37 need not express anything more than that Moses was authority for the account of the scene at the Bush, without involving his authorship of the book or document containing the account, still less of the Pentateuch as a whole.\* In John v. 45-47, we find mention of Moses as having written, and of writings of Moses, familiar, as such, to the Jews. These writings are considered under the aspect of prophecy concerning Christ. Now whether we regard the expressions, "he wrote of me," and "his writings," as referring to a single prophecy contained in the writings, or to several single prophecies, or to the whole prophetic tenor or the writings, the passage does not teach the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. If it were highly probable, on other grounds, that Moses wrote Genesis, and nothing more, we could not from this passage prove that he wrote anything more, except by denying the Messianic character of Gen. iii. 15, or xii. 3. If it were highly probable, on other grounds, that Moses wrote Deuteronomy and nothing more, we could not from this passage prove that he wrote anything more, except by denying the Messianic character of Deut. xviii. 15-19. If it were highly probable, on other grounds, that Moses wrote only some part of the middle books of the Pentateuch, our passage would not stand in the way, unless the part so attributed to him should contain nothing which could be regarded as prophecy, whether direct or typical, of the Messiah.

The language of Jesus is therefore inconclusive.

#### (2).—WORDS OF INSPIRED MEN.

(a.) Referring to acts of Moses, or Moses as a historical character:

1. Matt. xvii. 3, 4. Transfiguration.
2. Mark ix. 4, 5. *Id.*
3. Luke ix. 30, 33. *Id.*
4. Rom. v. 14. †Death reigned from Adam until Moses.

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\* Neither ought the probability to be overlooked, that Mark has given the more accurate form of Jesus' words. (See Weiss, *Marcusevangelium*, p. 399.)

†This passage might possibly fall under (b.).

- 5 Rom. viii. 15. For we shall ~~be~~<sup>not</sup> Moses. (Ref. to Ex. xxxiii. 19.) (c) —
- 6 Cor. iii. 12. Let not ~~any~~<sup>one</sup> boast ~~unto~~<sup>of</sup> Moses . . .
- 7 Cor. iii. 13. Could not look steadily upon the face of Moses . . . And are not as Moses, ~~who~~<sup>were</sup> put a veil —
- upon his face? Ref. to Ex. xxxiv. 29, f. —
- 8 Tim. i. 17. As James and Jambres ~~withstood~~<sup>were against</sup> Moses . . .
- 9 Hebr. xi. 5. Ethan . . . as also was Moses . . . And Moses in-—
- Worshiped more glory than Moses . . . And Moses in-—
- 9 Geet was Ethan.
- 10 Hebr. xi. 16. They that came out of Egypt by Moses. —
- 11 Hebr. viii. 5. Moses is warned of God. (Ref. to Ex. xiv. 40, and xxv. 36) —
- 12 Hebr. viii. 5, et al. By faith Moses, when he was born, etc. —
- Ref. to Ex. ii. 10, f.; xii. 21, etc.
- 13 Hebr. viii. 21. Moses said I exceedingly fear and quake. —
- 14 Jude 9. Disputed about the body of Moses. —
- Some of these passages are difficult to explain, historically, (e.g., 2 Tim. ii. 8; Hebr. viii. 21; Jude 9), but it is not at all difficult to see that they have in bearing on the authorship of the Pentateuch.
- (a.) Referring to Moses as lawgiver.
1. Luke xv. 22. Purification according to the law of Moses. —
  - Ref. to Lev. xii. 2
  2. John i. 17. The law was given by Moses. —
  3. Acts xvi. 39. Could not be justified by the law of Moses. —
  4. Acts vii. 21, <sup>+</sup>. Thou teachest all the Jews . . . to for-  
sake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children,  
neither to walk after the customs. —
  5. Hebr. vii. 14. Judah, as to which tribe Moses spake nothing  
concerning priests. —
  6. Hebr. x. 26. A man that hath set at nought Moses' law dieth.  
(Ref. to Deut. xxxii. 2-7). —
  7. Hebr. ix. 19, 20, <sup>+</sup>. When every commandment had been  
spoken by Moses unto all the people according to the law,  
he took the blood of the calves and the goats, . . . say-  
ing, This is the blood of the covenant, etc. —
- (c.) Referring to the Law of Moses, and "Moses" (=Book of Moses):
1. Luke xxiv. 27. Beginning from Moses and all the prophets. —
  2. Acts xv. 21. Moses . . . hath in every city them that  
preach him, being read in the synagogues. —

\* We do not raise the question whether this utterance should be re-garded as inspired.

† Ver. 19<sup>b</sup> might be classed under (a.), and ver. 20.

- 3. Acts xxviii. 23. Persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the law of Moses, etc.
- 4. 1 Cor. ix. 9. It is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, etc. (Ref. to Deut. xxv. 4.)
- 5. 2 Cor. iii. 15. Whensoever Moses is read.

The seven passages under (b.), and the five under (c.) are thus all inconclusive. (See above.)

(d.) Citing words on the (oral or written) authority of Moses:

- 1. Acts iii. 22, 23. Moses indeed said. (Ref. to Deut. xviii. 15, ff.)
- 2. Acts vii. 37. This is that Moses which said. (*Id.*)
- 3. Acts xxvi. 22. What the prophets and Moses did say should come.
- 4. Rom. x. 5. Moses writeth that the man that doeth the righteousness. (Ref. to Levit. xviii. 5.)
- 5. Rom. x. 19. Moses saith. (Ref. to Deut. xxxii. 21.)

1, 2 and 5 under (d.) affirm that Moses said what Deuteronomy says he said; 3 belongs with John v. 45-47, (see above); 4 may be classed with the citations from Jeremiah and Joel, already discussed, or may refer to some document or portion of the Pentateuch.

(e.) Coming under none of the previous heads is Rev. xv. 3. They sing the song of Moses,—*i. e.*, a new song, of which Moses is author, or joint-author.

The thirty-two passages thus considered are all inconclusive.

But it may be said that the current belief of the time was that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. Jesus and his apostles used words *susceptible* of that interpretation, and must have been understood as countenancing that view. But this they could not have permitted, if the view was wrong.

The reply, as in the case of Daniel (see above), is twofold:

*First.* It is by no means absolutely certain that the current belief of the time, in Palestine, made Moses the author of the Pentateuch. The Pentateuch itself certainly makes no direct assertion of this,\* neither is there anything, from Joshua to Malachi, which tends to show that Moses wrote anything more than the Pentateuch says he wrote.† The case is the same with the Apocryphal Books of the Old

\*The passages in which it is said or clearly implied that Moses wrote something are these Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 4, xxxiv. 27, 28; Num. xxxiii. 2; Deut. xxxi. 9, 19, 22, 24.

†There are references in plenty to Moses as lawgiver, to the "Law of Moses," "Book of the Law of Moses," and "Book of Moses," but we have already seen how entirely inconclusive these expressions are as to the authorship of the Pentateuch.

Testament. Down to the very time of Christ there is no evidence that the Jews believed Moses to have written the Pentateuch as a whole. The view comes first to light with Philo and Josephus, in the first Christian century.\* But Philo does not stand in the line of *Palestinian* tradition, and it may be doubted whether Josephus does. At all events, it is difficult to understand how, if the *Palestinian* Jews believed that Moses gave the Pentateuch the literary form which it had in their time, the *Palestinian* author of IV. Ezra (xiv. 9 ff.) could—also in the first century—represent Ezra as putting the Pentateuch, by his restoration of it, into the literary form in which the author and his contemporaries knew it,—without a single mention of Moses, or allusion to him as the original author. The often-cited passage of the Bababathrā; 14<sup>b</sup>, where Moses is said to have written “his book” (—Pentateuch), except the last eight verses,—differing in this important exception from Philo and Josephus—is too late to determine the question as to the belief of Christ's time.†

In the New Testament itself there are twelve passages in which the name of Moses is employed by uninspired persons:

(a.) Moses as lawgiver:

1. Matt. xix. 5. Why did Moses command to give a bill of divorcement? (Ref. to Deut. xxiv. 1.)
1. Matt. xxii. 24. Moses said, If a man die, etc. (Ref. to Deut. xxv. 5.)
3. Mark x. 4.—Matt. xix. 5.
4. John [viii. 5]. In the law, Moses commanded us to ston[e] such. (Ref. to Levit. xx. 10.)
5. Acts vi. 1. Change the customs which Moses delivered unto us.
6. Acts xv. 1. Be circumcised after the custom of Moses. (Ref. to Levit. xii. 3, etc.)
7. Acts xv. 5. Keep the law of Moses.

(b.) Moses as object of personal veneration:

1. John ix. 28, 29. We are disciples of Moses . . . we know that God hath spoken unto Moses.
2. Acts vi. 11. Blasphemous words against Moses.

(c.) Moses as a writer:

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\*E. g., Philo, *Vita Mos.* ii. 8, iii. 39, etc. Josephus *Pref. Antiq.* i. 1, 1; iv. 8, 48; xvii. 6, 3; *Cont. Ap.* i. 8, etc.

†For a fuller discussion of these points, see an article, “The N[ew] Testament and the Pentateuch, IV.”, in the *Independent*, Mar. 29, 18[redacted] where also some other kindred matters are treated.

1. Mark xii. 19. Moses wrote unto us (Ref. to Deut. xxv. 5, and for the writing, cf. Deut. xxxi. 9, 24.)
2. Luke xx. 28. *Id.*
3. John i. 45. Him, of whom Moses in the law . . . did write. (Similar to John v. 45-47, *q. v.*)

Not only do not these twelve passages prove the popular belief in Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole, but the omission of Moses' name in every one of the twenty-three instances where Genesis is cited in the New Testament,—particularly with the citation of Gen. ii. 24, in Matt. xix. 4 ff., (notice, on the other hand, the emphatic position of "Moses" in ver. 7.—τι οὖτος Μωυσῆς ἐνετίλατο), and Mark x. 6,—suggests the inquiry whether he can be thought to have written that book.\*

It may be freely admitted that the foregoing considerations do not disprove the existence in Palestine, at Christ's time, of a belief in Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch;† they do, however, show that this belief is not so fully and clearly demonstrated as is commonly assumed, and that there are some difficulties in the way of supposing it to have existed, and in favor of different traditions on the subject.

But, *secondly*, even if it did exist, and the people to whom Christ and his inspired followers spoke understood their language in that sense, the question is not thereby determined. It must be remembered that the opinion of Philo and Josephus—which alone can be supposed to represent the opinion of contemporary Palestine,—included the Mosaic authorship of Deut. xxxiv. 5-12. If Jesus and the inspired men, then, by their language, authorized any such view, it must have been precisely this view. Those, therefore, who are not willing to attribute these eight verses to Moses, cannot claim that the authorship of the Pentateuch is settled by the popular belief of Christ's time. But it must be remembered, also, that we have no right to demand of revealed truth, whether delivered by Jesus or through his followers, that it shall set right all the false opinions of the men to whom it comes, when these do not affect the substance or the sanctions of the revelation. It is never, in a single instance, of consequence to the purposes of their teaching, that when Jesus and his

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\* See *Independent*, Mar. 29, 1883.

† If Rom. x. 5 falls into the category of the passages which cite Jeremiah (cf. Enoch) and Joel, then it would tend to prove that Paul had this belief. Luke xx. 37 would *perhaps* come under the same head, if it is the Evangelist who, by the form of his sentence, connects Moses so closely with Ex. iii. 6.

followers speak of Moses, they should be understood as saying *or* implying that he wrote the Pentateuch. They make great use of his authority as lawgiver and prophet, but that is unimpaired, if the Pentateuch *contains* his laws and prophecy,—whether he, or somebody centuries later, put the Pentateuch into its present form. In other cases we never think of criticizing men who quote, as an author's words, what he really did say, and what those whom they address believe him to have said, merely because the audience holds the mistaken belief that he said certain other things which have no necessary bearing on the matter in hand. There is no reason why we should apply any other standard to Jesus and his followers. If they could let the wrong physics and astronomy of their time pass unquestioned, then there was no obligation on them to correct the popular belief about the authorship of the Pentateuch, if that, too, was incorrect. (See further under DANIEL.)

The case in regard to Moses, and the authorship of the Pentateuch, is, then, as follows:

(1.) Words of Jesus,	-	-	-	-	16 passages, inconclusive.
(2.) Words of inspired men,	-	-	-	-	32 passages, inconclusive.
(3.) Words of uninspired men,	-	-	-	-	12 passages, inconclusive. — 60 passages, inconclusive.
Counted twice,	-	-	-	-	- 2
Total,	-	-	-	-	- 58

From these passages we may deduce:

That Moses was a great lawgiver;

That, in particular, he ordained the Sabbath-law, uttered the fifth commandment, prescribed circumcision, a purification-offering for a cleansed leper, and the brother's marriage of his deceased brother's wife; that he allowed divorce, under certain conditions; and that he wrote of Christ. Further than this, the New Testament does not allow us to go. His laws and his writings may have been preserved in separate documents, written by different hands. They may have—been edited, combined with other documents of various authorship— and date, and our Pentateuch have been so constituted, generation— or centuries after Moses' time. When, or by whom, the Pentateuch— was put into the form in which we have it, is not determined by the words of Christ.

The following summary will conclude this paper:

The Old Testament Books number	- - - - -	39
Not cited in the New Testament,	- - - - -	13
Cited in the New Testament,	- - - - -	26
Cited with no mention of a person's name,	- - - - -	16
Cited in connection with a person's name,	- - - - -	10

These ten are Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Samuel (?), Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, Joel. In connection with the persons mentioned with the citations from these books, we have examined all the passages which concerned our subject:

Samuel,	- - - - -	1
Daniel,	- - - - -	1
Hosea,	- - - - -	1
Joel,	- - - - -	1
Jeremiah,	- - - - -	2
David,	- - - - -	10
Isaiah,	- - - - -	20
Moses,	- - - - -	58

Except in the case of Ps. xvi. and cx., which the argument of the context where they are cited necessarily assigns to David, and except in the case of certain parts of the Pentateuch, which the Pentateuch and the New Testament alike assign to Moses, the questions of authorship which arise in studying the Old Testament receive no conclusive answer from the New.

## Lost Hebrew Manuscripts.

BY REV. B. PICK, PH. D.

That Hebrew manuscripts existed at a very early time, may be seen from the following passage in the Mishna *Sopherim*, vi. 4.: "R. Simon ben Lakish says, three codices (of the Pentateuch) were found in the court of the temple, one of which had the reading מַעֲזִים, the other מַעֲזָה, and the third differed in the number of passages wherein יְהִי is read with a *Jod*. Thus in the one codex it was written מַעֲזִים, dwelling (Deut. xxxiii. 27), whilst the other two codices had מַעֲזָה; the reading of the two was therefore declared valid, whereas that of the one was invalid. In the second codex, again, מַעֲזָה was found (Exod. xxiv. 11), whilst the other two codices had אֶחָת-מַעֲזָה; the reading in which the two codices agreed was declared valid, and that of the one invalid. In the third codex, again, there were only nine passages which had יְהִי written with a *Jod* (as it is generally written יְהִי with a Vau), whereas the other two had eleven passages; the readings of the two were declared valid, and those of the one invalid." The minute prescriptions contained in the Talmud concerning the material, color, letters, writing instruments, etc., for the manuscripts, only prove the fact that such manuscripts existed, otherwise St. Jerome could not have written "veterum librorum fides de Hebraicis voluminibus examinanda est." (*Epist. ad Luinium*). The greatest care was exhibited in writing of MSS., and three mistakes were sufficient to make a copy naught. (Tr. *Menothoth*, fol. 29, col. 2.)

When the study of the Talmud was no longer attractive amid the disorder and frequent closing of the Babylonian academies, and ultimate development of the traditions became exhausted, attention was

more directed to Scripture. The number of MSS. increased, especially as to them the various systems of vowels and accents of the Massorah, together with the first elements of grammar, were appended. But not all of these MSS. are now extant; some are only known from the quotations made from them by different writers.

The most famous of these lost MSS. is

*The Codex Hillelis.*

As to the name of this codex, there is a difference of opinion. From Jewish history we know that there were two by the name of Hillel; one who lived in the first century before Christ, called Hillel I., the Great, the other who lived in the fourth century after Christ, called Hillel II. Some, as Schikhard (*Jus Regium Hebraeorum*, ed. Carpzov, Lipsiae 1674, p. 39), Cuneus (*De Republ. Hebr.*, p. 159), attributed this codex to the older Hillel; others, as D. Gans in his *Tzemah David*, Buxtorf (*Tractatus de punctorum vocalium*, etc., Basil. 1648, p. 353), attributed it to the younger Hillel. A third opinion is that this codex derives its name from the fact that it was written at Hilla, a town built near the ruins of ancient Babel: so Fürst (*Geschichte des Karäerthums*, p. 22 sq. 138, note 14), and Ginsburg (*Levitias Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, p. 260, note 40).

But neither of these opinions seems to be correct. Against the first two we have the express testimony of *Abraham ben Samuel Sakkuto*<sup>1</sup>, who, in his *Book of Genealogies*, entitled "Sepher Yuchasin," says that when he saw the remainder of the codex (circa A. D. 1500) it was 900 years old. His words are these: "In the year 4956, on the 28th day of Ab (i. e. in 1196, better 1197), there was a great persecution of the Jews in the kingdom of Leon from the two kingdoms which came to besiege it. It was then that the twenty-four sacred books, which were written long ago, about the year 600, by Rabbi Moses ben Hillel, in an exceedingly correct manner, and after which all copies were corrected, were taken away. I saw the remaining two portions of the same, viz., the earlier Prophets (i. e. Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings), and the later Prophets (i. e. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets)—written in large and beautiful characters, which were brought to Portugal and sold in Africa, where they still are, having been written 900 years ago. Kimchi, in his Grammar on Numb. xv. 4, says that the Pentateuch of this codex was extant in Toleti." (*Yuchasin*, ed. Filipowski, London 1857, p. 220<sup>b</sup>). From this statement it may be deduced

<sup>1</sup> Comp. my art. in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclop.* s. v.

that this codex was written about the seventh century. As to the third opinion, deriving the name from Hilla, a town near Babel, we may dismiss it as very ingenious. A better opinion seems to be that of Strack (*Prolegomena*, p. 16), who says: "fortasse tamen recte cogitabis eum e numero τῶν στυπρίων in Hispania fuisse." This is also the opinion of the famous critic Jedidja Norzi (x 1630), who remarks on Genes. i. 5: "He was a very good Masoretic scholar and a scribe in the city of Toletola" (הוּא הָיָה הַכֵּס בְּעוֹם הַמִּסְורָה וְסֶפֶרְיוּ הָיָה בָּעֵיר טּוֹלִיטִילָא).

Whatever uncertainty may be about the derivation of its name, certain it is that this codex is very important for the criticism of the Old Testament Hebrew text, as the many quotations which we find in Norzi's critical commentary, entitled מנהחת שי (minhath shai), published Mantua 1742-44, Vienna 1813, Warsaw 1860-66, and in Lonzano's critical work, entitled אָרְתִּירָה (or torah).

In the twelfth century this codex was perused by the Jewish grammarian, Jacob ben Eleazar, as David Kimchie testifies in his grammatical work *Michlul* (ed. Fürth 1793, fol. 78 col. 2, where we read: ובhab יעקב בן אלעוזר פידבספר הלוי אשר בטוליטלא מצא וככל-מכח ר' דדריךט אֲשֶׁר תְּרוּלוֹה הַרְלָה רַפָּה writes that in the codex Hillel, which is at Toletola, he found that the *daleth* in קָרְךָ was raphe (Deut. xii. 11), and fol. 127 col. 2 in fine, he writes: "R. Jacob ben Eleazar writes, that in the codex Hillel, which is at Toletola, the word חָפֵץ is written with a *tsere* (צָרֵי) לֹא חָפֵץ בְּצָרֵי Lev. vi. 10).

We now subjoin from Lonzano, Norzi and other critics, some readings of the codex Hillel:—

Gen. iv. 8.—In some editions of the Old Testament there is a space left between אָדָם and וַיַּרְא, and is marked in the margin by נִקְדָּה, i. e., space. The LXX. Sam., Syr., Vulg. and Jerus. Targ. add, "let us go into the field." The space we have referred to is found in the editions of Buxtorf, Menasseh ben Israel, Walton, Nissel, Hutter, Clodius, Van de Hooght. But, says Lonzano, the *piska* is a mistake of the printer, for in the MSS. which he consulted and in codex Hillel is no space. The addition, "let us go into the field," is not found by Symmachus, Theodotion and Onkelos. Even Origen remarks, διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέδιον οὐ τῷ Ἐβραϊκῷ οὐ γέγραπται (Tom. II. 30).

Gen. ix. 29.—A great many codd. and edd. read יְהִי אָדָם, but codex Hillel יְהִי אָדָם.

Gen. xix. 16.—יְוִיחִימָה עַמָּה, here Lonzano remarks that the second *mem* is written with *kamez* in codd. and in cod. Hillel. In the edition of Baer and Delitzsch the word is thus written יוֹחָמָה עַמָּה.

Gen. xix. 20.—אַתְּ לֹא תִּטְבַּח, Lonzano says that אַתְּ is *raphe*, but in Hillel it is with a *dagesh*. In Baer and Delitzsch's Genesis it is written raphe.

Gen. xxvii. 25.—לְאַבָּא יְהוָה, in the cod. Hillel, says Lonzano, the accent *darga* is in the yod. In our editions it is in, or rather under, the *beth*. Baer and Delitzsch follow the cod. Hillel.

Gen. xxxix. 6.—מִרְאֵה, Norzi remarks that the Hillel codex writes *mir'ah* with *tsere*.

Gen. xlvi. 16.—אֲנָכְרֹן, in the margin of an old codex, belonging now to Dr. S. Baer, the editor of the new edition of the Old Testament, in connection with Prof. Delitzsh, it is written בַּהֲלֵל הָאֲכָרֹן i. e., in the cod. Hillel the reading is with *segol*.

Gen. xlvi. 13.—וְפָנֶה, on this word Lonzano remarks that in Hillel and other codd. the *vau* is raphe, i. e., פָנָה

Exod. x. 9.—וּבְקָנְנוּ, in Hillel, remarks Lonzano, it is written מְלָא יְהָדָה i. e., plene, וּבְקָנְנוּ

Exod. xxxvii. 8.—בְּרוּכָה, in Hillel and in some other codd., remarks Lonzano, it is written with a *makkeph*.

Josh. xxi. 35, 36.—Cod. Kennic. No. 357, reads in the margin לֹא מִזְוִינִי אֶלָּו הַשְׁנִי פָסָקִים בְּהַלְלִי, i. e., these two verses are not found in the codex Hillel. Similar is the remark in a manuscript formerly belonging to H. Lotze, of Leipzig.

Prov. viii. 16. A great many codd. editions and ancient versions, as Syriac, Vulgate, Targum, and even the Graecus Venetus, read here קְרָפְצִי צָרָעָה, whilst the Complutensian and other codd. read צָרָעָה שׁ, which is also supported by Hillel codex, and is adopted in Baer's ed. of Proverbs.

### The Codex Sanbuki.<sup>2</sup>

Nothing is known of the author, place and time when this codex was written. According to Richard Simon (*Biblioth Critic.* I., 367) the name Sanbuki (סָנְבָקִי) is derived from the owner of the MS., a Hungarian family. According to Hottinger (in *Bibliothecario Quadripartito*, p. 158, ed. Turic.), the name ought to be נָנְבָקִי instead of סָנְבָקִי, which is equivalent to Zadduki or Sadducee. Dr. Baer, in a private note to Prof. Strack, remarks, “*סָנְבָקִי* I have not as yet found cited in any codex. It seems to me to be the name of a place like חַיְטָשׁ יְרִיחָו (perhaps the Italian Subiaco?).” Mons. Fourmont, in his *Dissertation sur les manuscrits Hébreux ponctués et les anciennes éditions de la Bible* (in *Mémoires de littérature* l. l. xix. 236) says: “Les Rabbins font mention de plusieurs exemplaires de ces manuscrits authentiques, et placés à

<sup>2</sup> See also my art. *Sanbuki Codex* in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclop.*

dessein en différents endroits connus; celui d' Hillel par exemple, à Tolède pour l' Espagne; celui de la captivité d' Egypte, au mont Sinai; celui de Ben Ascher, à Jérusalem; et l'exemplaire appelé Drenvouki à la Carthage, dans la contrée nommée Zevegitana." The codex is quoted in the margin of some MSS., as in Codex Kennic. 415; Cod. Kennic. 8 (Bibl. Bodl. Hunting, 69; comp. Brunsius *Ad. Kenn.*, *Diss. Gener.* p. 345). Besides this codex is quoted three times by Menachem di Lonzano, in his commentary *Or Thora*, as on

Gen. ix. 14.—*כְּעִנְיָן* where he remarks (fol. 2<sup>b</sup> fin. ed. Amstel.):

*בַּהֲלֵל הַגּוֹן בְּשִׁיא לְבָר וּבְוָנְבוּקִי בְּשִׁיא הַפְּתָח* i. e., in the Codex Hillel the *nun* has the *sh'va* (:), but in the Codex Sanbuki the *sh'va* with the *patach*.

Lev. xiii. 20.—*שֶׁל בְּוָנְבוּקִי הַפָּא בְּפְתָח* (fol. 14<sup>b</sup>), in the Codex Sanbuki the *sh'va* in *שֶׁל* is written with the *patach*.

Lev. xxvi. 36.—*בְּסָס וְאַשְׁכָּנוּ נָעִיא בְּתִי אָךְ*—*בְּהַבְּחִין* (fol. 15<sup>b</sup>), i. e., in the Spanish and German MSS. there is a *gaya* (i. e., a *metheg*) under the *ח*, but not so in the Codd. Hillel, Jerusalem and Sanbuki.

### The Jericho Pentateuch.

Concerning this חִימָש וִירוּחוֹ Elias Levita writes thus: The Pentateuch of Jericho is doubtless a correct codex of the Pentateuch derived from Jericho. It discusses the *plene* and *defectives* as *הַתְּזַבְּחִית* "the abominations" (Lev. xviii. 27), which is in this Pentateuch without the second *vau*. So also רְלִירִי, which occurs twice in the same chapter (Numb. xiii. 13, 22), of which the first is *plene* (written in the Jericho-codex), and the second *defective*.

### The Codex Sinai.

This codex, כְּפָר סִינִי, which contains the Pentateuch, is a correct codex, and treats on the variations of the accents, as *עִוָּרְשָׁמָן*, and *הַרְבָּאֵת* heard (Exod. xviii. 1) has the accent *Gershaim*, but in Sinai it has *Rebiah*; again, *הַמְּרָבֵךְ*, the *desert* (v. s.), has *Zakeph*, while in Sinai it has *Zakeph gadol*. As to the name of the codex, whether it is so called from the author or from the place where it was written, is a matter of dispute. According to Levita, it would be the name of a codex. Fürst (*Geschichte der Karäer*, I. 22, 138) thinks that this codex derives its name from Mount Sinai, while Joseph Eshwe, the expositor of the Massorah, in his *Mebin Chidot* (Amst. 1765) on Exod. xviii. 1, remarks: "As to the remark Sinai has *Rebia*, know that the inventors of the vowel-points and accents were mostly from the spiritual heads and the sages of Tiberias. Now the name of one of these

was Sinai, and he differed from the Masorah, which remarks that יְמִשָּׁי has Gershaim, and said that it has the accent Rebia." From this it will be seen that this great Massoretic authority does not take סֵינַי as *Codex Sinaiticus*, but regards it as a proper name of one of the inventors of the vowel-points and accents. Delitzsch (in his Hebrew translation of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, p. 41, note) thinks that the name סֵינַי *Sinai Codex*, refers rather to the place where it was written or found.

### *The Codex Ben-Naphtali.*

Moses ben David Naphtali, a cotemporary of Ben-Asher, flourished about A. D. 900-960. He distinguished himself by his edition of a revised text of the Hebrew Scriptures in opposition to Ben-Asher, in which he had no great success, inasmuch as the different readings he collated and proposed are very insignificant, and are almost entirely confined to the vowel-points and accents. The codex itself is lost, but many of its readings are preserved, e. g. by Kimchi in his *Grammar and Lexicon*, while a complete list of these different readings is appended to Bomberg's and Buxtorf's Rabbinic, and to Walton's Polyglot Bible. Fürst, in his *Concordance*, p. 137 sec. 48, has also given the variations between these two scholars.

The most important deviation of Ben-Naphtali from Ben Asher is the reading of שֶׁלְרָבָה רָה, Song of Songs viii. 6, as two words, whilst Ben-Asher reads it as one word שֶׁלְרָבָה רָה, which makes no difference in the meaning. In a very convenient form these variations are given by Baer and Delitzsch in their edition of the different parts of the Old Testament, on *Genesis* p. 81, *Job* p. 59, *Psalms* p. 136, *Proverbs* p. 55, *Isaiah* p. 90, *Minor Prophets* p. 90, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 126.

Our printed editions follow for the most part the reading of Ben-Asher; very seldom, however, that of Ben-Naphtali is followed, with the exception of such codices as have the Babylonian system of punctuation, and which always follow Ben-Naphtali. The editions in which the reading שֶׁלְרָבָה רָה (i. e., Ben Naphtali's) is found, are: *Bomberg's Rabbinic* (1517) and his quarto edition (1518); *Stephen's* (1543), *Münster's* (1546), *Hutter* (1587), *Antwerp Polyglot* (1571), *Bragadin's Hebrew Bible* (1614), *Simoni's* (1767-1828), *Jahn's* (1806), *Bagster's* (1839), *Basle edition* (1827), *Hahn-Rosenmüller's* (1868).

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\* See also my art. *Sinai Codex Hebrew* in McClintock & Strong.

ברא in Josh. xvii. 15, 18, and Ezek. xxi. 24,  
xxiii. 47.

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BY PROF. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D. D.

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In these four verses the Piel of בָּרָא occurs five times. It occurs nowhere else in the sacred Hebrew. These five instances are of interest mainly as evidence on the question whether the current Hebrew word for "create" has any more primitive signification, which requires to be considered in determining its scope.

When we think of God as originating anything, we may or may not, at the same time, think of the mediate processes, the secondary causes, if such exist, through which he originates it. When we think of divine origination apart from all mediate processes and second causes, we have in mind substantially the notion denoted by the Qal, the Niphal and the substantive of the Hebrew root בָּרָא. These words are indeed employed in many instances in which the origination is from preexisting materials, and through the agency of second causes; but in these instances the word calls attention, not to the preexisting materials and the secondary causes, but to the fact that the origination is distinctively divine.

It will hardly be disputed that this usage is absolutely uniform. Gesenius, indeed, in three instances, assigns to the Niphal the meaning "to be born," or "to be begotten." In Ezek. xxi. 35 (xxi. 30, Eng.) he would, apparently, translate the language concerning the Ammonite, "I will judge thee in the place where thou *wast born*, in the land of thy nativity." But, not to criticize this translation in any other particular, the passage becomes far more graphic and not a whit less clear if we assign to בָּרָא its usual sense, and make the meaning to be, "I will judge thee in the place where *God originated thee*, in the land of thy nativity." Similarly, when it is said of the King of Tyrus, Ezek. xxviii. 13, "in the day thou *wast created*," the meaning "in the day when God originated thee" is not less forcible or appropriate than the meaning "when thou *wast begotten*." And the same is equally true of the expression in Ps. civ. 30, "Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created." There is no exception to the statement that in the Qal, the

Niphal and the substantive בָּרִיאָה, once used, this root describes distinctive divine origination.

Are we to rest content with this, therefore, as the proper meaning? Or are we to look for some more ultimate signification, from which this is derived?

The current answer to this question is that we must look for such a meaning,—the meaning commonly settled upon being “to cut,” “to cut out,” and hence “to fashion.”

If this were held as a mere etymological conjecture, it would hardly be worth while to dispute it. If בָּרַא originally meant “to carve,” that would not change the fact that its current meaning in the sacred Hebrew is “to originate divinely.” One might hold that the word had primarily a physical signification, and yet hold that that signification has practically vanished from view beneath the meaning to the conveying of which the word has become set apart. One might distinctly recognize divine origination as the true and only meaning of the word, and yet curiously note the probability that the word which the Hebrew Bible has selected to express this idea is a word which once meant “to whittle.”

But it is one thing thus to accept this etymology as the plausible conjecture which, perhaps, it is; and quite another thing to regard it as a fact well enough attested to compel us to modify our definitions of the words of this root, and our opinions as based thereupon. In the question whether God's originating of heaven and earth is from nothing, this supposed primitive notion of carving or cutting out has been made to do duty in a great variety of forms. It is likely to play a yet more important part in the question how far the Old Testament conceptions, of any given date, are to be regarded as gross and materialistic, or how far they are to be understood as being on the same spiritualistic plane with those of the New Testament. An etymology which might be accepted as a mere matter of curious conjecture, does not thereby acquire a title to be counted as positive evidence in important matters. We raise the question, not whether the etymology in question is true or false, but whether it is well enough attested to justify the basing of important conclusions upon it. As a part of the answer to this question, we are to examine the five instances in which the Piel of בָּרַא occurs in the sacred Hebrew.

Apart from these five instances, the evidence commonly cited to prove that בָּרַא primarily means to cut, is certainly of the most slender description. It is composed mostly of particulars which might have some validity to confirm other proof, if there were any other proof for them to confirm, but which, standing alone, are too weak to support themselves.

Of this sort, for instance, is the presumption that the idea of divine origination is too refined an idea to have been primitively expressed;

and that men must, therefore, have reached this idea through physical images, and must have expressed it at first in terms which had been previously employed in a physical meaning. Certainly, it is not always true that the conception of immaterial things is preceded by, and dependent upon, physical images. Children and savages do abstract thinking as really as civilized men. There is no absurdity in supposing that some early Semites got into their minds, with great distinctness, the idea that God, in originating things, may act differently from men, and somehow came to associate with this idea a pair of syllables which they had not hitherto appropriated for any other purpose, and thus found themselves in possession of the group of words which centre in the root בְּרָא. And if this presumption is thus not very strong in favor of any physical origin of the word, it is immeasurably weaker as in favor of this particular physical origin of it, since it may be possible to devise many other hypotheses, each as plausible as this.

Gesenius finds evidence of the primitive meaning "to cut," in the existence of the adjective בַּרְיָא, and the corresponding Hiphil, of which he says: "To feed, to eat, to grow fat, from the idea of cutting up food." Now if it were proved that בַּרְיָא is from this verb בְּרָא, and that the verb means, "to carve," we might accept this explanation, in the absence of any better guess by which to harmonize the violent incongruity of the two meanings. But it can hardly be taken as very weighty proof either that the words belong to the same root, or that the supposed common root primarily denotes the operation of cutting. Many scholars, certainly, regard the words as belonging to different roots.

The fact that the initial syllable בַּ or בְּ occurs in a few other words which mean to *separate*, or *break*, or something of that sort, might be of value in filling the gaps of a wall of evidence which was otherwise complete, but can hardly be counted unless there be such a wall, with the gaps in it to fill.

The Arabic analogies, though of the nature of remote evidence, might yet be decisive if the Hebrew usage were too scant to judge from; but the Hebrew usage, in this case, extends to nearly sixty instances. Again, the Arabic analogies might be decisive as between two conflicting interpretations of the Hebrew usage, or as complementing a strong body of evidence from that usage, in any given direction; but here there is no conflict of usage, and no evidence from Hebrew usage to complement, unless it be found in the instances in which the Piel is used.

Finally, the fact that בְּ, *són*, has the same letters as the first two radicals of בְּרָא may be harmonized equally with the supposition that the original signification of the root is that of cutting, or with any one of several other suppositions.

It appears, then, that the decision of the whole question turns upon

the usage of the Piel of נָרַב. If this affords evidence of weight, and of a certain character, in favor of the alleged primary physical meaning, its evidence may possibly be so supplemented and confirmed by the other items of evidence, as to become very strong, perhaps even decisive. But if this source of evidence is found to be empty, then all the others are empty.

Professor Green, in his larger Hebrew Grammar, page 102, counts the Piel of this verb as an intensive: “נָרַב *to create, as God, Pi. to form with pains and labour, as man.*” This notion is at least a possible one, and is equally so whether we suppose the meaning of the Piel to have been derived from that of the Qal, or that of the Qal from that of the Piel, or each from some more primitive meaning of the root. But if all the instances of the Piel which occur are such as may derive their meaning directly from the well-known meaning of the Qal, this would seem to be the preferable explanation.

נָרַב, in the Qal, expresses divine origination. The creation of the heavens and the earth is the instance of divine origination which has mainly attracted the attention of mankind. In our thoughts of creation two conceptions are especially prominent, namely, the reducing of chaos to order, and the construction of the world and its contents. Evidently, a derivative from the verb which expresses these ideas might appropriately describe men as reducing confused elements to order, or as constructing plans or objects.

We turn now to the direct consideration of the instances. The events recorded in Joshua are substantially the following. Certain cities which fell within the proper boundary of Manasseh, to the South, were given to Ephraim. In compensation there were assigned to Manasseh, six cities of Issachar and Asher, with the territory surrounding them. These lay mostly on eminences in the valley of Jezreel, and in the valleys opening from Jezreel, toward Jordan and toward the Mediterranean. This was, in theory, a good arrangement for both Ephraim and Manasseh; but practically it was discounted by the fact that the Canaanite lowlanders had chariots of iron. In the circumstances, the tribe of Joseph remonstrated with Joshua, saying that they had but one lot, which was not enough for them, because they were a great people whom God had blessed hitherto. “And Joshua said unto them: ‘If thou art a great people get thee up toward the forests and make a clearing for thyself there (*כִּי תִּהְפֹּךְ לְעֵמֶק יְהוּדָה*) in the land of the Perizzite and the Rephaim, since the mountain country of Ephraim is narrow for thee.’” The men of Joseph rejoined that the mountain country was not altogether theirs, and that the men of Beth Shean and the Jezreelite valley had chariots of iron, which rendered that part of their possessions quite unavailable. “And Joshua said to the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and to Manasseh, saying: ‘Thou art a great people, and great strength is thine: thine will not be one lot; for a mountain district will

be thine, since it is a forest and thou wilt make it a clearing (*ברָא חֹתֶן*), and its outlets will be thine since thou wilt bring the Canaanite into possession, because he has chariots of iron, because he is strong."

Now, however men may differ here as to the cast of the events, or the translation, or as to whether the forest here spoken of is literal forest, or a figure of speech for the Perizzites and Rephaim, there is no doubt in the mind of any one that this word *ברָא*, 2d pret. sing masc. Piel of *בָּרַא* is here used in the sense of *making a clearing in a forest*. It is also evident that if *בָּרַא* means *to cut*, its intensive meaning, *to cut by the wholesale*, would be quite appropriate to the kind of cutting by which a forest is cleared. It is equally manifest that if the speaker on this occasion was a man who was accustomed to think of God's creating the world as his clearing away of the elements of chaos and confusion, and reducing them to order, he might very appropriately have exhorted the boastful tribe of Joseph to cease complaining, and show their greatness by creating habitable country out of that part of their assigned territory which was then unfit for their habitation. This meaning fits the context at least as well as the other.

It is further evident that the thing here mainly intended is the clearing, and not the cutting process by which the clearing is effected. The Septuagint and Vulgate both distinctly recognize this. The Septuagint translates ἐξαθάρπων and ἐξαθάρπεις. The Vulgate translates, not, as is often asserted, by *succido*, "to cut down," but by the phrases, "succide tibi spatia," "succides tibi atque purgabis ad habitandum spatia."

The instance in Ezek. xxiii. 47 is substantially parallel. In it the fate of Aholah and Aholibah is thus described: "And an assembly shall hurl stone upon them, and [shall proceed to] clear them off (*ברְא אַיִלָּה*) with their swords; their sons and their daughters they shall kill, and their houses they shall burn with fire." Here, as in the instances in Joshua, it is easy to explain *ברָא* as meaning to hack or to cut down. But if there is any cutting here, no stress is laid upon it. The stress is laid upon the clearance that is to be made of all the kindred of the two harlots. The prominent thought is of the bringing of order out of disorder, through these severe measures.

In the parallel passage in Ezek. xvi. 40, "And they shall bring up upon thee an assembly, and they shall stone thee with stones, and slaughter thee with their swords, and burn thy houses," &c., the verb is *קָרַב*, which occurs nowhere else, and whose meaning will follow the meaning assigned to *ברָא* in the passage in hand.

The punishment here described is like that assigned to apostacy in Deut. xiii. 10, 15, 16, in which the person who has been guilty is to be put to death by stoning, but in the case of an apostate city, the inhabitants and cattle are to be slain with the sword, and the spoil heaped up in the midst of the city, and burned along with the houses.

Ezek. xxi. 24 may be thus translated: "Now do thou, O son of man, set for thee two ways for the sword of the king of Babylon to enter: from one land let both of them go forth: and construct (**נָבַן**) a hand (or, by hand), at a head of a way of a city construct: a way thou wilt set for a sword to enter Rabbath of the sons of Ammon and Judah that is fortified in Jerusalem." Then the text speaks of the king of Babylon stopping at the junction of two roads, to decide, by divination, along which he will pursue his conquests.

There are differences of opinion as to the syntax and the meaning of this, but they do not affect the use here made of **נָבֵן**. The view taken by Schröder may answer the purpose as well as any. He supposes that the prophet is "to place before himself on a table or tablet a sketch of the nature mentioned." On this tablet he is to construct a "hand," that is a finger-post or something of that kind, at the head of the two ways in the sketch. The thing described by **נָבֵן** is this constructing process. It is easy to connect with it the idea of cutting, by saying that the "hand" or the sketch itself was to be engraved on the tablet. It is equally easy to derive the idea of construction, on the part of man, from that of the divine creative construction.

Substantially the same analysis will apply, if we suppose that the prophet is directed to construct an actual monument of some sort at the junction of two actual roads. We can connect the idea of cutting with his act, by supposing that the monument is to be hewn out of wood or stone, but, as in the former interpretation, it is the construction, and not the cutting process, which is essential to the writer's meaning.

On the evidence, it is not claimed that the current etymology of **נָבֵן** is disproved. But it is claimed that this etymology is not solidly enough grounded to make it a safe basis for important arguments.

# The Syriac Apocalypse.

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## I.—*Source of the Text.*

The Apocalypse forms no part of any of the Syriac versions of the New Testament to which we are accustomed to give a collective name. That is, it does not exist in the Peshitto, the Harklensian, the Jerusalem, or the Curetonian. The Peshitto version is now universally provided with a supplement, comprising the Apocalypse and the lacking Epistles (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude); but at least eight editions\* appeared without it. In 1599 Elias Hutter first supplied these missing books (along with the Epistle to the Laodiceans in Greek, &c.), in his dodecaglott New Testament, in Syriac of his own making.

But Hutter's version has not held any important place. In 1627, Louis de Dieu published the Apocalypse at Leyden (Elzevirs, 4 to.), from a MS. that had been bequeathed to the University of Leyden by Joseph Scaliger; and in 1630 Edward Pococke published (also at Leyden, Elzevirs, 4 to.) the four lacking Epistles, from a MS. in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Since then these five books have been published with the Peshitto version, so as to furnish a complete Syriac New Testament; but no new sources of the text have been used. The later editors, moreover, have not scrupled to change or add to the vocalizing, nor to correct what they supposed to be manifest errors; yet not so far as to supply some of the larger palpable omissions in the Apocalypse.

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\* These were those of Widmanstadt, 1565; Tremellius, 1568 (9), 1571; Plantinus (Guido le Fevre de la Boderie—Antwerp Polyglott), 1571; Plantinus, n. d. [circ. 1573], 8 vo., 1575, 16 mo.; Paris (Guido le F. de la B.), 1584; Trost, 1621 (22).

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss certain matters connected with the Syriac Apocalypse; especially those which concern its origin, its place with reference to the Syriac versions of the bulk of the New Testament, and its general value, so far as they can be learned from internal evidence.

A word about the external evidence is, however, first in order. In the edition just mentioned, in his dedicatory letter to Daniel Hein-sius, De Dieu says of the MS.: "inter libros, à magno illo litterarum omnium lumine Josepho Scaligero Academiæ huic nostræ legatos, latere manuscriptum exemplar Syriacæ versionis Apocalypses." In the "Præfatio ad candidum Lectorem," he describes it farther: "this little book which we are editing was obtained from our public library, where, among many other noble books bequeathed to our University by the illustrious Joseph Scaliger, it lay long concealed hitherto. It is a little book in octavo, of thick, stiff and polished paper, very nearly like parchment, written in an elegant and truly Syrian hand, but very different from this [printed] character of ours. It seems to be the hand which the Maronites employ in writing letters, where they use characters more compact, and often united in ligatures. We do not find the vowels added, except in a few places, where you will find them printed. The book has no versicular division of its own, nor of chapters either, except where they have been written in numerals of our fashion by some unknown reader. Nevertheless, it has various division marks for the sentences, of which some seem to mark the longer, others the shorter periods. These we have here omitted without scruple, both because the printer did not have them, and also because we did not discover any fixed use of them. For sometimes a whole page has none, sometimes one [page] has many, and not seldom accumulated for the sake of elegance alone, without any distinction of sense. The first sort are made of four red points in quadrangular form about a black circle made in an oval shape; the second sort, of four points alone, the two vertical ones in red, the others horizontal, black. Some are denoted [by us] in one way, others in another. But the rest of the distinctions of the parts and members of the sentence we have observed as well as we could. Of the author of this version we are ignorant; but the name of the writer of the book we have found at the end of the book, where he names himself 'Caspar born LO:ON, JSLJ ፳', but is silent as to the time of the subscription of the book."

This subscription, as De Dieu translates it, reads: "Orate pro eo qui scripsit, Casparo, ex regione Hanrvitarum." But it had been

conjectured by many (as Le Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, à La Haye, 1724, p. 230, and note (c)), and has been shown by Tregelles (Treg. Horne's *Introd.*, iv., p. 280), that the last word read "Indians" instead of "Hanrvites"; the difference being caused by De Dieu's mistaking a *dolath* for a *rish*, by overlooking the point beneath, and then seeing too much in the plural points above.

This MS. was also examined by Tregelles, who says (Treg. Horne, *Introd.*, iv. p. 280), that it "is now No. 18 amongst Scaliger's MSS. at Leyden. It is written on thickish glazed paper, of a small size; the ink is black and distinct, though the corrections in the margin are of a much fainter colour. It is carelessly written, and when the present writer examined it at Leyden, it seemed to have altogether a modern appearance."

There exist a pretty fair set of clues to the date of this MS. The Latin title of a Syriac Liturgy in the library of the Waisenhaus at Halle "says that the book was copied by Gaspar, an Indian of Malabar, at Rome, in 1580" (Tregelles, *ubi supra*). "There is also a MS. at Florence, containing the same version of the Apocalypse in Syriac, also transcribed by this same Caspar in the year 1582" (*idem*, conf. also Le Croze, *ubi supra*). The subscription to this last MS. states that it was copied from a MS. in the writing of Thomas of Harkel, in A. D. 622. But too much confidence should not be placed in this statement; for such statements have many times been copied from an older subscription, and even transferred from one MS. to another of a very different character. The date of 622 is worth notice, however, as it is the same which Ridley's MS. gives to the translation of John viii. 1-11, which has been published in White's edition of the Harklensian version. (See Tregelles, *ubi supra*, and pp. 281, 282; also in Smith's *Bible Dict.*, Amer. ed., iv. p. 3394. I cite Tregelles, because his account is generally clearest and most comprehensive; though it would be easy to cite a whole series of writers, from Adler down.)

However, though written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, these MSS. of the Apocalypse seem to be copies of an ancient version. Two Brit. Mus. MSS., brought to light by B. Harris Cowper, one (eleventh century) containing the text, another (fourteenth century) a commentary, seem to have a text identical with that of the printed editions. (See Smith's *Bible Dict.*, Amer. ed., iv. p. 3394, note a.) Another MS., once owned by Ussher, by him sent to De Dieu, but now lost, contained the Apocalypse (Treg. Horne, *Introd.*,

iv. pp. 282, 284); but whether it contained the rest of the New Testament, as sometimes supposed, is uncertain. From the language both of De Dieu\* and of Ussher† nothing is certain beyond the fact that the MS. contained the fragment, John vii. 53 to viii. 11, with 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, the Apocalypse, and a small tractate of Ephrem Syrus. I incline strongly to the opinion that the MS. contained no more—except that the fragment from John goes on with verse 12 for a few words, and ends with 12-19, the Syriac “&c.”

De Dieu could conjecture nothing as to the age of the Syriac *Apocalypse*, though he rightly supposed it to have been made directly from the Greek. A quotation from chap. vii. 14, in the Syriac Grammar (Rome, 1596) of George Michael Amira of Edessa, a Lebanon Maronite, De Dieu found to be literally the same in this version; and he supposed that Amira would not have quoted from the late Jesuit version, turned into Syriac from the Latin Vulgate. J.-J. Assemâni (*Biblioth. Orient.*, iii., pt. 2, p. cxxxii.) conjectured that it was made by Mar Abba (patriarch of the East); but that conjecture seems to be groundless. Others suppose that the version is part of the Harklensian recension of the Philoxenian; others, that it differs as much from the Harklensian as it does from the Peshitto.

In preparing this paper, necessity confines me to the printed editions, and to a portion of them. For the general basis, I have used the original edition of De Dieu, text and notes; chiefly for the reason that it is nearest to the MS. of any edition we have, but also because it appears, on examination, to be a very careful, conscientious, and scholarly piece of work. This edition contains the Syriac text; the same transliterated into Hebrew characters, with a vocalization after the Syriac analogy; an exact Latin translation; and the common Greek text (almost exactly the Elzevir of 1624). De Dieu's own account is worth transcribing. In his "Præfatio," after mentioning the facts last stated, he says: "Textum Syriacum fideliter descripsi, descriptum contuli, relictis etiam mendis quæ occurrebant, quæ tamen, ne lector alicubi offenderet et hæreret, hujusmodi signo †

\* *Commentarius in Johann.*, ad Cap. vii. 53, where the fragment is published. The Syriac ends with " &c. "; and De Dieu remarks at the end of his translation, " Hactenus Fragmentum illud Syriacum." *Conf.* also his remarks in the Dedication to Abp. Ussher of his *Animadver.* in *Acta App.*, and especially the *Præf.* in *quatuor Evv.* All these are in his *Critica Sacra*.

<sup>†</sup> Letter to Dr. Samuel Ward, quoted from Todd's *Life of Walton* in Smith's *Bible Dict.*, Amer. ed., iv. p. 3394, note *b*.

notavi, et in caractere Hebræo ad idem signum, nisi fallor, emendavi, quod doctiorum judicio libenter submitto, à quibus hic reprehendi neutiquam erubescam. Ubi verba quædam ad sensum perficiendum deessent, id hujusmodi signo [ ] spatio aliquo vacuo relicto, indicavi, et in caractere Hebræo ex Græco supplevi. Non est autem dissimulandum, in ipsis autographi margine errata varia à lectori quodam nescio quo, sed alia manu, alio atramento emendata conspici: idem, verba quædam in autographo occurrisse redundantia aut bis scripta, quæ nos è textu resecuimus: quæ tamen singula, ne quid fraudis commississe videamur, in animadversionibus nostris suis locis observavimus." All which appears to be very carefully and conscientiously done. The words which follow are also worth quoting, for they show that he had the true spirit of a faithful critic: "Utinam vero alia quædam exemplaria cum quibus hoc nostrum conferre potuissemus, ad manum suissent errata exactius corrigere, ac defectus melius supplere potuissemus."\*

Upon close examination, however, the edition of De Dieu affords some means of judging both the character of his printed edition and that of the MS. it represents. The printed edition, as already said, is a work careful and scholarly, and the apparent misprints are few. The conjectural alterations are plain restorations in matters of certainty, but even so, they are scrupulously mentioned in his notes. They are generally no more than the restoration of a *rish* for a *doluth*, or the supplying of an obviously omitted letter, or the change of a diaçritic point. Yet even this much is done but rarely, although a marginal correction in the MS. would have authorized more. The Syriac text is usually kept faithfully, and the corrections are left to be made in the notes, or in the transliteration in Hebrew letters. The misprints are fewer than those of its reprint by Gerardus Borstius, appended to the second edition of De Dieu's *Critica Sacra* (Amsterdam, 1693, fol.).

In the same connection, it is to be remarked that all the editions of the Syriac Apocalypse, in the New Testaments and Bibles, though

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\* Ussher sent him the other MS. in 1631, from which Ussher had thought the Apocalypse published at Leyden might be amended. De Dieu purposed a new edition of the Apocalypse, and "ex altero hoc exemplari emendare, et si quæ varia esset lectio, observare." But other labors hindered, and he seems never to have taken the work actually in hand. In 1634 (*Epist. Dedicat. in Act. Apost.*) he regrets his unfulfilled intentions concerning the Ussher MS.; but the next year he died, swept away by the plague of 1635-36.

having only De Dieu's edition as their original basis, have added many conjectural emendations. In consequence, most of the critical notes appended to subsequent editions—those of Gubtier, Schaaf, and Bagster, for instance—record nothing but variant editorial conjectures. Sometimes, too, these represent matters wrongly, and credit De Dieu with a misprint not his own. For example, in chap. ii. 12 is a misprint in Gubtier and others for the word which renders *οὐεῖαν*, with a note giving the true reading, and crediting it only to the London Polyglott. But the London Polyglott simply follows De Dieu (that is, MS. authority), while Gubtier has committed an unmeaning, if not arbitrary, error. Other editions, as Schaaf, note the reading given by Gubtier, and leave it to be inferred that De Dieu was in fault.

Of the extant editions, perhaps that in the quadrilingual edition of Reineccius (N. T., 1713; whole Bible, with N. T. again, 1747, Lips. fol.) gives the closest aid to one who wishes to know the MS. text, and has not De Dieu himself to refer to.

Warning might here be given, also, that not even Tischendorf's Gr. T., ed. viii., *crit. maj.*, gives a perfect account of the MS. readings of the Syriac Apocalypse. Though his notes are careful, his work does not cover all the testimony of the Syriac, while it contains a number of slips. For example, at chap. xxii. 11, we find "syr polygl (non Schaaf) ταυτης"; but here Schaaf follows the MS., and the Polyglott had made an arbitrary emendation. Again, at xx. 13, we find Tischendorf saying: "ξαι ο θανατ. ξαι usque τα εργα αυτων . . . . syr om"; but the Syriac does not omit, either in De Dieu, or in Schaaf, whom Tischendorf usually follows.

But, not to pursue this matter farther, no great fault can be found with De Dieu's ability nor his manner of editing.

## II.—*Character of the Diplomatic Evidence.*

As to the character of the MS. itself, we have the word of Tregelles (Treg. Horne's *Introd.*, iv. p. 280) that it is "carelessly written"; but that may mean little more than that the penmanship is rapid, and the hand is the epistolary one; as indeed De Dieu says, above. Tregelles also says (*idem*) that "it seemed to have altogether a modern appearance"; which may refer to the same thing; for though "the ink is black and distinct," yet "the corrections in the margin are of a much fainter colour." Moreover, Tregelles knew and mentioned, as stated above, the other means of determining the age of the MS.

It is not to be expected, of course, that even so short a MS. as one of the Apocalypse should be without its oversights. How many and of what sort these are, is best determined by an examination throughout; in which reference must be had not only to De Dieu's notes and the palpable errors, but also to the character of the text it represents.

Many of his notes of its apparent imperfection depend upon its variation from the Greek text which he published along with it. As this text is almost exactly that of the Elzevir N. T. of 1624,\* varying only in certain inconsiderable minutiae or oversights, it is natural that many things which De Dieu considered as variations from the Greek, or as imperfections of his MS., would now be thought marks of its better character. In sundry cases, too, where the Syriac has a shorter reading, agreeing with the better texts, De Dieu sagaciously remarked, "pro eo [sc. Graeco] simpliciter est in exemplari nostro" (as at iii. 12), or the like; and that, of course, without knowing of the better reading. The residue of De Dieu's notes, or, at least, those which remain to be taken into account, refer to errors in dia-critic points, or others which are manifest and self-correcting, or else those of greater moment, corrected in the MS. margin.

Other MS. errors are to be detected by a comparison with the Greek text. This, again, involves a rough determination of the form of the Greek text which the Syriac follows; even though, as Tregelles asserts, "its internal character and the nature of its text, as well as the want

\*As more exact information may be desired respecting the Greek text of De Dieu, I will state that a careful collation with the Elzevir N. T. of 1633 discloses only about 38 differences, of which only two amount to a real variant, viz.: xvi. 5, D has ὁ δότος for E ὁ ἐσόμενος, and xx. 8, D omits τὸν before Μαγῶν. There are only two differences by misprint of a letter, viz.: vi. 11, D has πληρώσωνται for E -σονται; and xvi. 21, χαλάζης for χαλάζης. The other differences are in the use of capital letters (D having Ηνέῦμα for πν. in a number of places, and ἄμην once for Ἄμην), in punctuation (only one causing a real difference, viz.: xviii. 18, D μεγάλη; for E -λη,), in the separation of the parts of compound or quasi-compound words (as vii. 3, D μή τε for E μήτε secund.; or xvii. 7, Διατί for E Διὰ τί), in the different breathing of αὐτος (xiv. 14, D χειρὶ αὐτῷ, E χειρὶ αὐτοῦ), or in a wrongly placed or an omitted accent. The variant in xvi. 5 seems to show that De Dieu had simply taken the Elzevir text of 1624. The variant in xx. 8 is probably a happy misprint.—In this connection it may be well to state that Pococke's Greek text of the Epistles, printed at the same establishment in 1630, exhibits generally the Elzevir text, with a few modifications apparently from the Antwerp Polyglott.

of all external credentials, place it indefinitely low as to critical value" (Treg. Horne's *Introd.*, iv. 282.)

As to the basis of the statements to follow, I have compared the two editions of De Dieu, text and notes; also the first edition with the Greek text and marginal notes of Von Gebhardt's Tischendorf's Gr. N. T., and with the text and notes of Tischendorf's N. T. ed. viii. *crit. maj.*; I have also carefully collated the Greek text of De Dieu's first edition with the Elzevir of 1633, and obtained comparisons with the Elzevir of 1624; besides abundant collation and comparison with the later Syriac editions. To present a full statement of the facts thus obtained would require a space many times greater than the whole of this paper; and therefore I keep myself mostly to examples or generals.

In the matter of diacritic points and vowels, the MS. seems to be moderately, but not abundantly, supplied; but I would not call its care or correctness therein extreme. The slips in this respect, as well as in the omission or addition of a letter here and there, seem to show the work of a *mere* copyist; and yet not of a very careless one. Accordingly, I would not place too much stress upon the testimony of this MS. in those respects. For instance, in chapter i. 3, where the plural points make the Greek read τῷς λύρως, with Tregelles and W. and Hort, as against the τὸν λύρον of Von G.'s Tischendorf, I might regard it as of some weight; but where it omits the plural points in cases where the Greek text requires them, I should not regard it. Such cases are ii. 23, making the reading χαρδίαν for χαρδίας; or vii. 14, στολὴν for στολάς; or in xvii. 2, so as to read δ βασιλεὺς for οἱ βασιλεῖς. So when it has the plural points in a case where it *might* leave them off, I should regard its testimony of little account. A case of this sort occurs in the rendering of τῷ φευδοπρφήτου in xvi. 13. Here the two portions of the compound word are separated, as necessary in Syriac, and plural points are over the word for φευδο-. Without them the word is doubtless adjective, and means "lying" or "false"; but with the points it must be noun, meaning "lies." But the construction (omitting *dolath* prefix) seems to show that the word is adjective, and that the plural points are wrongly added.

As to letters either superfluous or omitted, I do not observe that they occur oftener than in other Syriac MSS. A plainly superfluous letter appears in **מְלֹא** for **לֹא** (*πρότ-*) in i. 17; since the suffix pronoun could not well remain without prefixing a *lomad* to the next

word (~~ωταλλεῖ~~). But examples of letters manifestly either superfluous or omitted are to be found in De Dieu's notes. In several cases the MS. margin makes the correction. The most important class of cases occurs in the addition or omission of the prefix *ναντ*, i.e., the addition or omission of *xai*; and here, though the Syriac idiom solves some cases, the Greek text must show us the certainty or the probability. The common addition or suppression of the final *ναντ* in verb terminations has so many examples in Syriac MSS. that I should not consider it a matter of moment in deciding upon the character of the MS. As to its effect on the testimony to the Greek reading, it belongs to the class of standing ambiguities.

In sundry other matters, the Syriac idiom seems to require a variation from the Greek; which variation, accordingly, is only apparent. Partly such is the rendering of a preliminary or circumstantial participle by a finite verb and a conjunction, as in English. This is one of the matters wherein the Peshitto and the Harklensian version almost characteristically differ; the latter striving to conform to the Greek, but oftenest with the addition of ~~προ~~ before the participle. In the Apocalypse, as in the Harklensian, the Peshitto style is sometimes followed. But a clearer case occurs in the phrase for *διστομός δξεία* (i. 16, ii. 12, xix. 15), where the Syriac requires the order of words to be reversed, because *διστομός* has to be represented by a phrase, with also a suffix pronoun; and the sense would be marred by keeping the Greek order. There are also cases where the Syriac had some choice in rendering, and followed a form which would render equally well two or more Greek variants. These should be excluded from consideration.

Apart from these venial imperfections in the Syriac MS., are now to be noticed its more important defects. Here, as already hinted, I put aside its substituting shorter forms for the Elzevir text in sundry cases, and remark, in general, that as between Von Gebhardt's Tischendorf on the one hand and Tregelles on the other, it often agrees with the former. It also contains a number of readings of the *Textus Receptus*, against all the critical editors just mentioned. In other places it often sides with other authorities given in Tischendorf's ed. viii. *crit. maj.*, especially with the other Oriental versions (including the Egyptian). In short, its text has what Westcott and Hort would call a large Syrian element; but it is yet not utterly Syrian or Western. It seems, then, that the proper basis of determining the care of the scribe in this respect is to attend only to

those readings which appear to be singular; and of these I give some specimens; the Greek text of comparison being that of Von Gebhardt:

- i. 4. *om.* *καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτά*; involving one letter in Syriac.
- i. 6. *quasi βασιλεῖαν λεπάν pro β. λερεῖτ.* This is evidently a use of the adjective like that in the second conclusion of Mark, in White's Harklensian and the Greek of Codex L. But as nearly the same phrase in v. 10 is rendered correctly after the Greek, this change *must* have been the work of a copyist. Yet the use of the equivalent of *λερεῖτ* for *βασιλεῖαν* was well established in Syriac before the Harklensian version was made.
- i. 9. *add.* *ὑμῶν post συγχωνωνίς* (addition of a word).
- i. 12. *om.* *ἐμοῦ post μετ'* (a simple self-correcting error; omission of one letter).
- ii. 1. *παντοχράτωρ καὶ pro χρυσών;* as if the Greek had added *πάντα καὶ*, simply.
- ii. 4. *om.* *ἀλλὰ ἔχω* (but the phrase shows that the Greek read at least *ἔχω*, as the omission is of two particles only).
- ii. 4. *om.* *τὴν ἀγάπην* (but the margin supplies it).
- ii. 6. *om.* *μεσῶ.*
- ii. 13. *Διάβατος pro Διάτειπος* (clear error of understanding, and doubtless due to the scribe. The later editions vary this word somewhat, but generally still keeping it as a verb. As it is, it changes the rendering into—e. g., De Dieu's: “*quibus spectaculum factus est ille testis meus*”; omitting, of course, the proper name).
- ii. 14. *الله pro τῷ Βαλάξ.* This combines two errors. The original must have read *هُنَّ* (*τῷ Βαράξ*), and the scribe has made two very easy errors in copying.
- ii. 14, 20. *بِحَتْبَهْ (sons of idols) pro εἰδωλόθυτα;* but the error may be De Dieu's, as he makes no note of any error here. The mistake would be very easy for a printer; since the reading of the first word must have been *بِحَتْبَهْ (sacrifices)* instead of *بِحَتْبَهْ (of sons).* Unless a letter was faded, however, the mistake would be gross on the part of a native scribe.
- (ii. 15, 16. *ὁμοίος* is in verse 16 by punctuation, like the Vulgate (Latin.)
- ii. 18. *ἀγγέλῳ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ . . . pro ἀγγέλῳ τῆς . . . ἐκκλησίας* plain error).
- ii. 24. *ώστε λέγοντες pro ώστε λέγουσιν;* but this is probably De Dieu's error, as it consists only in mistaking a *nun* for a *yud*; a very easy thing.

ii. 27. A clerical self-correcting error of one letter in the word for σιδηρᾶ (perhaps only a printer's error).

In chapter ii. I have here noted all the errors of moment; and they are nearly all so slight as to cause no trouble. In chapter iii. the errors are a little more serious; yet appearing more so in the Greek than in the Syriac. For example:

- iii. 1. τῷ (solum) pro τῇ . . . ἐκκλησίας.
- iii. 2. quasi τήρησον vel τήρετ pro στηρίσον.
- iii. 4. An error of one letter in spelling, but corrected in the margin, for Σάρδεστν. (Yet this is singular, as it makes the reading "in Paradise" for "in Sardis.")
- iii. 5. πατρός μου pro π. αὐτοῦ (error of one letter).
- iii. 8. add. καὶ ante ἰδού (one letter added).
- iii. 11. Error, perhaps only of the printer, of one letter in word for τάχυ.
- iii. 12. om. (homoioteleuton) καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου.
- iii. 15. om. φυγρὸς εἰ oὔτε (with MSS. of Mai's Speculum).
- iii. 15. οὐ pro ωὐ for ὅφελον (as if the Greek read μὴ pro ὅφελον).
- iii. 16. add. δὲτι ante μέλλω (ut videtur).
- iii. 21. add. καὶ ante δικῶν.
- iii. 22. Phrase imperfect which renders ζητῶν (om. οὐ).
- iv. 6. add. καὶ ἑνάπιον post κύκλῳ.
- iv. 11. post. πάντα add. καὶ διά σου εἰσιν.

These samples show the general nature of the imperfections, whether of the MS. or of De Dieu's copy. For the rest, I shall confine myself to a selection of the more noticeable ones; omitting also the few transpositions of words, as also the (very few) cases which may show the influence of the Vulgate as against Greek MSS. To continue:

- v. 6. om. (homoiot.) ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῷ τεσσάρων ζώων.
- v. 11. λόγων pro ἀγγέλων (omission of two letters. But a like example in viii. 10 seems to show that this was a contraction only).
- v. 13. om. λέγοντας.
- vi. 1. om. ἔρχου; but MS. supplies it in margin.
- vi. 2. ἦν (vel ἐγένετο) pro ἰδού (addition of one letter).
- vi. 12. αἷμα pro σεισμός (ἵα, pro ἵαοι, showing a late copyist, but showing also that the archetype had the correct reading). μαρτυρία pro σεκήνῃ (ἵαται pro ἵαται).
- vii. 4. om. νιῶν.
- vii. 8. om. ἐσφραγισμένοι.

vii. 14. "And she said" *pro xai εἰργητα* (accidental change of one letter).

viii. 3. ένώπιον (**ρ. ۲۰۰**) *pro ἐστάθη* (**ρ. ۲۰۰**). (Wrong insertion of a letter.)

viii. 4. *om. xai.*

viii. 10. *om. μέγας.*

viii. 12. *ad xai ή γεμέρα add. ἐσχωτίσθη.*

viii. 13. έν μεσουρανήματι is rendered by **بَعْدَهَا؟ بَعْدَهَا؟** [ حَمْسَهَا ؟ حَمْسَهَا ؟ ] **أَوْ**. In xiv. 6 the same is rendered by **حَمْسَهَا ؟ حَمْسَهَا ؟**; but xi. 7 it is rendered correctly. The later editions modify somewhat, but retain the essential error. De Dieu's note is worth quoting from, as it gives a sufficient hint of the error: "Ita transtulit Syrus Graecum illud, έν μεσουρανήματι, ac si decompositum esset ex μέσος μετίζεις, ωρὰ cauda, & αἴρα sanguis." His Latin rendering of this phrase is "medio caudæ, quæ sanguinem habet," which is strictly correct. The later modifications are worth looking at only as matter of curiosity.

ix. 11. Αβαδδὼ is curiously rendered by **حَمْسَه** (*served*), instead of **أَبَادَدَ**. The exchange of the initial letter hints at a *quasi* error of sound, especially as the Syriac kindred word to Αβαδδὼ is used to render ἀπόλετα (xvii. 8, 11). The omission of the final letter is probably a mere accident. On the whole, it seems as if the Syrian translator, or a scribe, had mistaken the Oriental word, and was intending to write the word for *servant*.

x. 6. μέγας (*vel* μέγιστος) *pro χρόνος* (easy error of **لَهْوٌ**; *pro لَهْوٍ*).

x. 11. ἄρχουσι *pro γλώσσαις* (error of one letter and part of another).

xi. 5. πῦρ . . . θελήσῃ is transferred by mistake to verse 1 (*past xai ο ἄγγελος* of the received text), but the MS. has marks to indicate the correction.

xi. 6. *om. τῆς προφῆτείας.*

xi. 12. *om. xai γχυσσαν φωνής . . . λεγούσης αὐτοῖς.*

xi. 13. *om. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

xi. 15. *om. έν τῷ οὐρανῷ.*

xii. 9, 11. διάβολος is rendered by **حَمْسَه** (seductor *vv* imposter, *quasi a* **لَهْوٌ** **بَالَّا**; "as if διάβολος were disector." Compare **كَوْلَى** *pro ἐθλήθη* in same connection). In xx. 2, but not xx. 10, the same rendering occurs.

- xiii. 16. *om.* καὶ κατέπιεν τὸν ποταμὸν . . . τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.
- xiii. 14. *om. (homoioi.)* διὰ τὰ σημεῖα . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. (But B<sup>a</sup>, Vat. 2066 has the same.)
- xiv. 7. δουλεύετε (*vel* διακονεῖτε) *pro* φυθῆσθαι. (Error of whole word; but easy to be made.)
- xiv. 10. θρόνου *pro* ἀρίστου.
- xiv. 11. *om. (homoioi.)* καὶ εἰ τις . . . ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ.
- xiv. 13. ἐν Θεῷ *pro* ἐν Κυριῷ.
- xiv. 15. *om.* πέμψουν . . . τῆς γῆς.
- xiv. 16. *om.* ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης.
- xiv. 20. *om.* ἔξωθεν . . . ληροῦ.
- xvii. 1. *om.* ὑδάτων. (but margin supplies it).
- xvii. 11. ἔστιν *pro* ὑπάρχει.
- xviii. 2. πνεύματος, by error of one letter, is rendered **λυγάς**, *quasi* "of wing" or "flying." The mistake is for **λυγάς**, literally *ἐν πνεύματι*—itself a copyist's mistake.
- xviii. 2. *post* μεμισημένου *add.* καὶ φυλακὴ πάντος θηρίου ἀκαθάρτου καὶ μεμισημένου.
- xviii. 9. *post* κλαύσυνται *add.* καὶ πενθοῦσι.
- xviii. 17. πλέων is rendered by a word meaning "swimming."
- xix. 18. καὶ σάρκας ἰσχυρῶν is repeated in the MS., but only printed once in De Dieu's edition.
- xx. 3. δὲ λυθῆσεται *pro* δεῖ αὐτὸν λυθῆναι. (A clear mistake of the translator; or rather, a misreading of the Greek.)
- xxi. 6. γέροντα ἦγώ *pro* γέρονταν. (The sense intended is apparently *ego sui*.)
- xxi. 17. μέτρων (*vel* μέτροι), πηχῶν ἀνθρώπου *pro* πηχῶν, μέτρου ἀνθρώπου (perhaps only an idiomatic change).
- xxi. 27. *om.* καὶ φεύδος.
- xxi. 27. καὶ *pro* εἰ μή.
- xxii. 11. ὁ ἀδικῶν, by dropping one letter accidentally, is rendered by a word meaning *intrans* or *ascendens* (**λαβός** *pro* **λαβόντος**).
- xxii. 16. ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐκκλησίων *pro* ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (perhaps idiomatic).

From these specimens several results are clear. (1.) The original translator made a number of mistakes, some of which mislead, but some of which, again, by their very erroneous quality, give clear testimony to the Greek text followed. (2.) The Leyden MS. is clearly a copy from some archetype of greater correctness, and every w=

better than the extant copy. (3.) De Dieu probably made a few mistakes in transcribing or editing, which demand a re-examination of the MS. (4.) The MS. contains a few additions, and quite a number of serious omissions, which seem chargeable to the copyist rather than to the archetype. (5.) The care with which the extant copy is written is not extreme; nor, on the other hand, is its carelessness gross. It compares favorably with the bulk of Syriac MSS., though many better Syriac Biblical MSS. exist. The most evident lack is that of a contemporary *διαρθρώσεις*. (6.) Its critical value is not great enough to make it a strong reliance; since it does not give either a complete or an accurate representation of the text. But it contains the substance well, and it is of value as testimony to the text in use by the maker or makers of the version, and also, in a less degree, to the genuine text of the Apocalypse.

In addition, it may be said that the rendering is generally very close to the Greek; painfully close, indeed; and nothing at all like the elegant idiomatic freedom of the Peshitto. But more on this last head will be found further on.

### III.—*Place among the Syriac Versions.*

More interesting, however, than all the foregoing, are the questions: What place does the Syriac Apocalypse hold with respect to the other Syriac versions? What is its age, and what style of thought and spirit does it reflect? What is its position in Syriac literature? What grade or habit of the language does it typify? These questions, if resolved at all, must be resolved solely by internal evidence, and by comparison with other writings. Standing alone as a Syriac version of the Apocalypse, the comparison is more difficult, and depends more upon the uncertain, and, so to speak, the second-hand, considerations of style and usage, than upon matters tangible by themselves as primary evidence.

It would be a waste of time to argue at length that the Apocalypse is no part of the Peshitto, or of a version of equal date. That is a fact that lies upon the surface. Nor can it be shown that any earlier version underlay it as a basis. Scattered notices in early Syriac writers, notably Ephrem Syrus, prove that the Syrian fathers knew of the existence, at least, of the Apocalypse, and perhaps—or probably had a Syriac version thereof. It is true, also, that the Syriac Apocalypse, in the version we know, must have had a wide, though probably not a general, currency later; but like the Epistles to Peter,

and 2 and 3 John, and Jude, being no part of the principal version (Peshitto), it suffered great neglect. Indeed, of the Peshitto version itself, certain Old Testament portions have been rare among the Syrians. MSS. of the Psalter have been most abundant, of the Pentateuch less so, of the Prophets rare, of the Chronicles very rare, and of the remaining books exceedingly rare. (See, for an illustration, Justin Perkins's *Eight Years in Persia*, p. 15.) It is not at all surprising that a portion of the New Testament which was not read in the churches, which did not belong to the popular version, nor was its equal in antiquity, should fall into disuse.

Concerning the origin (among the versions) of this Syriac Apocalypse, two leading opinions seem to have been held. One is expressed by Eichhorn as well as any one else (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, ed. 1827, iv. pp. 459 ff.): "Erst seitdem die Philoxenische von Thomas von Harkel überarbeitete Uebersetzung des N. T. bekannt geworden ist, hat man entdeckt dass unsre gedruckte Syrische Apokalypse ein Stück derselben seyn müsse." His reasons are, first, the subscription to the Florence Codex mentioned above (which, however, we cannot trust); next, its following the Harklensian style, as he alleges, "in jeder Kleinigkeit," in the prevailing use of Greek words, imitations of Greek structure, representations of the Greek article by Syriac pronouns; next, its resemblance to an apparent revision of the (supposed) fragments of the original Philoxenian preserved by Jacob of Edessa in his commentary on Genesis; and next, in its supposed preservation of the critical marks of Origen in the Florence codex, as shown by the example cited in Adler's *N. T. Versiones Syriace*, p. 78.

All these arguments are good to a certain extent. It is undeniable that the genius of this version approaches the Harklensian nearer than even the Pococke Epistles; which last, again, are not without reason supposed to be a fragment of the original Philoxenian. At the same time, all analogy forbids the supposition that either the Pococke Epistles or the Apocalypse were ever based upon a Peshitto original.

The other opinion is well expressed by Adler (*N. T. Vers. Syr.* pp. 78, 79): "Sed tamen a genio Philoxenianæ versionis tantidem differt, quantum a simplice. Accusativum quidem, ut Philoxenus, per ~~Y~~ præfixum exprimit, sed tot græcis verbis civitatem vel potius ~~per~~ grinitatem non dedit, voces vel phrases origine syriacas reddidit, nul ~~l~~ superfia explicatione addita . . . et alia multa, nomina propr ~~m~~ more Syrorum, non ad Græcorum pronunciationem scripsit, verb ~~m~~

litteris non tam anxie inhæsit quam Philoxenus. Statuimus, hanc Apocalypseos versionem ab alio quidem, quam versio syriaca vulgata Evangeliorum, factam esse, sed Philoxenum auctorem non agnoscere." This opinion is held by Tregelles, and for the same reasons. (See Treg. Horne's *Introd.*, iv. p. 281.) Other critics might be cited, but their opinions would add little on either side.

The investigation of the questions here presented involves much labor, but results in little that can be presented particularly without the recitation of long tabulated comparisons, with much other material of the driest sort. I have approached the subject by five lines of comparison, as follows:

1. The proper names.
2. The use of Greek words in place of Syriac.
3. The use of peculiar Syriac words, which seem to characterize respectively the Peshitto, the Harklensian, and the Pococke Epistles.
4. The use of structures and forms of expression which characterize respectively the Peshitto, the Harklensian, the Pococke Epistles, and secular Syriac literature as far as practicable.
5. The quotations from the Old Testament. In these, if the phraseology appears to coincide with that of the O. T. Peshitto, it would show a familiarity with that version, and a measurable guidance thereby; but if their alliance was clearly with the Hexaplar, the fact would show an apparent posteriority to that version, and a consequent origin posterior to both the Philoxenian and the Harklensian.

1. As to the proper names. Most of them are such as easily show whether the Syriac fashion or the Harklensian distortion is followed. Jesus, Christ (Messiah), John, David, Israel, Jerusalem, Satan, Babylon, Euphrates, the names of the cities of the Seven Churches, Zion, Moses, Michael, Sodom, Egypt, Judah, Jews, the names of the twelve tribes, Patmos, Magog, Gog, Nicolaitans, and the like, follow the Syriac fashion generally, and not the Harklensian or the Greek. And the exceptions to the general rule seem rather to show an independent rendering than a desire to reproduce the Greek phenomena. These exceptions are such as the following: the name **Balak** (ii. 14) suffers a double mistake (see above); first, mistaking it for Barak, or changing it by a natural Oriental permutation of the liquids, and second by the transcriber's changing the *r* into *n* and the **B** into *Q*, making the erroneous reading *Qanaq*. In ii. 13, the name **Antipas** (again see above), by a singular but not unnatural error, is replaced by a word meaning "that appeared." The name of the star Apsinthos (viii. 11) is transliterated, not translated. In ix. 12, **Abaddon** and Apollyon are both attempted to be transliterated, the

first, however, erroneously (again see above), substituting an 'ee for *aleph* at the beginning, and leaving off the *nun* at the end; as in the case of "Nicolaitans" also. In xvi. 16 Ἀρματεδῶν is likewise transliterated; naturally because the Syrian translator would not recognize the Hebrew "Har Megiddo." These, with a double form for "Thyatira," one like the Greek dative, are, if I mistake not, all the cases in which the Syriac genius is not strictly followed in the case of the proper names. It results that in this matter the Syriac Apocalypse is very widely different from the Harklensian genius as shown in White's edition, though not altogether different from that of some of the Harklensian MSS. My own judgment is that the handling of the proper names shows first a copyist, of a grade much inferior to the original translator; and next, as far as the translator can be discerned, it shows a procedure rather different from the extreme Harklensian method.

2. Next, as to Greek words not proper names. Here the Harklensian genius is approached, but by no means fully reached. The word most frequently occurring is θρόνος; but it is not uniformly transliterated, being sometimes translated by the Syriac **لُوْسِقَ**. At first it would seem that the translator intended to observe a distinction between the throne of the Almighty and the lesser thrones, by translating for the first and transliterating for the second. But as one reads the book through, that distinction breaks down, and no other appears to take its place. The word is translated in i. 4; iv. 2, 3, 4; xvi. 17; xx. 4; and, if I mistake not, transliterated in all the other cases. Other words are ποδήρη, ζώνη and ζώνας (keeping the acc. sing. and pl. forms); χλειδας and χλειδα (likewise keeping the Greek terminations); πρόσωπον (but this is familiar in the Peshitto); the names of the several precious stones, and also χρύσταλλος; κιθίρις (acc. pl. form); κιθαριδῶν and κιθαριδαι (gen. and nom. pl.); φιάλας and φιάλην (acc. sing. and pl.); καῦμα; στολάς (acc. pl.); γωνία; στάδια; ἄχρατων; εὐαγγέγιων (but this is naturalized in Syriac); μουσικοί; ναῦται; κυβερνήτης; λίθανον; ἄμωμον; κινάμωμον; βύσσος; στρηγία (or στρῆνος), with a verbal form from the same; γένος (but this word is naturalized in all the Orient); τετράγωνος; δύμησις; χοῖνιξ. Besides there are others where the Greek has been naturalized, but not transliterated, as the words for δηνάρια, δαιμόνια, together with a few doubtful cases; which would of themselves lead to the conclusion that the book was translated from the Greek, even if we did not know the fact otherwise. Thus οὐαὶ appears to be transliterated, ωο to be translated; χαλκολιβάνω is partly

translated and partly not, in the phrase **بَلْدَةُ سَارِدِيسْ**; "in Sardis" is once (ii. 7) rendered "in Paradise" by a scribe's error; and **Ἄλληλούτα** is pretty surely taken from the Greek form. To the same class may belong such cases as a Syriac participle for **εἰς ζωήγορῶν**, formed anew from an adopted Greek word; the distorted form for **μαργαρίτας**; and the possibly coincident **لَام** for **σάκκος**. To the usual Greek particles (**γέροντος**, **δέ**, &c.) is to be added also **μέν**.

The list here given covers nearly all the cases in kind. It shows plainly a coincidence with the Harklensian method in one respect, viz., in representing Greek case-endings\* now and then; and the transliterated **μέν** looks in the same direction. But this matter is not to be judged altogether by what it shows affirmatively. It is to be compared with the general Harklensian usage, especially in its extent; a thing to be properly treated of in another connection. For the present it is enough to say that in respect to Greek words, the divergence of the Apocalypse from the Peshitto is not so great as from the Harklensian, but apparently greater (though the basis of comparison here is inadequate) than from the Pococke Epistles. The testimony of the Greek words, positive and negative, apparently tends on the whole to show that the Apocalypse is not a piece of the Harklensian as we have it; though the difference might be accounted for by remembering one very apparent fact; that it had no Peshitto basis. In some of its verbal translations it is nearer the Peshitto than to the Harklensian.

It is to be remembered, too, that the use of a Greek word where a native Syriac word might have been used, decides nothing. The only force, one way or the other, of this consideration lies in the *prevailing fashion* of the transliterating of words from the Greek text. To me, the case stands thus: neither the proper names nor the other words retained in the Syriac Apocalypse show any real connection with the Harklensian; but only an attempt to be faithful to the Greek original. If they are to be taken as showing a dependence upon or close connection with the Harklensian, then many a secular composition must fall into the same category, including some that antedate the Harklensian.

(The remaining portions of this paper await some further verification and revision, and will appear in a future number of the Journal.)

\* But discretion is needed on this point. The Peshitto itself sometimes reproduces Greek case-endings, e.g. of **στάσις** in Luke xxiii. 19. 25; and of **στάσις** in Mark xv. 7.

## THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

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### Proceedings in June, 1882.

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The Society held its fifth meeting according to appointment in the Library of the Yale Divinity School, New Haven, on Thursday, June 1st, 1882, at 2:30 P. M.

There were present during the meeting Profs. Beckwith, Brown, Day, Dwight, Fisher, Gardiner, Gould, Hall, Mitchell, Prentice, Schaff, Toy, Rev. S. M. Jackson, and Rev. Drs. Chambers, Harwood, Mombert, and Todd.

In the absence of the President and Vice-President, Prof. Day was chosen President *pro tem.*

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Secretary read extracts from a number of letters expressing regret of various members at their unavoidable absence.

He also reported upon the printing and distribution of the Journal.

An invitation was received from Prof. Wier to attend a reception at the Yale School of the Fine Arts at 8½ o'clock this evening. This invitation was accepted with thanks, and tickets were given to the members present.

*Voted*, That the election of officers and the transaction of the general business of the Society be made the order of the day for 7 P. M., and that a committee on the nomination of officers be appointed by the chair. The chair appointed as such committee Drs. Toy, Brown, and Todd.

At 3:20 the first paper was read by Prof. George Prentice, D. D., on "The peculiarities in the mind of Christ," and the ensuing discussion continued until 4:55.

The next paper was read by Prof. I. H. Hall, Ph. D., on "The Beirút MS." At 6 P. M., this paper being unfinished, a recess was taken until 7 P. M.

On the reassembling of the Society at 7:15 P. M., the committee on the nomination of officers reported, recommending the reelection of the

sting officers. The report was accepted, and the following officers were duly elected:

<b>REV. D. R. GOODWIN, D. D., LL. D., -</b>	<b>- - - President.</b>
<b>REV. JAMES STRONG, D. D., -</b>	<b>- - - Vice-President.</b>
<b>REV. F. GARDINER, D. D., -</b>	<b>- - - Secretary.</b>
<b>REV. C. A. BRIGGS, D. D., -</b>	<b>- - - Treasurer.</b>
<b>REV. EZRA ABBOT, D. D., LL. D.</b>	
<b>REV. GEO. E. DAY, D. D.</b>	
<b>REV. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D. D.</b>	
<b>PROF. CHARLES SHORT, D. D.</b>	
<b>REV. C. M. MEAD, Ph. D.,</b>	

*Additional Members  
of the Council.*

The Report of the Treasurer was presented by Prof. Brown, and referred to an auditing committee appointed by the President, consisting of Profs. Prentice and Gould.

After discussion, it was voted that an hour, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be set apart at each meeting for such short notes and reports in the line of our work as may be presented by members, without being entered on the programme of the meeting. The hour immediately following the completion of Prof. Hall's paper was set apart for this purpose at the present meeting.

The auditors reported that the Treasurer's report was correct and duly vouched.

Prof. Hall's paper was continued at 7:35 and discussed until 8:25.

Adjourned to attend the reception at the School of Fine Arts, and meet again at 9 A. M.

Friday, June 2d. The Society reassembled at 9 A. M.

In the absence of the President *pro tem.*, the Rev. Dr. Harwood was invited to take the chair, which he gave up to Dr. Day on his return.

This being the hour for short papers and notes,

A note on Lenormant's *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. II., chapter on Ararat and Eden, was read by Dr. Toy.

A note on S. Mark xii. 10, 11, was read by Prof. Hall.

A note on a recent criticism on *The text, structure and authorship of the Apocalypse*, by Völter, was read by the Rev. S. M. Jackson.

Dr. Schaff spoke at some length on Weiss' *Leben Jesu*.

Dr. Dwight spoke on the Synoptical Gospels, especially S. Mark.

Dr. Mombert read a note on the place of the printing of Tyndale's version, and on his study of Hebrew.

These notes, with the discussions to which they gave rise, occupied until 10:30 A. M. The hour having thus more than expired, other notes were deferred.

The next paper was read by the Rev. J. I. Mombert, D. D., on Job xix. 15-27, and was discussed until 11:25.

The Rev. Dr. Dwight then paid a tribute to the memory of our late

colleague, the Rev. J. K. Burr, D. D., of Trenton, New Jersey, and was followed by Drs. Day, Schaff, and others.

On motion, Drs. Short and Dwight were appointed a committee to prepare a minute in relation to the death of Dr. Burr, to be entered on our Journal, and to be sent to his family.

The minute, as subsequently prepared, is as follows:

WHEREAS, it has pleased Almighty God to remove by death the Rev. J. K. Burr, D. D., our esteemed fellow-member, who was chosen as our associate for his learning and ability, we desire to place on record our sense of the loss which this Society has thus sustained.

Dr. Burr had won the regard of all that were associated with him, by his devoted piety, by his scholarship, of which he had given signal proof in an excellent commentary on a part of Holy Scripture, by his modesty, his calm judgment, and his gentle and truly Christian spirit. Though continually suffering from ill health during the last years of his life, he was still faithful to every duty, and attended, even till their work was completed, the meetings of the Committee of Bible Revision, of which he was an esteemed member.

The devotion of his life to the highest studies, to the worthiest causes, and to the best institutions, will be kept in grateful remembrance by many who knew and honored him.

This society tenders to his family and friends its sincere sympathy in their painful bereavement.

CHARLES SHORT,  
TIMOTHY DWIGHT, } Committee.

The following minute was, on motion, unanimously adopted:

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis desires to express its interest in the Syriac MS., belonging to the Syrian Protestant College at Beirút, of which Prof. Hall has given an account, and its hope that this important document may be printed and published. Its early date, the fact that it includes nearly the whole of the New Testament, and the apparent priority of its text over the Harklean, make it desirable that the text should be in the hands of scholars.

Further, the Society would express the hope that the Codex itself may remain in this country, where it may be accessible to a larger number of scholars. We therefore respectfully request the present owners of the MS. to take into consideration the propriety of depositing it in some fire-proof building in this country.

The Council reported the place and time for the next meeting as New York, at the Union Theological Seminary, during the Christmas holidays, at such day and hour as may be fixed by a committee consisting of Profs. Briggs, Schaff, and Brown.

The Council recommended the following persons for election as members of the Society, all of whom have published works or articles on subjects connected with the work of the Society. They were thereupon duly elected, and have since signified their acceptance of membership:

Prof. Wm. Arnold Stevens,	Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N. Y.
Prof. W. R. Harper,	Baptist Union Theol. Sem., Morgan Park, Chicago.
Prof. W. G. Ballantine,	Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, Ohio.
Prof. Geo. H. Schodde,	Columbus, Ohio.
Prof. Edward L. Curtis,	Presby. Theol. Sem. of the Northwest, 1060 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Prof. O. S. Stearns, D. D.,	Newton Theol. Sem., Newton Centre, Mass.
Prof. Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D.,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Rev. Edward H. Jewett, D. D.,	Norwich, Conn.
Prof. Edwin C. Bissell,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. Revere F. Wiedner,	Rock Island, Ill.

*Resolved*, That the whole question of printing the proceedings be referred to the Council with power.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be authorized to dispose of copies of the Journal and Proceedings to members, for foreign distribution only, at fifty cents each.

The next paper on "Tenses in Conditional Sentences in Hebrew," by the Rev. Henry Ferguson, in the absence of the author, was read by the Secretary.

The last paper on "Lost Hebrew Manuscripts," by the Rev. Bernard Pick, Ph. D., in his absence, was read by Prof. Brown, beginning at 12:30.

After the reading of the rough minutes, at 1:30 P. M., the Society adjourned.

FREDERIC GARDINER,  
*Secretary.*

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December, 1882.

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The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis held its sixth meeting according to appointment in the chapel of the Union Theological Seminary, 9 University Place, New York, at 10 A. M., December 28th, 1882, the President being in the chair.

The following members were present during the session: Profs. Beckwith, Beecher, Bissell, Briggs, Brown, President Cattell, Rev. Dr. Chambers, President Chase, Rev. Dr. Craven, Chancellor Crosby, Prof. Day, Rev. Henry Ferguson, Profs. Gardiner, Goodwin, Hall, Hart, Hitchcock, Rev. S. M. Jackson, Rev. Dr. Jewett, Prof. Mitchell, Rev. Dr. Mombert, Profs. Paine, Schaff, and Short; in all, twenty-four.

The minutes of the last meeting were read, corrected, and then approved.

The Committee on Arrangements reported that they had provided for a recess from 1 to 2 P. M., followed by the hour for short notes, and then by the business of the meeting, with another recess from 6 to 7½ P. M. This report was accepted and the arrangement adopted.

The first paper was then read by the Rev. Elijah R. Craven, D. D., on 1 Tim. iv. 1-5, beginning at 10:25, and was discussed until 11:35.

The next paper, on "The Argument *e silentio*," was postponed, at the request of the author, until the next meeting.

The next paper, on "The Testimony of the New Testament to the Authorship of the Old Testament Books," by Prof. Francis Brown, occupied until the hour of recess, at 1 P. M.

The Society reassembled at 2 P. M.

A number of extracts from letters of absent members, regretting their unavoidable absence, were read.

Short notes were then given as follows: By Prof. Gardiner, on the mention of Daniel by the Prophet Ezekiel, and the reasons therefor. By Prof. Brown, on the "History of the Beginnings of Semitic Civilization," by Fritz Hummel. By the Rev. S. M. Jackson, on a book on "The Medical Language of St. Luke," by Dr. Hobart. By Prof. Gardiner, on the time occupied and the numbers involved in the deportations of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar. These notes, and the discussions upon them, occupied until 2:50 P. M.

The Council then presented its report, fixing the time and place of the next meeting as the first week in June, 1883, at Middletown, Conn.

They also stated that a selection of the papers read at this and the preceding meeting could now be published in another number of the Journal, the funds in the treasury being sufficient for the printing of about 200 pages.

They recommended the following persons for election as members, who were thereupon duly elected, and have since signified their acceptance of membership.

Rev. Wm. Henry Cobb,	Uxbridge, Mass.
Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D. D.,	Clifton Springs, New York.
Prof. A. B. Hyde,	Alleghany Coll., Meadville, Pa.
Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph. D.,	15 Appian Way, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. R. W. Micou,	Waterbury, Conn.
Rev. D. Steele, D. D.,	Reading, Mass.
Rev. Milton S. Terry,	249 West 23d St., New York.
Prof. B. B. Warfield, D. D., LL. D., Allegheny Sem., Allegheny, Pa.	

At 3:05 P. M. the discussion began on Prof. Brown's paper, and was continued until 4:42, when, at the request of several members unable to be present at this hour, further discussion was adjourned until the evening.

The next paper was then read by Prof. I. H. Hall, Ph. D., on the Syriac Apocalypse, occupying, with its discussion, until the hour of recess.

The Society reassembled at 7:30 P. M. In the absence of the President and Vice-President, the Rev. E. R. Craven, D. D., was chosen President *pro tem.*

At 7:45 P. M. the next paper was read by Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D. D., on נַבְנֵי in Josh. xvii. 15, 18, and Ezek. xxi. 24; xxiii. 47, occupying, with its discussion, until 8:20.

The last paper, by Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph. D., on "Hand uplifting as a religious ceremony," was read by the Secretary.

Dr. Craven being obliged to leave soon afterwards, Prof. E. C. Bissell was chosen President *pro tem.*

The discussion of Prof. Brown's paper was then resumed and continued until 9:40 P. M.

The rough minutes of the meeting were read, after which the Society adjourned.

FREDERIC GARDINER, *Secretary.*

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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Prof. Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D., 23 Berkeley St., Cambridge, Mass.	
Very Rev. Dean Maurice Baldwin, Montreal, Canada.	
Prof. W. G. Ballantine,	Oberlin Theol. Sem., Oberlin, Ohio.
President S. C. Bartlett, D. D., LL. D., Dartmouth Coll., Hanover, N. H.	
Prof. J. T. Beckwith, Ph. D.,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D. D.,	Auburn, New York.
Prof. John Binney,	Middletown, Conn.
Prof. Edwin C. Bissell, D. D.,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. C. A. Briggs, D. D.,	Union Theol. Sem., New York.
Prof. Francis Brown,	Union Theol. Sem., New York.
Prof. J. H. Buttz, D. D.,	Madison, New Jersey.
President W. C. Cattell, D. D.,	Lafayette Coll., Easton, Penn.
Rev. T. W. Chambers, D. D.,	70 West 36th St., New York.
President Thos. Chase, LL. D.,	Haverford Coll., Delaware Co., Penn.
Rev. Wm. Henry Cobb,	Uxbridge, Mass.
Chanc'r Howard Crosby, D. D., LL. D.,	116 19th St., New York.
Rev. Elijah R. Craven, D. D.,	Newark, New Jersey.
Prof. S. Ives Curtiss, D. D.,	364 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Ed. L. Curtis,	Pres. Theol. Sem. of N. W., 1060 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Prof. Geo. E. Day, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. John De Witt, D. D.,	Theol. Sem. of Ref'd Dutch Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
Prof. Timothy Dwight, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Geo. McL. Du Bois,	1617 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. L. I. Evans, D. D.,	Lane Theol. Sem., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Prof. Henry Ferguson,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. Geo. P. Fisher, D. D., LL. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Frederic Gardiner, D. D.,	Middletown, Conn.
Prof. D. R. Goodwin, D. D., LL. D.,	3927 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. E. P. Gould,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Ph. D.,	725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. W. R. Harper,	Baptist Union Theol. Sem., Morgan Park, (near Chicago), Ill.
Prof. Samuel Hart,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. C. D. Hartranft, D. D.,	Hartford, Conn., (Box 524).
Rev. E. Harwood, D. D.,	New Haven, Conn.
Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D. D.,	Clifton Springs, New York.
Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D.,	Union Theol. Sem., New York, N. Y.
Prof. A. B. Hyde, D. D.,	Alleghany Coll., Meadville, Penn.
Rev. S. M. Jackson,	42 Bible House, New York.
Rev. Ed. H. Jewett, D. D.,	Norwich, Conn.
*Prov't C. P. Krauth, LL. D.,	University of Pa., Philadelphia, Penn.
Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph. D.,	15 Appian Way, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. C. M. Mead, Ph. D.,	Andover, Mass.
Prof. Selah Merrill, D. D.,	Jerusalem, Syria.
Rev. R. W. Micou,	Waterbury, Conn.
Prof. H. G. T. Mitchell, Ph. D.,	Middletown, Conn.
Rev. J. I. Mombert, D. D.,	Paterson, New Jersey.
Prof. Howard Osgood, D. D.,	Rochester, New York.
Prof. John A. Paine, Ph. D.,	Tarrytown, New York.
Rev. Bernard Pick, Ph. D.,	Allegheny, Pa.
Prof. George Prentice, D. D.,	Middletown, Conn.
Rev. E. W. Rice,	1122 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Prof. Thomas H. Rich,	Bates Coll., Lewiston, Maine.
Prof. M. B. Riddle, D. D.,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. C. J. H. Ropes,	Bangor, Me.
Prof. P. Schaff, D. D., LL. D.,	42 Bible House, New York.
Prof. Geo. H. Schodde,	Columbus, Ohio.
Prof. Charles Short, LL. D.,	24 West 60th St., New York.
Prof. H. P. Smith,	Lane Theol. Sem., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Prof. O. S. Stearns, D. D.,	Newton Theol. Sem., Newton Centre, Mass.

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\* Died January 2d, 1883.

- Prof. Rufus P. Stebbins, D. D., Newton Centre, Mass.  
Rev. D. Steele, D. D., Reading, Mass.  
Prof. P. H. Steenstra, Cambridge, Mass.  
Prof. Wm. Arnold Stevens, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N. Y.  
Prof. James Strong, D. D., LL. D., Madison, New Jersey.  
Rev. Milton S. Terry, D. D., 249 West 23d St., New York, N. Y.  
Prof. J. H. Thayer, D. D., Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. John E. Todd, D. D., New Haven, Conn.  
Prof. C. H. Toy, D. D., Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D. D., 37 East 35th St., New York, N. Y.  
Rev. W. H. Ward, D. D., Office of *Independent*, New York, N. Y.  
Prof. B. B. Warfield, D. D., LL. D., Allegheny Sem., Allegheny, Penn.  
Prof. Revere F. Weidner, Rock Island, Ill.  
Prof. Henry R. Weston, D. D., Crozer Theol. Sem., Chester, Penn.
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The December meeting of the Society will be held in New York during the Christmas holidays at such place and on such day as may be appointed by a committee consisting of Drs. Short, Briggs, and Schaaf.

## ERRATA.

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*Further Corrections and Additions for the Number for June and December, 1881.*

- Page 4, l. 3, and p. 7, note, l. 2 from bottom, *for Wace* *read* Bishop Jackson
- " 5, 2d par., line 12, "homage." Add as a note:—See also Acts iii. 20:—"and that he may *send* the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus."
- " 12, l. 9 from bottom, dele the clause beginning "Westcott and Hort" and ending with "margin;"
- " 13, end of 2d paragraph, add:—It is, however, represented in the margin of Westcott and Hort's edition of the N. T. in Greek.
- " 19, 2d paragraph, l. 9, *for Professor Wace* *read* The Bishop of London
- " 56, 3d stanza, *for our* *read* out
- " 57, l. 3 from bottom, *for Tanaach* *read* Taanach
- " 98, note, l. 2 from bottom, *after v.* insert pars ii.
- " 101, at the end of 3d paragraph (l. 6 from bottom) add:—See also Iren. *Haer.* iv. 4. § 1: ἐξ αὐτῶν γάρ τὸ ξατὰ σάρπα ὁ χριστὸς ἔχαρποφορίθη, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι (mistranslated in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library); and Frag. xvii. ed. Stieren, p. 836:—ἐξ δὲ τοῦ Λευτὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ ξατὰ σάρπα, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ λεπέν, ἐγεννήθη [ὁ χριστός].
- " 106, note, last line, *for* § 6 *read* § 7
- " 109, l. 5, *for* and still less *read* or
- " 127, l. 10 from bottom, *for* subject *read* object
- " 137, end of 2d par., add:—See p. 126, note f.
- " 141, 2d par., l. 3, *for* notice *read* take-up
- " 144, last par., 1st sentence, dele which . . . *laudandus*, and 2d sentence, omit 'also' and insert 'a little' before 'ambiguous.'
- " 145, 2d par., l. 1, *for* Others *read* Among those *and* l. 2 *insert* and *before* Dr.
- " 146, 2d par., 1st sentence, *add* and *Neutest. Thol.* (1864), p. 194.

- " 147, 3d par. l. 1, before Prof. J. H. SCHOLTEN insert:—EWALD, *Die Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus u. s. w.* (1857), translates:—"der über allen ist Gott sei gelobet in die ewigkeiten, Amén!" (p. 323, comp. p. 398 f.) See also his *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, Bd. iii. (1874), p. 416, n. 3.
- " 151, add to the note respecting the punctuation of Rom. ix. 5 in the Vatican MS. (B):—Since the above was printed, the point after σάρξ has been very carefully examined by Professor Ubaldo Ubaldi, of the Collegio Romano, and Father Cozza, one of the editors of the Vatican MS. They compared it, at my suggestion, with the 12 points represented in the printed edition of the MS. on the same page (1453), and also with the points, unquestionably *a prima manu*, after ωφειλημα, Rom. iv. 4, and after ζετται, 2 Cor. iii. 15. The result is that the point after σάρξ is undoubtedly by the first hand, the pale ink of the original being only partially covered, as in other cases on the same page, by the black ink of the late scribe who retouched the ancient writing throughout the manuscript.
- It may be added, that out of six cursive MSS. examined for me by Dr. C. R. Gregory, viz. Brit. Mus. Add. 5116, 7142, 11837, 17469, Curzon 71. 6, and Act. 20 (Paul. 25), all but the last have a colon after σάρξ, and the last MS. is almost illegible in this place.
- " 153, 2d par., l. 4, before 1 Sam. insert Ruth ii. 20;

*Also in the present number:*

**Page** 26, 6th line, read 1630 instead of 1627

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—♦—  
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## J U N E.

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### The Argument E Silentio, *With Special Reference to the Religion of Israel.*

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BY PROF. C. A. BRIGGS, D.D.

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THE Argument from Silence is frequently used on all sides, and yet there is general distrust as to its validity. This is certainly an unsatisfactory state of affairs. If the argument be invalid, scholars ought to abandon it. If, however, it be valid, its validity should be clearly established and generally recognized. The uncertainty as to this argument is due to a lack of consideration of the merits of the question and the absence of discriminating definitions. From a sense of the need of such definitions in our own studies, we propose to beat our way into this difficult investigation, in hope that others will correct our mistakes, and improve upon our results. We are assured with Robert Boyle (*Some Considerations touching the Style of the H. Scriptures*, Lond., 1661, p. 111), "There is such a fulnesse in that book that oftentimes it sayes much by saying nothing; and not only its expressions, but its silences are teaching, like a Dyall, in which the shadow as well as the light informs us."

(1) *Silence is, in many cases, a lack of evidence, for the reason that the matter in question did not come within the scope of the author's argument.* To determine whether this be so or not, may not always be easy, but it is a necessary preliminary to any use of the argument from silence. We must first determine exactly what the author does say in its organic connection, together with the design and the scope of his argument, before we can draw any safe conclusions with regard to that which lies outside of his limits, and the silence that he maintains with respect to the matters of our inquiry. Thus, in the question as to the "men of the Great Synagogue," it is argued by many

critics,—such as Budde, Kuenen, Robertson Smith, and others,—that the Great Synagogue had no real existence, but was a fiction of Talmudic writers. In the discussion of the subject, attention is called to the silence of Josephus, Philo, the Apocalypse of Ezra, I. Maccabees, and the Apocryphal literature generally, as to any such body. Prof. Wright, in his *Book of Koheleth*, Lond., 1883, pp. 7 sq., says : “The silence of the Apocryphal books as well as of Josephus and Philo, with respect to ‘the men of the Great Synagogue,’ is neither strange nor remarkable. It is well known that the Jewish annals, from the death of Nehemiah (circa 415 B.C.) down to B.C. 175, are almost a complete blank. The writers of the Apocryphal books had no occasion at all to refer to the acts of ‘the men of the Great Synagogue,’ and Josephus appears to have been almost totally devoid of information with respect to the Jewish annals during the period referred to. That writer has, indeed, been clever enough to prevent this gap in his history from being perceived by ordinary readers. Although he may have been fully aware of the existence of such a body as ‘the men of the Great Synagogue,’ and may have often heard of the difficulties which that body felt with respect to certain books of the Canon, such facts were scarcely those which Josephus would have cared to record in his *Antiquities*, when he had no further incidents to adduce which bore on the history of the period in question. In writing against Apion, Josephus had every reason to pass over such facts in silence. His silence, too, is not so inexcusable ; as the facts known, while not really opposed to the conclusion at which he arrived, would readily have placed convenient weapons in the hands of an unscrupulous antagonist” (pp. 7–8). Here we have several explanations of the argument from silence, e.g., it was beyond the scope of the Apocryphal books ; it was owing to ignorance in part, and in part to intention and policy in the case of Josephus. And yet our author, on p. 476, says : “But little weight is to be assigned to the silence of Josephus, as such a point scarcely comes within the scope of his history.” We would ask of Dr. Wright which of the two positions he means to hold against Kuenen. If he hold as on p. 476, that the mention of “the men of the Great Synagogue” was without the scope of Josephus, then he cannot maintain that the silence was owing to ignorance, or partial knowledge, or policy in argument, or to prevent the reader of his history from knowing the disputes about the Canon among the Jews. Prof. Kuenen notes that I. Maccabees xiv. 28 speaks of “a great assembly of the priests and people and rulers of the nation and elders of the land,” and yet is silent as to “the men of the Great Synagogue.”

The latter would seem to have been within the writer's scope as well as the former. The whole question, then, depends upon the first inquiry whether the mention of "the men of the Great Synagogue," if such a body existed, fairly came within the scope of these writers. This must be tested in every case ere a valid argument can be made.

We shall now mention a few cases in which, as it seems to us, certain things were beyond the scope of the writers. Thus, in the Book of Esther, there is no mention of the divine Name, and no conception of divine Providence. This seems, at the first glance, very strange. The history of Esther would be as fitting to illustrate divine Providence as the story of Joseph. We should expect that the divine names would have been frequently in the mouths of the heroes of the story. And yet, on closer examination, it appears that the Book of Esther was written with a very different purpose from the story of Joseph. It was the work of a patriotic Jew who wished to give the origin of the Feast of Purim, and enforce fidelity to Jewish nationality. The author's scope was political rather than religious, doctrinal, or ethical. Hence, while the name of the Persian monarch appears 187 times, the name of God does not occur. Persian decrees, and the fidelity of Esther to her nation, and skill in overcoming the intrigues of its enemies, take the place of the divine Providence. The same is true in the Song of Songs. Its scope is entirely ethical, to show the victory of marital love over all the seductions that may be employed to constrain it toward others than the rightful object of it. The author had no occasion to use the divine Name, or to speak of religious themes. In the prophets Joel, Hosea, and Ezekiel, there is no reference to the doctrine of Creation. The plan of these prophets, and the scope of their argument, lie in other directions. There is no reference to the doctrines of a future life in the prophets Amos, Joel, Jeremiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. While it is not so clear in these cases that this subject was beyond their scope, yet we do not see that it was in the path of their writings in such a manner that they would have been obliged to mention it. There is no Messianic prophecy in the Wisdom Literature, e.g., Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs. These writings are ethical, and the Messianic idea was clearly beyond their scope.

Other instances might be added, but these are sufficient for the establishment of our first proposition. They show that silence in many cases is to be explained from the reason that the matter was beyond the scope of the writer's argument.

(2) *Silence is concurrent testimony where the matter would hav*

been within the author's scope under certain circumstances. That there is silence is an evidence that these circumstances do not exist. This argument is on the well-known popular principle that silence gives consent. If there were evidence to the contrary, it would certainly have been produced. A fine example of this argument is given by Bishop Lightfoot in his review of the author of "*Supernatural Religion*," in the *Contemporary Review*, xxv. 183, in treating of the silence of Eusebius. He quotes from Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 3, to the effect that his design was to give (1) the references or testimonies in the case of disputed writings of the Canon only; (2) the records of anecdotes in the case of the acknowledged and disputed writings alike. If the Gospel of John had been a disputed writing, he would have given references and testimonies according to his first principle. He does not do this, therefore, "The silence of Eusebius respecting early witnesses to the Fourth Gospel is an evidence in its favor." Its apostolic authorship had never been questioned by any church writer from the beginning, so far as Eusebius was aware, and therefore it was superfluous to call witnesses.

(3) *Silence is sometimes designed by the authors for good and sufficient reasons, which may be ascertained; silence then proves a valid argument in accordance with the nature of the reasons.*

In these cases, the matter came within the author's scope, and his silence may be shown to be intentional. This argument from silence has been the one most commonly employed. Thus Warburton, in his *Divine Legation of Moses Vindicated*, Lond., 1837, vol. ii. p. 531, argues, "If religion be necessary to civil government, and if religion cannot subsist under the common dispensation of Providence without a future state of rewards and punishments, so consummate a law-giver would never have neglected to inculcate the belief of such a state, had he not been well assured that an extraordinary Providence was indeed to be administered over his people." This argument has been often disputed. Both premises have been called in question. There can be no doubt that the idea that "religion cannot subsist under the common dispensation of Providence, without a future state of rewards and punishments," rests on too narrow an induction of the religions of the world. There can be no doubt that Warburton is disposed to minimize the Old Testament statements as to the future life, and yet it seems to us that he is certainly correct in his statement that the Pentateuchal codes are silent as to a future state of rewards and punishments, and that this silence was designed. Warburton calls attention justly to Moses' familiarity with the Egyptian

religion and its highly-developed Eschatology. We have now abundant evidence to show that the Babylonian and Shemitic religions, with which the patriarchal ancestors were first brought in contact, were full and elaborate on this subject. The silence of these codes was designed. We are not convinced that this silence is to be explained altogether on the principle that the Hebrew government was a theocracy of extraordinary Providence ; yet we are sure that it was the design of the Pentateuchal religion to emphasize life in the Holy Land under the divine instruction, and to ignore the future state of rewards and punishments on that account. The essential thing was the divine blessing in life, and the most dreaded thing was the divine curse in life. Indeed, it is the great lesson of Biblical Eschatology that the future life depends upon man's relation to God in this life. It is an evidence of great weakness in any religion to show extreme anxiety as to the future life. This was the worst feature in the Egyptian religion. The study of Biblical Eschatology, in its development in the Scriptures, makes it evident that in the entire course of Biblical history the other religions with which the Biblical religion was brought in contact were more elaborate in Eschatology than the Biblical religion. We also believe it to be a fact that the Eschatology of the Christian Church has derived its material very largely from other religions than the religion of the Old and New Covenants. Biblical Eschatology is much simpler than the Eschatology that has prevailed in the Christian Church. There can be no doubt therefore that the silence of the Pentateuch as to a future state of rewards and punishments was designed in order that the people of Israel might devote themselves entirely to the doing of the divine will in this life, and thereby receive the blessing or the curse in accordance with their deserts.

Archbishop Whately also uses the argument from silence from this point of view in his *Essays on Some of the Peculiarities of the Christian Religion*, 5th ed., Lond., 1846, Essay vii., and in his *Kingdom of Christ*, N.Y., 1859, p. 28 sq. He calls attention to the fact that "No such thing is to be found in our Scriptures as a Catechism or regular Elementary Introduction to the Christian Religion ; nor do they furnish us with anything of the nature of a systematic Creed, — set of Articles, — Confession of Faith, or by whatever other name we may designate a regular, complete Compendium of Christian doctrines. Nor again do they supply us with a Liturgy for ordinary Public Worship, or with forms of administering the Sacraments, or of conferring Holy Orders ; nor do they even give any precise directions

as to these and other ecclesiastical matters ; anything that at all corresponds to a Rubric or set of Canons. And this omission is, as I have said, of a widely different character from the one before mentioned, since all these are things of manifestly practical utility, and by no means calculated to gratify mere idle curiosity" (*Essays*, p. 331–332). He then argues that "since no one of the first promulgators of Christianity did that which they must, some of them, at least, have been naturally led to do, it follows that they must have been supernaturally withheld from it" (p. 349). "Each Church, therefore, was left, through the wise foresight of Him who alone 'knew what is in man,' to provide for its own wants as they should arise ; to steer its own course by the Chart and Compass which His Holy Word supplies, regulating for itself the Sails and Rudder according to the winds and currents it may meet with" (p. 355). "It is very important therefore, and, to a diligent and reflective and unprejudiced reader, not difficult, by observing what the sacred writers have omitted and what they have mentioned, and in what manner they have mentioned, each, to form in his mind distinctly the three classes just alluded to, viz., First, of things essential to Christianity and enjoined as universally requisite ; secondly, those left to the discretion of the governors of each Church ; thirdly, those excluded as inconsistent with the Character of the Gospel Religion" (*Kingdom of Christ*, p. 34). This silence or reserve of divine Revelation is extended by Dr. Wharton (*Silence of Scripture*, Boston, 1867) so as to cover many things that we should like to know, as to the Creation of the World, the origin of evil, divination, the Virgin Mary, the personal appearance of Christ, as well as liturgy and creeds dwelt upon by Whately. Robert Hall has a fine sermon on "The Glory of God in Concealing" (*Works*, N.Y., 1857, iii. p. 310 sq.). Trench, in his *Hulsean Lectures*, 1845, Lecture vi., "On the Fitness of Holy Scripture," Phila., 1851, p. 120 sq., alludes to the same truth of the intentional silence or reserve of divine Revelation. We might illustrate this form of argument from silence from the human point of view of the Biblical authors rather than the point of view of the divine Author of Scripture, but it will come up incidentally under the next head, and we would save our space.

(4) *Silence is often evidence of the ignorance of the author on the point in question.* Here, again, it must be proved that the matter was clearly within the scope of his argument. This phase of the argument from silence is vastly important ; upon it depends the Science of History. Of what possible use are historic records, unless they give

us information that we could not otherwise know? How can we trace the progress of events or opinions, except on the presumption that whatever occurs leaves its record, and whatever is known is in some way made known.

Where there is silence, we may assume ignorance as to the matter in question, and even find positive disproof of its existence. An event or an opinion might not be known to a particular person, or might be known to but a few, and these might perish. But it is to be presumed that those to whom the event or knowledge was known would make it known if it were within the scope of their argument. We prove the growth of knowledge from the silence of early writers and the statements of later writers. The statement of opinions give us the basis for the history of the opinions. Silence is an evidence of ignorance of them. Thus, Dr. Mombert (*Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, N.Y., 1883, p. 107 sq.) overcomes the tradition, handed down from Fox, and apparently supported by the Colophon of Tyndale's first edition of his translation of Genesis, "emprinted at Marlborow in the land of Hesse, by me, Hans Lust, &c.," that Tyndale was a student at Marburg, and went from thence to Hamburg by way of Antwerp, to meet Coverdale in 1529; by showing that there is no record at Marburg of Hans Lust ever having set up a printing press there, and that the Album of the University does not contain Tyndale's name among the matriculates, as it would if he were matriculated, in as much as it gives Patrick Hamilton and others; and there is an absence of historic evidence as to Coverdale's going to Hamburg. The constant argument of the great Reformers against the abuses of Rome was: Scripture is silent, and we cannot rest our faith on any doctrine or institution merely on the authority of the Church or tradition, when the Sacred Scriptures are silent with respect to it. Richard Bentley in his celebrated work on the *Epistles of Phalaris*, London, 1699, uses the argument from silence to prove them to be forgeries, thus, "For had our letter been used or transcribed during that thousand years, somebody would have spoken of it, especially since so many of the ancients had occasion to do so; so that their silence is a direct argument that they never had heard of them." (New edition, 1883, p. 481.) The importance of this line of argument is greatly emphasized by the Roman Catholic scholar Du Pin, in his great work on *Ecclesiastical Writers*, Paris, 1694; Lond., 1696 (p. viii.). "The external proofs are, in the first place, taken from ancient manuscripts, in which either we do not find the name of an author or else we find that of another; the more ancient or correct

they are, the more we ought to value them. Secondly, from the testimony or silence of ancient authors; from their testimony, I say, when they formally reject a writing as spurious, or when they attribute it to some other author; or from their silence when they do not speak of it, though they have occasion to mention it. This argument, which is commonly called a negative one, is oftentimes of great weight. When, for example, we find that several entire books which are attributed to one of the ancients, are unknown to all antiquity. When all those persons that have spoken of the works of an author, and besides, have made catalogues of them, never mention such a particular discourse. When a book that would have been serviceable to the Catholics has never been cited by them, who both might and ought to have cited it, as having a fair occasion to do it, 'tis extremely probable that it is supposititious. It is very certain that this is enough to make any book doubtful, if it was never cited by any of the ancients; and in that case it must have very authentic characters of antiquity, before it ought to be received without contradiction. And on the other hand, if there should be never so few conjectures of its not being genuine, yet these, together with the silence of the ancients, will be sufficient to oblige us to believe it to be a forgery" (in l. c., p. viii.).

Many examples of this argument might be given, but we shall limit ourselves to the Old Testament Scriptures; some of these arguments will be found valid and some invalid. The validity depends upon the previous question whether the matter in hand really was within the writer's scope. Horne, in his *Introduction* (Vol. ii., p. 31, first edition), presents as an argument against the documentary hypothesis, "one objection, and we apprehend that it is a fatal one, namely, the total silence of Moses as to any documents consulted by him." This would be a valid and "fatal" argument if it could be proved that Moses must have mentioned the documents if he had used them. But this cannot be proven. It was not the custom of ancient authors so to do. It was only occasional, and it was not common or necessary.

It has been argued for many generations that Job must have been written in the Patriarchal age before the Mosaic legislation, on account of the silence of the book as to that legislation. The latest statement of that argument that I have seen is in a supplement to the article of Delitzsch on Job in the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia*, 1883, ii., p. 1187. "Those who hold that the book of Job was written in a very early age, in the time of Moses, or even earlier, urge its un-Jewish tone and its general spirit, which indicate an early period of the race. The absence of all references, direct and indirect, to the

Mosaic law, the temple, the priesthood, and the sacrifices, as well as to Jewish history, is very striking and is justly emphasized. The difficulty of conceiving of a Jew in the reign of Solomon transferring himself to a pre-Mosaic condition of affairs, and ignoring entirely his own religion, cannot be easily set aside." Is this a valid argument from silence? The answer depends on (1) whether these things fairly came within the scope of the author. (2) Whether these institutions of the Pentateuch were really in use, and were known in the Solomonic age. (3) Whether the silence is as stated. Beginning with the third, we agree with this writer that this silence is a most remarkable one, and "cannot be easily set aside." There is no mention of the Sinaitic Covenant, or any sacred writings or sacred institutions of Israel, the kingdom of God, or sacred times. The only offerings are **נְדָרִים עֲלֹת**. The only purifications are by water. This silence must be acknowledged. But the other two points are open to criticism and prove to be without force. The observance of the Pentateuchal institutions in the Solomonic age needs to be proven. Those who make so much of the silence of Job have overlooked the still more remarkable silence of other writings of the same class.

The book of Proverbs agrees with Job in making no mention of the Sinaitic Covenant, or the sacred writings (except **מִשְׁלָמָה**), or sacred institutions or sacred times. The only offerings are **רָאשֵׁית נְדָר זְבַח**, all primitive offerings, and there is no allusion to Levitical Purifications. Must the book of Proverbs also go into the Patriarchal period? If the silence in the case of Job forces us to that conclusion, the silence of the book of Proverbs, as to the very same things, forces us to the same conclusion. But it is impossible to assign the book of Proverbs to the Patriarchal period, for so many different reasons that no one, so far as we know, has ever thought of it. It is strange that any one should ever have thought of putting Job in that period; for the doctrines of the book as to the divine Wisdom, divine discipline, ethical requirements, and the future state, are identical with those of Proverbs, and at a wide remove from the Pentateuch. The silences and the positive teachings of Job alike are in accord with those of Proverbs. The Song of Songs presents the same features of silence. The book of Ecclesiastes is silent as to the Covenant, sacred writings, the kingdom of God, and sacred times. It mentions **נְדָר זְבַח** as in Proverbs. It mentions purifications, but without means. It is distinguished from the other book by the mention of the **בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים** (iv. 17), and **מָקוֹם קָרְבָּן** (viii. 10). The book of Ecclesiastes belongs without doubt to

the latest writings of the Old Testament. The book of Proverbs contains sentences and poems of Wisdom extending through many centuries, at least from the Solomonic age to the post-Exilic period. Here we have four writings classed together as belonging to the Wisdom Literature of the Hebrews, all characterized by common features of silence as to important religious matters. What does this silence mean? It cannot help us to locate these writings chronologically, for these writings belong to many different centuries of Hebrew history. The silence of Job has been explained as intentional. The author designed to place his hero in the Patriarchal age, and carefully abstained from anything that would be alien to that age; as Longfellow in his *Golden Legend*, and Tennyson in his *Idylls of the King*, transport themselves in imagination into ancient times, and as far as possible set their heroes in the scenery of their own age. This is valid only in part, for the author makes Job and his friends represent characters in their discourse as to divine Wisdom, the discipline of Wisdom, ethical conceptions, and other doctrines, only possible in the Solomonic or post-Solomonic age. The author might avoid glaring inconsistencies in the details of religion, but he could hardly escape unconscious allusions to the religion and institutions of his own period. Whatever validity this argument might have had in the case of Job is entirely destroyed by a consideration of Proverbs, which was not such an ideal production, and where the several authors make no use of this element of fiction.

The silence of Job has also been explained as intentional from another point of view in which the other writings coincide; namely, that the Wisdom Literature represents a speculative type of theology which purposely ignored ceremonial institutions and externals of religion, a school of thought of a rational and ethical type. There is doubtless truth in this view. The Wisdom Literature stands by itself in the Old Testament Scriptures as representing a different type of theology which might be called speculative and philosophical, but better, think, ethical. The authors of Hebrew Wisdom represent an independent section of divine Revelation. They show no dependence on the Mosaic legislation, or on the prophetic instruction. They go forth the teachings of the Divine Wisdom as the highest and best authority, dependent upon no other authority than the Divine Wisdom herself. The traditional view of their dependence on the Law of Moses must be abandoned. They moved in a sphere exterior to the ceremonial worship of Israel; they lived in the school of Wisdom, and cultivated its ethical and speculative principles. They give us a

type of religion which was essentially ethical. And its importance is subordinate to no other in Israel. The ceremonial worship is essentially in a different sphere. But was there involved in this an intentional ignoring of the institutions? We think not. The book of Proverbs urges strongly the payment of first-fruits and votive offerings. The book of Ecclesiastes lays great stress upon worship in the house of God. The prophets, from Samuel on, opposed externalism in worship, and that opposition stares us in the face in their writings. If there were such an opposition in the wise men of Israel, it would appear somewhere in their writings. The silence cannot be explained from religious indifference. The simple, dull, and perverse fools and scorners are the especial objects of attack in the Wisdom Literature. There is a deep moral earnestness in these writings that is wonderful. An ignoring of sacred institutions by these men seems to us incredible. The question now presses upon us, Were these things, about which there is silence, within the scope of the Wisdom Literature? These writings were ethical rather than religious or doctrinal, and therefore we could not expect very many allusions to the items omitted, and many things might escape mention which would not strike our attention as unnatural; and yet there are certain things omitted which clearly come within the author's scope. Job is represented as offering a sacrifice for the sins of his sons: "He rose up early in the morning and offered burnt offerings, according to the number of them all; for Job said, It may be that my sons have sinned and cursed God in their hearts. Thus did Job continually" (i. 5). And the friends of Job were commanded, "Take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt offering; and my servant Job shall pray for you: for him will I accept: lest I deal with you after your folly" (xlvi. 8). Why is the **עַל** used as a sacrifice for sin where we would expect, according to the Priests' code, **תְּמִימָה**? Job was a leper: why do we not find some reference to the elaborate laws as to the purification of the leper of the Priests' code? The other Wisdom Literature is equally silent as to the sin offering and the Levitical purifications, and yet it seems to us that we should be very likely to find them in ethical writings that lay great stress upon sins of various forms, and their removal. It seems to us, therefore, that with reference to these offerings and purifications, at least, the authors of the Wisdom Literature were ignorant of them, and they could not have been in public use in their times.

Another feature of the Wisdom Literature is the absence of ref-

erence to the supernatural in miracles and prophecy. There is a description of a Theophany in Job xxxvii. sq., but no reference elsewhere in these writings to any such thing. Divine communications are made to men in the training in the school of Wisdom. Is this silence intentional, implying scepticism as to the supernatural, or opposition thereto? Was it beyond the authors' scope, or was it within their scope and yet unknown to their experience? We do not hesitate to follow the opinion that the authors of the Wisdom Literature were unacquainted with supernatural manifestations in their times.

If the silences of the Wisdom Literature are remarkable, the silences of the Psalter are still more remarkable. There is no reference to sacred writings in the Psalter except in Ps. xl., to a book-roll which looks like the law respecting the king (Deut. xvii. 14; I. Sam. x. 25) but does not imply anything else. There is no reference to miracle or prophecy except in recollection of the experiences of the Exodus. There is no sin offering.<sup>1</sup> There is no reference to the trespasses.

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<sup>1</sup> It is generally held that **חטאת** in Psalm xl. 7 is a sin offering. To this we cannot agree. The technical term for sin offering is **חטאת**, a fem. intensive noun. The Piel of the verb is alone used in this sense. The intensive of the noun and verb is alone suited to the idea. It is not reasonable to suppose that the Psalmist should use the technical terms **מנחה**, **זבח**, **עליה**, and **חטאת** if he were thinking of the sin offering. The word **חטאת** is a simple feminine noun of the pretonic class. It is seldom used in the Old Testament. In the other passages, Gen. xx. 9, Pss. xxxii. 1, etc., it can only mean sin. Why should it mean anything else here? The only reasons are the supposed requirement of the context, and traditional interpretation. The latter reason alone is worthless. The former is without real force. For the **חטאת** and  **מנחה** are closely associated offerings, which belong together, but the  **מנחה** and **חטאת** are at a wide remove in conception and in usage as well as in historic origin. The **י** in both cases is the **י** of accompaniment. The strophe should be rendered: —

In peace offering with meat offering thou hast no delight —  
ears hast thou bored me.

Whole burnt offerings with sin thou hast not asked —  
then, said I,

Lo, I have come with the book-roll,  
written respecting me.

To do thy will, my God, I have delight,  
and thy instruction is in the midst of my bowels.

In the first line we have open ears contrasted with the communion meal of the  **מנחה** and  **זבח**. In the second line we have the opened mouth contrasted

offering. The only feasts clearly indicated are New Moons. The few references to purification can be satisfied by thinking of the use of water. Now, the Psalter is composed of some one hundred and fifty pieces of poetry, all in great variety of form and subject-matter, written all along the Hebrew centuries. Silence here is very significant. If the Psalter had been the prayer-book and hymn-book of the first and second temple, how can we explain the absence of references, direct or indirect, to Sabbath, Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, and Day of Atonement, the great seasons of Worship? The feasts of lxxxi. 4 are clearly all New Moons. Ps. xlvi. 5 is satisfied by thinking of them alone. Were the New Moons the only feasts of national observance in the history of Israel? So far as the authors of these Psalms are concerned, it certainly fell in their way to mention the most important feasts. That the author of lxxxi. 4 lays the stress on the New Moons seems to us to imply that these were the great feasts of his times.

We have seven Penitential Psalms, besides many of Lamentation for sin and trouble. We find in some of these references to sacrifices, **עליה** and **מנחה** are emphasized in Ps. li. How was it possible for him to pass over without mention the **חטאת** and **אשׁוֹם**? For these authors, this silence can have but one meaning. They were ignorant of these sin and trespass offerings.

We find, in two of these, references to purifications, Ps. li. 6, lxxiii. 13, but purification in the use of water satisfies all the circumstances. We have no hint of the use of the ashes of the red heifer or the purification of the leper or the Levitical laws of purity.

with the whole burnt offering accompanied with sin. The third and fourth lines then contrast the coming with the book-roll and the doing of the will of God and the having his instruction within with the sin which is connected with the burnt offering. This makes the strophe harmonious, and the use of **חטאת** is justified, whereas there is no occasion for the use of the sin offering. It is without force, and is out of relation to the last two lines, where the strophe advances to the climax. The reference to the sin is an artistic preparation for the great thought of the strophe, the *obedience* of the Psalmist in profession, action, and inward experience. This is in accordance with the genius of Hebrew poetry. The Psalmist claims to be in entire accord with the will of God, —what propriety is there in referring to sin offering? Under such circumstances **עליה**, **מנחה**, and  **מנחה** were appropriate. Furthermore, the fact that this is the only passage in the Psalter where there is supposed to be any reference to the sin offering, of itself constrains us to suspect the supposed reference here.

How shall this silence be explained? With reference to certain Psalms, where these things omitted clearly came within the author's scope, it implies ignorance. But, taking the Psalter as a whole, what shall we say as to scope? If the Psalter were ever the official book of the temple worship, the essential forms of that worship would clearly be within the scope of the Psalter. The silence of the Psalter, then, entirely disproves the Traditional theory in this regard. The Psalter could never have been the hymn-book of the first or the second temple. If it could be proved to have been, then the conclusion would be irresistible that during the whole period of the temple worship the Levitical institutions were not observed. It is true that certain Psalms of the last half of the Psalter, and a very few of the earlier half, can be proved to have been used in the temple worship, but the order of their use was different from the order of the Psalter. Rather, the Psalter, in its present form, was arranged for the worship of the synagogue entirely apart from the worship of the temple; and its Psalms were selected from a large number of hymns and prayers of all ages, the most of which expressed individual experiences. They suit very well the synagogue worship, as afterwards the worship of the Christian Church, but they do not suit, save in a few instances, the worship of the temple; and its most solemn services have no Psalms that are appropriate to them.

But the silence of the Psalter proves still more than this. Granted, now, that the Psalms were not composed for temple worship, but expressed individual experience, it is still most singular that the Levitical institutions of the Priests' code find no expression. It proves that the historical religion of Israel, in the times when our Psalms were composed, was less formal and ceremonial, and more spiritual and devout, than the Traditional view implies. The worship was more in accordance with the simpler Covenant codes, and there is no evidence of any knowledge or use of the Priests' code.

The absence of reference to the supernatural in the Psalter, we would explain as in the Wisdom Literature.

From the Psalter we advance into the Prophets. And here we note the silence as to miracles in Jeremiah, Isaiah B, Ezekiel, and post-Exilian Prophets. This seems to us to imply the ignorance of these authors as to any miracles in their times.

Theophanies are unknown to Jeremiah. We conclude from this that no Theophany was granted him. The only mention of sacred writings, other than their own prophecies, that we find in any of the prophets is (1) Hos. viii. 12, which refers to many prophetic To-

roth ; (2) Jer. viii. 8, the **תורת יהוה** which, from the context, is written by false prophets ; (3) Mal. iii. 22 (**תורת משה**). We might, from this silence, conclude (1) It did not fall within their scope to mention other sacred writings. They were prophets, and leaned on their own divine authority, and were not disposed to lean on sacred books of other prophets. So Isa. xxxiv. 16, calls his own prophecy **ספר יהוה**. False prophets do not hesitate to apply the term to their own prophecies in the time of Jeremiah. Hosea refers to a number of prophetic writings of other prophets.

The only one of the Prophets who alludes to the Mosaic law is Malachi, the last of them. It came within his scope. If it be thus taken for granted that it did not fall within the scope of these Prophets to mention the Mosaic Written Law, then the Traditional view of the Rabbins that the Pentateuch was of primary authority and the Prophets of secondary importance must be abandoned. The Prophets recognize no authoritative writings as higher than their own. They do not find it worth their while to mention any other. The Traditional view must yield also in another particular. It is a mistake that the Prophets were mere expositors of the law of Moses. We do not find any reference in their writings to such a written law which it is assumed they were expounding. The Prophets stand out in entire independence of Moses and his legislation. They give divine Torah of their own and claim divine authority for them, and do not trouble themselves about other truth. It may also be questioned whether the Traditional theory may not have to yield in another particular. If there was such a body of history and legislation compacted in the written form of our present Pentateuch, could these Prophets have failed to recognize it and allude to it? Could Isaiah use the term **תורת יהוה** for his own writings, or Jeremiah speak of the **תורת יהוד** of false prophets, if there were well-known and publicly recognized books of legislation called by these names? Does not their silence therefore imply ignorance of any such a law-book or collection of **תורת יהוד** as our Pentateuch? It seems to us that we must admit as much as this. It does not prove the non-existence of the codes and narratives of the Pentateuch, but it does prove that they were not known to these Prophets, with the exception of Malachi, as a public official body of legislation and history. The silence of the Prophets as to sacrifices is also significant. Leaving out of account the symbolic code of Ezekiel xl.-xlviii., the **חטא** is unknown to the Prophets. **אש** is only found in Isaiah liii., where it has a significance given to it that is appropriate to the context, but not in

accordance with the relative position of the **דָּשָׁן** in the Priests' code.

In view of the great stress laid upon sin and repentance by the Prophets, it is clear that it fell within their scope to mention these sin and trespass offerings. But before considering this omission we will call attention to one other. The Prophets make frequent allusion to Sabbaths and New Moons (Hos. ii. 11; Amos viii. 5; Is. i. 13, 14; lxvi. 23, etc.), but not to other feasts, save only the seventh year indirectly in Jer. xxv. 11, 12 (comp. with II. Chron. xxxvi. 21). The feast of Tabernacles is only in Zech. xiv. 16. There is a reference to feasts in general in Isaiah i. 13 sq., Ezekiel A, and Malachi; but these in Isaiah at least may be sufficiently explained as New Moons and Sabbaths. The omission of the seventh year can be explained as not within the scope of the writers. This can hardly be the case with the Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. The first mention of Tabernacles is in the post-Exilic Prophets. We do not mean that every one of the Prophets must have mentioned these feasts as within their scope, but we do mean that when speaking of the feasts, the stress on the New Moons, in the absence of mention of the other feasts, is not in accordance with the Levitical system. Looking now at Purifications, we find no mention of them in Hosea, Amos, Micah, Isaiah, Ezekiel A, or post-Exilic Prophets. Those of Joel iii. and Jeremiah are only washings.

Now how shall this silence of the Prophets as to the codes of law and the Mosaic ritual be explained? They certainly came within the scope of some of them. There are but two possible solutions: the one is intentional silence; the other is unconscious silence or ignorance. We hold that the former explanation will not meet the facts of the case. The Prophets are not entirely silent; they are silent as to some things and outspoken as to others. There is, without doubt, an antagonism to ceremonialism and formality in the Prophets generally. Compare Hos. v. 6; Mic. vi. 8; Amos v. 21 sq.; Is. i. 11 sq.; Jer. vii. 21 sq. Their hostility is, however, against idolatry and the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth. They emphasize the religion and worship of Jehovah over against these, and one would expect them to emphasize the peculiar institutions of Jehovah; whereas they lay stress on those things which are common to the two religions, namely, **דָּשָׁן**, **עֲלֹהָה**, and the New Moon feast. Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles are ignored. The Purification from contact with the dead, the sin and trespass offerings are ignored. These we would expect the Prophets above all to emphasize. Their silence seems to prove

that they were ignorant of these things, and that these were not observed in Israel in their times.

(5) *Silence is cumulative evidence of non-observance.* The argument from silence increases with the amount of ground covered, until at last it becomes exhaustive in evidence, and exclusive of the matter in question. The argument is increased by its extension in time, place, variety of authors, variety of styles, and of writings. The silence of Job is greatly increased by the evidence of Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, of the same class of Wisdom Literature, as to the same matters. The argument from silence in the Psalter is enhanced by the great number of Psalms of different authors, styles, and periods of composition. The argument from silence of the earlier Prophets Joel, Amos, and Hosea, is enhanced by that of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and the later minor Prophets. The argument from silence increases in weight in writings of the same class, but it is increased to a vastly greater extent by combining together the silence of whole classes of writings, from the Wisdom Literature, the Psalter, and the Prophets, and the Historians, and amounts to one of the strongest lines of evidences, all the more valuable for the induction and generalizations through such a wide range of literature.

Now there are certain things about which all these Hebrew writings are silent. As we have elsewhere said, some of the institutions of the religion of Israel most characteristic of the Priests' code do not occur in the pre-Exilic Literature. The sin offering first and alone appears in the pre-Exilic history in the reform of Hezekiah (II. Chron. xxix. 20-24), and here it is not offered according to the Priests' code. It is not found in the Wisdom Literature, or the Prophets. The **דָם** is found in the Historical books only as a fine of emerods and gold mice paid by the Philistines (I. Sam. vi. 17), and as trespass money (II. Kings xii. 16), and not as an animal sacrifice. The **דָם** occurs in the Prophets only in Is. liii., where it is not in accordance with the Priests' code in idea or importance. It is not found in the Psalter or Wisdom Literature. The offerings of the pre-Exilic Literature are those common to the religion of Jehovah in the Covenant codes, and to the religion of Baal.

The purification in the use of water is occasionally found in the Psalter, Historical books, Prophets, but nowhere in all this literature are the characteristic purifications of the Priests' code to be found.

The sacred feasts upon which the Psalter and Prophets lay stress are the New Moons. The later Prophets also lay stress on the Sabbath. The Historical books speak of the Passover as observed by

Solomon and Hezekiah, but, according to II. Kings xxiii. 21 sq., Josiah was the first to observe it in accordance with the Deuteronomic code, from the Conquest to his day. There is no allusion to the Passover in the Wisdom Literature, Psalter, or Prophets. There is no allusion to Pentecost anywhere. The feast of Tabernacles was first observed in accordance with the Priests' code after the exile (Neh. viii. 17). Hence we are not surprised to meet it for the first time in the Prophet Zechariah. The day of Atonement and year of Jubilee do not appear.

Now it seems to us that this weight of silence is conclusive proof that these things were not known to these Biblical writers, and were not in public observance in the times of silence.

The Priests' code was not observed in Israel until after the exile, and even then only by degrees could its provisions be enforced. The Deuteronomic code was not observed until the reign of Hezekiah. The religion of Israel was, prior to Hezekiah, in accordance with the simpler Covenant codes, in constant conflict with the religion of Baal, at first under the divine direction of Shophetim, and then under the divine direction of the Nebiim, who gave authoritative divine Toroth suited to the circumstances of Israel.

The argument forces us to this result. It is confirmed by other arguments which it would be out of place to consider here. It will not be out of place, however, if we consider just how much this argument from silence involves, and guard it from misuse. We hold that it involves public and general ignorance. There are those who go so far as to argue from it the non-existence of the Pentateuch and the Mosaic codes. But this seems to us going beyond the argument from silence. Before one could conclude from the silence of the Scriptures as to the Pentateuch, that it was not in existence, one would have to prove that it could not exist without being known. This is difficult to prove. We are constantly finding lost documents and long-forgotten books. The book of Deuteronomy was lost and forgotten, as we learn from II. Kings xxii. Some think this carries with it the whole Pentateuch. We believe that Deuteronomy alone is referred to. But it is an easy and natural conclusion that, if the simple code of Deuteronomy could have been lost and forgotten, the more elaborate Priests' code would have been more likely to have been lost and forgotten. If the narrative be true, and there are no good reasons to question it, it supports the argument from silence by positive argument that these Biblical authors were indeed ignorant of the existence of the Pentateuchal codes in their present combination, and that the Priests' code

was not observed prior to the exile. It also prevents the adoption of the conclusion that they had no previous existence. Indeed, it is not uncommon in history that certain institutions are forgotten and buried under others that have assumed their place ; or that certain laws, and even codes, become obsolete and forgotten ; or, indeed, that certain codes, as well as laws, never go into operation in the life and experience of the people. It is also not uncommon in the history of opinion for earlier opinions to pass out of use and become utterly forgotten with their authors. The argument of silence cannot go beyond the ground covered, and can prove nothing as to the existence of those codes and institutions prior to the literature which is silent about them and ignores them.

The argument from silence is capable of vast illustration. There are many important points that we have not had time or space to present, such as the silence of the Pentateuchal narratives as to the period of the captivity in Egypt, and the prolonged wanderings of Israel in the wilderness. These are dark spots in the midst of full and elaborate narratives. Would Moses be likely to pass these periods over in silence if he wrote the narratives of the Pentateuch ? If so, what were his reasons for the silence in this case ? It could not be from ignorance : it must have been intentional ; and what good reason can be given ? If these narratives were not written by Moses, does the silence imply ignorance, and show that the author had no materials or sources of information as to these events ? We suggest these as specimens of inquiry as to the force of silence in the Historical books.

Thus far our induction of the facts of the case leads us. We have established the following forms of the argument from silence :

I. The matter in question lies beyond the scope of the author's argument. It is then (*a*) an absence of evidence as to the matter in question, or (*b*) an evidence that it did not possess any of those characteristics that would bring it within the author's scope.

II. The matter in question lies within the author's scope of argument. It was, then, omitted (*a*) for good and sufficient reasons, intentionally, or (*b*) unconsciously, from ignorance of the matter.

III. The argument from silence is cumulative, as it extends over a number of writings, of different authors, of different classes of writings, and different periods of history. In this case it implies either (*a*) external restraint for good reasons, or (*b*) a public ignorance, and, in the case of institutions and laws, a non-observance of them.

## Romans IX.-XI.

BY PROF. E. P. GOULD.

THIS section of the Epistle to the Romans contains a discussion of the question Why God rejected the Jews, and how this consists with His original choice of them to be His people? Does not this imply a failure of His word, and so a change in the immutable God? Paul sees that it does, if the choice was, as the Jews supposed, a selection of them as a nation, irrespective of other considerations. And, therefore, his first argument is intended to show that the divine choice was not based on considerations of heredity simply. The original promise was to Abraham and to his seed, and yet not to his seed as such, but to a part of it only, making a choice among his children, on some other basis than mere descent, necessary. In contrast with this, he shows that it was not the mere child of Abraham's body, but a child of promise, a child coming to him as the direct and supernatural result of a divine promise, in whose line the chosen people are to be found. Then, even in the children of this child of promise, there is a further discrimination made,—one being taken and the other left. And here Paul takes up another theory of the ground of choice, and shows that it does not apply to this case, and is, therefore, untenable. It had been supposed that the Jews were chosen on account of their good works. But in this case, certainly, in which the promise precedes the birth of the children, it did not originate in their works, but in the God who called them to their several positions. And yet it was not an arbitrary choice, for, as Paul shows by a quotation of Malachi i. 2, 3, it was based on God's love of the one, and His hatred of the other. And love and hatred are not arbitrary or voluntary feelings, but the necessary results of qualities in the object; that is, the love of being as such is indiscriminative, and has its root in the person loving only; but the love that implies choice and corresponding hatred is based on the qualities of the person loved.

But in thus carrying the matter back to God, and not resting it on the desert of the person chosen, is there not involved an imputation on the divine righteousness? Is not God under obligation to give to

**E**very man his deserts? The reply to this is the familiar and fundamental Pauline axiom, that this whole matter is not one of retributive justice, but of mercy; and that mercy is self-moved, or, in any case, is not determined by desert. It is not the will or endeavor of the man that produces it, but the very nature of the merciful God. The example that Paul adduces of this principle is not, as we should expect, from the number of the chosen, but from the enemies of God whom He rejects. "For this reason," God said to Pharaoh, "did I provoke thee, that I may show in thee my power, and that my name may be proclaimed in all the earth." Therefore, since God has purposes to be accomplished by the pity shown to one, and by the hardening accomplished in another, both are to be traced originally to God's active volition. Now, this is a very important item in the final determination of the apostle's meaning. For this hardening is what makes operative and manifest the divine rejection, and its exact opposite would be not the mercy itself, but that softening which manifests the divine mercy and choice. And if the one is to be traced to an action of God beyond what appears, and which is compulsory and creative in its nature, as is claimed for the gracious action, then the conjunction of the two in this discussion, so that either can be used as an illustration of the principle of God's spiritual action upon men, would seem to demand that the act of hardening be also the simple result of God's action, and not the complex result of that action, together with the yielding or resistance of the man; that is to say, inasmuch as Paul uses an instance of God's hardening action as an illustration of His gracious action, it follows that there must be an identity of principle in the two; and that if the one is purely a divine act without human co-operation, then the other must be the same. In fact, this case of the hardening of Pharaoh is very helpful in determining the scriptural answer to the question whether God's spiritual action in changing and directing the moral attitude of men is absolute and creative, or only influential, depending for its result on the response of men. At the beginning, Ex. iv. 21, God announces His purpose to harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he will not let the people go. Then, there follows a series of signs wrought by Aaron and Moses, but paralleled by the magicians with their enchantments, in which the hardening that results is natural, and easily accounted for. But after the second plague, Pharaoh relents, and the plague is removed. Then, we are told that when he saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them, as Jehovah had said. Here, the hardening results from the withdrawal of the punishment that had

produced his relenting — again a perfectly natural result — and said, expressly in this case, to be Pharaoh's own act. God's part in the matter is simply His providential and miraculous action, intended and adapted to influence the king, and dependent for its result on the response of Pharaoh to it. After the third plague, which the magicians could not produce, and in which they told Pharaoh that he must recognize the hand of God, he was still hardened, — this time, evidently, as a result of that law of spiritual action by which sin tends to repetition and reproduction. Having hardened himself before, it is easier now to do the same. And so on, through a series of judgments and mercies on the part of God, and of alternate repentings and hardenings in Pharaoh, ending in the final sin of the king after he had let the people go. God even warns Pharaoh in the passage from which Paul quotes, Ex. ix. 14 sq., of the result that these judgments and deliverances will have on him. Now, in order to suppose that God works secretly and supernaturally to harden Pharaoh's heart, we have to introduce the supernatural to account for a perfectly natural result ; and we have to suppose that God works outwardly to accomplish one thing, and inwardly, another directly opposite to it. For these divine warnings, judgments, and mercies are intended to lead Pharaoh to release God's people, and any direct hardening would be, therefore, self-contradictory in God. And yet, whatever means God uses to accomplish this class of spiritual results in man are pointed out by Paul as employed by Him also in His gracious, spiritual action. For the very thing that he illustrates by this example is the relation of God to human character and destiny ; and if that relation is not the same in both cases, then the illustration is irrelevant. But is there no direct action of God in producing this result ? The language employed is partly explained by this fact of God's influence upon men by means of motives ; and yet, if there is any more immediate operation not excluded by other considerations, the strong language used seems to demand it. A supernatural change does seem to be excluded ; but we have already seen that there is a hardening, dulling, or blinding effect produced on the spiritual nature by sin. And this, like every other natural effect, is the operation of a divine law, or more strictly the work of God under law. If I disobey any law of my being, the consequences that I suffer are from God ; and this is true of the spiritual deterioration resulting from sin, as of any other self-inflicted injury ; only this is not an arbitrary or supernatural effect ; it is strictly under law, and, in a certain sense, conditioned by my action.

And yet again, the statements of the apostle so far have been such

as to exclude the supposition that the originating cause of the divine mercy can be in the man himself. Mercy is undeserved and free ; it originates not in the will or endeavor of man, but in the merciful nature of God. God's choice of men, in the apostle's thought, is not of those who have of themselves sought Him out, but of those whom He has sought and drawn by His love to Himself. The first step in the approach of God and man to each other is taken by God. There is a mercy of God that precedes and produces the repentance of man, which is merely the response of man to the merciful God.

These three things, the precedent action of God, the response of man, and the final impress of God on human character, as the resultant of these two, fill out the apostle's thought so far. No one of them can be omitted without doing violence to some part of that thought.

But it is the part of God in this that has been made most prominent, more prominent than it is eventually. The human element has been implied, or hinted at, rather than expressed. And so the apostle meets the objection right here, that this seems to throw the responsibility of human character on God. If God pities whom He will, and hardens whom He pleases, why, He cannot find fault with them ; for they are what He makes them ; no one has resisted His hidden, inscrutable, irresistible will. His first answer to this is the presumptuousness of the question. Man is clay in the hands of the potter, and the potter has the right to make different vessels, some for honor and some for dishonor, out of the clay. And so God has the right to make out of our common humanity different men for different uses and destinies. But is this a right of mere power and sovereignty ? Let us listen closely to the language, and see if it yields us the unwelcome idea that *might makes right*. Suppose that we leave it in this way, retaining all the power that there is in the apostle's statement. *Has not man, any man, the right to fashion clay as he pleases?* This is immensely different from Paul's statement, and yet there is the same power in it. But what gives the potter his right is his skill to fashion the clay. We have to introduce into Paul's question the attributes of God, the divine holiness, justice, and love, by which He, if any, can mould and fashion human spirit to the best advantage, and not simply His sovereign right to do as He pleases, to make Him the potter of this human clay. And then we have to remember what Paul means here by God's forming of us. It is not our creation, but the shaping of our character that is intended, that long spiritual process by which nature becomes character, by which tendencies are moulded into traits, and fluctuating

impulses become steady principles. What we have to remember is what Paul at least never forgets, that this is not clay, but a very different stuff, with which God deals, and that this is the last place into which to introduce arbitrary and absolute action. The apostle's argument is not simply that God has absolute and unquestionable power, since all things are at His disposal, to use His pleasure about them, but that His wisdom and holiness and love are such as to make questioning of Him presumptuous. The spiritual qualities that make Him the skilful and wise fashioner of our spiritual beings are put by Paul into his application of the right of the potter to mould the clay. And this is only to say that God is self-limited : He cannot act contrary to His own attributes.

But in the second part of his answer, Paul reaches really the climax of his thought. The question is, why, since God Himself fashions men and accomplishes in them His own purposes, does He blame men if they turn out badly? The answer is a consideration of the means by which God produces His effects. Supposing, Paul says, that God, wishing to exhibit His wrath and to make known His power, bore in much long-suffering vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, what then? The answer is simply that God employs such means in hardening men's hearts as leave the responsibility entirely with them. If they are rendered hard and unrepentant by God's patience and long-suffering, that is their own fault. For God's action is such as to produce repentance and love, if it is not thwarted by man. And the apostle sees that if God wishes to show His wrath against sin, this is the only way open to Him. For if He acts at all in such a way as to produce hardness, creatively or absolutely, or through man's following instead of fighting Him, then He cannot be angry with man. He can only blame Himself. That is to say, this is Paul's answer to the objection, that God leaves Himself no room to judge men if His action upon them is absolute ; viz., that His action is not absolute, but dependent on man's response to it, His action in the case of men whom He hardens, being adapted in itself to produce exactly the opposite result.

So far, the thought seems plain. But what is the relation to this of the clause that follows? If we make the participial clause in v. 22 concessive, as Meyer and others do, then we have to supply mentally an unexpressed purpose of the patience denoted by the verb, with which to connect this additional purpose. For instance, Meyer says that the object of God's bearing with the vessels of wrath is to exhibit his long-suffering, which he finds implied in the phrase

"in much long-suffering." Moreover, the conjunction at the beginning of v. 23, in this case, has to be translated *also*, a meaning that it has, but with which its place is more naturally somewhere else than at the beginning of the clause. Or, if we say with others, Fritzsche included, that this clause denotes the purpose of the participial clause, "fitted unto destruction," the connection of thought becomes exceedingly difficult, as also the grammatical connection of a noun with a preposition and a clause introduced by a telic conjunction, as co-ordinate designations of purpose. Still another device, adopted by Tholuck, Godet, and others, is to make this clause a part of a new sentence, the principal verb of which is the "called" belonging to the relative clause of v. 24. But they fail to explain the peculiar turn or twist of the apostle's thought by which a principal becomes a relative clause. On the other hand, if we make the participial clause in v. 22 causal, as most commentators do, instead of concessive, then there does not seem to be any grammatical difficulty, and very little logical difficulty in making v. 23 co-ordinate with that as a designation of God's purpose in his patience. According to this, God had a twofold purpose in his forbearance. One was to make a place for His wrath against sin, the other was to open the way for His mercy toward those who were led to repentance. But how shall we get rid of the serious difficulty that the object of the verb "bore" is not the general class *men*, but the particular class *vessels of wrath*? If the meaning is that God by His forbearance leads some men to repentance and so to glory, and others to hardness and so to wrath, the exact expression of it would be, *if God wishing to show His wrath, and make known his power upon vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, bore with men; and that He might make known the riches of His glory upon vessels of mercy fitted for glory, what then?* In the first place, it is to be noted in reply, that the expression is inexact as it stands, however it may be explained. In order to express the contrast that seems to be demanded by the contrasted expressions "vessels of wrath" and "vessels of mercy," they should both be made the objects of corresponding verbs, and occupy corresponding places in the two parts of the statement. We are prepared for something less than exactness of contrast by the different positions in the sentence, one in the principal, and the other in a subordinate clause. In the second place, it is the starting-point in the apostle's view of man that all men are originally vessels of wrath, a condition from which some of them are brought by the grace of God to become vessels of mercy. If all men were looked on by the apostle as having

a good or indifferent start in moral condition, from which they passed into states of morality or immorality, this would demand the exact contrast spoken of. But inasmuch as Paul looks on himself and all men as originally evil, so that all men who are saved now stand in contrast not only with men now lost, but also with a previous lost condition in themselves, the expression can stand as it is, since all that we want is a class including all men after the principal verb. It is certainly in favor of this interpretation, that it corresponds exactly with the actual history of God's dealing with the Jews, which is the special case under consideration, and with the case of Pharaoh, which he has left, to be sure, but only just left.

This resolves God's spiritual action into unity. It is not one action here and another there, opposite means to accomplish opposite results, but one uniform, gracious action, that leaves the responsibility of opposite results with men.

Another thing to be noticed here is the use of the apparently neutral word, "bore," to denote this gracious action. With the ordinary conception of God, this would be absolutely colorless and unsatisfactory. But with the idea of the purely spiritual, luminous, holy Being presented to us in the New Testament, whose nature is light and love, all that we need to be told is that God bears with men, and we are able to fill it out immediately with the thought of this uninterrupted beating of the divine light and love against the closed and darkened chambers of the human spirit. The normal divine activity is gracious and moving and illuminating, and "bearing" means no merely neutral or negative thing, but the uninterrupted course of this activity.

God's people, then, is a spiritual people. What the apostle has shown negatively is that membership in that people is not determined by birth, nor by righteous works, nor by the will and endeavor of man ; it is neither inherited nor merited. Positively he has indicated that this membership is based on God's discriminating love ; that the qualities calling forth this love are not self-originated, but divinely produced in men ; that it is a matter dependent, not on God's justice, but on his mercy ; that God has a right thus to fashion the spirits of men, not absolutely and creatively, but by spiritual processes arising from His divine skill and resources ; and finally, that God's action in creating both good and evil character is a gracious action, making the different results dependent on the secondary action of man.

And so he says that this is the people whom God calls, not Jews alone, nor Gentiles as such, but those whom he prepares for glory.

The Jews have been for the most part the only people that He has had. But inasmuch as it is a spiritual and not a hereditary matter, inasmuch as the Jews were chosen not as Jews, but as embodying certain spiritual conditions belonging to the people of God, it may at any time cease to be Jews, and come to be some other people, whom God chooses as His own. The moment that it is understood that God's people are a spiritual people, that moment it becomes impossible to confine the privilege to any nation. This possibility of change of condition in any people, so that those who are not beloved may become the people of God, Paul confirms by a quotation from Hosea ii. 23. It is applied by him to the case of the Gentiles, but as originally used by the prophet himself it had a significance of its own, quite as pertinent and important for Paul's argument. For it represents Israel herself as lapsed from God's favor, and no longer His people. This condition of things they have brought about themselves by their sins and unfaithfulness. But God exhorts them, "O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity!" and promises them, "I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely" (ch. 14). Just as their sins have led to a change in their relation to God, so that the people of God has become Lo amini, and the objects of His mercy are called Lo ruhamah, so their return to God will cause them to be called Ammi again, and their repentance will restore to them the name Ruhamah.

Then Paul quotes from Isaiah a statement to the effect that of Israel only a remnant would be saved, a very small remainder, the sinful majority being destroyed by the righteous sharp judgments of God, in order that by this purging Jerusalem might once more become a city of righteousness. The Jews' own Scriptures contain statements which show that God is under no positive obligation to continue the whole Jewish people in His favor, nor to exclude the Gentiles from His love. And now the apostle comes to that for which all that he has said has been preparing the way. That which constitutes men the people of God is a state of acknowledged and accepted righteousness. And the strange paradox is that Gentiles who were not in pursuit of that attained it, while the Jews, who were striving to come up to a law of righteousness, did not attain to it. Striving to be the righteous people of God, keeping all the minutiae of a law; how well that represents the condition of Saul himself: and yet not righteous; how he had proved that out of his own experience. And on the other hand here were the morally indifferent Gentiles becoming at a leap, as it were, the acknowledged people of God. It

is because, as he has already shown, this righteousness is not the attainment of man, but the gift of God. And on the part of man therefore it is not the result of endeavor or works, but of faith. Here then is the proper antithesis of the statements that it is not from works, not of him that wills, nor of him that runs. For here we have these same negative statements, but instead of the antithetical statements that it is from Him that calls, and from the pitying God, we have the faith of man given as the antithesis. And the connection between the two is plain. For the righteousness that proceeds from faith is not a product of independent human endeavor, but of divine inspiration, and faith itself, as we shall see later, is regarded by the apostle as awakened and drawn out of us by the truth and the touch of God. God is the source, and faith is the human medium, of this righteousness. And so the apostle's whole view is that God's choice of men depends first, on His own mercy and grace, and secondly, on the faith of men awakened by that grace, and bringing to us the divine fruits of righteousness. But a man who simply receives the law as an objective command, and endeavors independently to build up a righteousness having its sources in himself, without divine inspirations and trust, fails to attain the righteousness of God. The Jews, having their own works, and not faith in God, as the foundation and characteristic of their righteousness, stumbled over the stone of stumbling. Jesus being come to deliver them and all men from sin, and not to glorify and exalt their righteousness over a sinful world, was rejected by them. This is confirmed by a curiously jointed quotation from Is. viii. 14 and xxviii. 16.

The tenth chapter is occupied with a development of this thought, that it is the righteousness of faith, and not of works, that commends men to God. Paul characterizes it as the righteousness of God. And by this he means not that which God calls righteousness, nor a righteousness acceptable to Him, but a righteousness of which God is the author, as contrasted with the man's own righteousness, built up by himself. The whole drift of the argument is to prove this idea of a dependent and inspired righteousness. In opposition to this is the principle of legal righteousness, that life comes from a performance of its commands. But the righteousness of faith does not leave man to bring down a Saviour from heaven, nor to raise him from the dead, but it provides him with a word to be believed. Just as the God of the Jews did not require men to find a law and then to obey it, but brought His law to them, and required of them only obedience, so now he does not leave them to procure for themselves an object of

faith, but provides Himself that which is abundantly able to inspire faith. This is fundamental in the apostle's thought, that God not only requires faith, but inspires it. In looking around for that which men would seek, if they were really in search of that on which their faith might rest, Paul finds it in the incarnate and risen Christ. But that is just what God has provided, and therefore faith, when it arises, has been called forth by Him through the vision of Christ. Two points are worthy of special attention in this statement: first, that not only faith, but confession is required; and second, that the faith is in the risen, and not in the crucified Jesus. The insistence on confession is one form of the familiar New Testament idea, that the inward principles and sentiments which make the basis and spring of its righteousness are properly attested only by the outward acts to which they give rise. There must be an outward acknowledgment and expression of the inward sentiments, or they are dead and ineffective. Under this principle sometimes baptism or an acted confession is required; sometimes a spoken confession; but sometimes, with a deeper insight still, the whole outward life of piety and virtue is demanded as the only true expression of a living faith. The second point, that the faith required is in a risen Christ, is in accordance with the broad range given to faith in the New Testament. In the early preaching of Jesus, it is faith in the good news that the kingdom of God is at hand; in the early preaching of the apostles, it is belief in Jesus as the Messiah; in the first epistle of John, it is belief in Jesus as the Son of God; and here, it is belief in the resurrection, while in the Epistle to the Hebrews the varied faith of the Old Testament saints is described as saving. There is no dogmatic restriction of faith, as if it were the effect of one truth upon God that gave faith its efficacy; but a wide range is given to it, showing that it is the effect of all great truth to renew and regenerate man that gives faith its importance.

But this is a righteousness also that makes no distinction between Jew and Gentile. For the promise is, that every one that calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved. Joel ii. 32. And, moreover, God is not the God of the Jews only, no mere national deity like the gods of the heathen, but the universal God, having riches for all that call on Him. To be sure, the prophecy quoted by the apostle is in regard to the Jews, and their deliverance out of the hand of their invaders. But this is a good example of the way in which Paul wrests spiritual meanings out of the narrow historical sense of the Old Testament. For the moment that the promise is made conditional, and the condition spiritual, as here, it is raised above the narrow intent of the

original, and becomes no longer a matter of Jew and Gentile, but of spiritual quality wherever found. If the Jews were called originally, not as Jews, but as those who invoked the name of the Lord, then if at any time they cease to invoke the divine name, their call lapses ; and on the other hand, if the Gentiles began to call on that name, just so far the call of God extends to them.

Then the apostle shows by a series of questions that this invocation implies faith, and faith hearing, and hearing preaching, and preaching a message, and that this righteousness is therefore to be traced to God. Faith comes through hearing, and hearing through the word of God. It is God through His gospel who awakens faith in us, and therefore the righteousness of faith is a divine work. The universality of this gospel is proved negatively, by showing that its blessings are limited, not by national distinctions, but by a lack of obedience to it ; and positively, by the fact that its messengers have been sent into all the earth. And, moreover, the Jews themselves were informed of this ; for both Moses and Isaiah warned them of the possibility that God might turn from them to another people. Paul stretches the meaning of the passage from Isaiah, giving it two meanings and applications instead of one. It is really a series of three parallel statements of God's continued gracious exhortation with His rebellious people Israel, and reads like this : " I gave access to myself to those that asked it not ; I was propitious to those that sought me not ; I stretched out my hands all the day to a disobedient and resistant people." But this restricted sense of the original really contains by implication the other, since it shows us Israel as a rebellious people, from whom God must eventually turn. For God proceeds to say : " I will not keep silence, but I will recompense, even recompense into their bosom, your iniquities and the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the Lord " ; and again, " For the Lord God will slay thee, and will call His servants by another name " (vv. 6, 7, 15).

In the eleventh chapter Paul comes to a new and exceedingly important part of his question. He has shown that God's rejection of the Jews does not necessarily involve unfaithfulness on His part, because His choice of them in the first place was on spiritual, and not on national, grounds. It was therefore conditional on their retaining the spiritual qualities that occasioned the original choice, and would therefore be in the nature of things, what the whole history of the Jews has shown it to be, the choice of a part greater or less, rather than the choice of the whole nation, and moreover would terminate with the failure of the Jews to comply with these spiritual conditions.

And for the same reason that the Jews might be rejected, other nations might come in to take their place, and the kingdom of God become Gentile, rather than Jewish, in its nationality, while still retaining its characteristic spiritual quality. This is what Paul saw taking place under his eyes, and what he says is therefore intensely practical. But he still feels himself confronted by the question, whether this involves a final rejection of God's ancient people, to whom, in spite of all their apostasy, He has always heretofore clung. Does this coming in of the Gentiles mean, as events seem to indicate, a casting off of the Jews? This he, as a Jew, with strong national feelings and antecedents, repudiates. And he does it in language which opens up a new phase of the question. "God did not," Paul says, "reject His people whom He foreknew." This foreknowledge is in the New Testament made the antecedent and ground of God's choice. And here it is put forward as the fact about His people which makes it impossible for Him to reject them. Just as human choice is based on knowledge of the worth or desirableness of the thing chosen, so God's choice is determined by His foreknowledge of the same. And right here is the reason of the permanence of God's choice, and of His choice of the Jews as a nation, instead of a selection of individuals among all the nations. That is the fact which remains to be accounted for, supposing that the choice is not arbitrary, but rational and accountable. Why is it that God still clung to this nation as a nation when they apostatized? And how is it that, after a long period, in which to all appearance God has had a nation for a people, He seems now to be changing to what, on the principles enunciated by the apostle, would have seemed to be the more natural course from the beginning, a culling out of individuals from all nations? The answer to this, hinted at by Paul here, and expressly stated elsewhere, is that God foresaw in the Jews not only the occasional faith or spiritual apprehension that characterized them, but a permanent spiritual faculty, a capacity for faith and holiness peculiar to them. Back of particular acts and shining examples of faith lay this hereditary and national trait, exercised or unexercised, that made them the pre-eminently religious nation. Hence, in periods of national degeneracy and unbelief, together with God's wrath and rejection, which were emphasized even by his knowledge of this spiritual faculty, there was yet a knowledge of this natural adaptability for faith and spiritual achievement that made them still His people, though a lost and degenerate people. This is what makes possible a national choice, over and above the selection

of individuals. The choice of the nation is because of this fitness to receive divine gifts and promises, but the final selection of individuals is because of their actual appropriation of these. This, I think, will be found to be the key to this strange and perplexing chapter.

In confirmation of this statement, that God does not cast off His people, whom He chose because He foreknew them, Paul introduces a statement, showing that, even in the time of the great national apostasy preceding the captivity, God left Himself seven thousand men who had not joined the prevalent Baal worship. There was a rejection, not of the whole nation, but of a part, and an election of the remnant to be His people. And this same principle obtained now, there being now as then, a remnant according to the election of grace. Here the apostle brings out the contrast between this divine principle of grace and the human principle of meritorious works. But, as we have seen, this does not include all human conditions of God's choice, but only that of works. There are, in the apostle's thought, two contrasted systems, that of grace and that of justice. Under the system of justice, the human condition of God's favor is works of merit; under that of grace, the condition is faith. The same thought appears in the succeeding statement, in which Israel as a whole is represented as seeking the favor of God and not obtaining it. The implied contrast to this is an election, or a chosen part of the people, which, instead of seeking, was itself sought by God. The remainder, who sought God independently and on the ground of merit, instead of accepting Him and allowing themselves to be found by Him, were hardened.

This, then, is the first part of the apostle's answer to the question, whether God cast off His people. It is only a part that is rejected, and these are rejected because their righteousness has degenerated into self-righteousness, and their religiousness has expended itself in seeking after an unrevealed God, instead of accepting the revealed One. And now he comes to the second part of this inquiry. "Did they stumble in order to fall?" Was this the divine purpose of their stumbling? We have already seen that the process by which moral stumbling leads to falling is in accordance with a divine law, and there can be no doubt that what God does He intends to do. But the question is whether this is the ultimate divine purpose, whether God is contented to stop here, and allow evil under His government to work only evil. Paul rejects this idea with aversion. And, instead of this, he says that the purpose of God is to accomplish by the falling away of the Jews the salvation of the Gentiles, and in turn,

**By** this, to provoke the Jews to emulation. In the first part of this statement, Paul is simply giving the philosophy of current religious history. Jewish Christianity was tending more and more to narrowness and exclusiveness. It was inevitable that it should be so. The long time in which they had occupied the position of God's people had cultivated in them spiritual pride, and made it impossible for them to see the barriers taken down with any complacency. And so there were two great characteristic features of early Christian history : First, the struggle of Christianity with Judaism ; and, second, the conflict between Pauline, or Catholic Christianity, with Judaic Christianity. Judaism tried to crush Christianity because it threatened to swallow up Jewish privilege in a universal religion, and Judaism within the church strove to prevent its becoming a universal religion. The Judaizers were willing that other nations should come in, but only on condition of receiving the distinctive mark of Judaism. They were willing that Christianity should embrace all nations, but unwilling that it should itself be given a corresponding breadth. Just as Christians now are willing to welcome Christian unity, but unwilling to give Christianity the breadth necessary to unity. Now Paul's thought is that this narrowness of Judaic Christianity makes it incompatible with any great work among the Gentiles that the Jews should be converted *en masse*. The present conquest of Judaism by Christianity would be so much in the nature of a compromise between the two, that it would greatly hinder the conquest of the Gentiles, involving, as that did, the universality of the Gospel. And he sees that the very thing that gives Judaic Christianity its narrowness is also preventing any general conversion of the Jews to Christianity, and thus that this type of Christianity is deprived of the dangerous influence that it might otherwise have. The door is open to the Gentiles, as it might not otherwise be. And so evil does not end in evil, but works good as well.

And yet the apostle sees that it is not an unmixed good, for he immediately proceeds to say that if their falling away is the riches of the world, much more will their fulness enrich the world. But if there is a real connection of cause and effect between their loss and the enrichment of the Gentiles, how can the opposite condition of their fulness produce the same effect in a greater degree? In the first place, we have seen that the same thing, the proud exclusiveness of the Jews, has produced both the narrowness of Judaic Christianity and the general failure of the Jews to accept Christianity. Only therefore the destruction of this narrow spirit, and the introduction of

a different disposition among them, in sympathy with the breadth of Christianity, would be compatible with their fulness, that is, their general conversion to Christianity. Their general conversion could take place therefore only in connection with the removal of that which made them a hindrance to the conversion of the Gentiles. And in the second place, that which made their loss the enrichment of the Gentiles would make their fulness much more so. Their influence, and the inherited familiarity with religious ideas and aptness for religious things that gave them influence, made their loss or gain no indifferent matter. As long as they remained narrow, it was well for the church that they should remain out of it, since in it they would be sure to stamp it with their own spirit. But if they should lose this narrowness, and with it their great aversion to Christianity, then the general conversion to Christianity that would accompany it would bring to the church a great accession of well-directed spiritual force. This same spiritual influence that made it a gain to the church and to the world for them to be out of it, as they were, would, with the change that would bring them generally into the church, become a great advantage to it.

This, then, is the course of the apostle's thought so far in the discussion of this part of the question. First, that God's people are such because God saw and foresaw in them a pre-eminent spiritual quality. Second, that therefore God never rejects them as a people but graciously, and without any merit on their part, chooses out some for salvation. Third, that this general apostasy now is intended to restrict the influence of Judaism within the church, and so leave the door open for the Gentiles, and ultimately to bring them in, after Christianity has received the stamp of Catholicity. Fourth, that that which makes their influence now dangerous in the church will make it then an inestimable blessing. The general proposition to which all this tends is that the Jews are still God's people under a temporary eclipse. The proof of this is found in two propositions. First, in this, that the holiness of the first fruits involves that of the lump; and, second, in this, that the holiness of the root results in that of the branches. Both of these involve the common principle of heredity, one an heredity of privilege, and the other of nature. Children inherit from their parents in God's view something of the sacredness attaching to their parents, and also the holiness of nature belonging to them. And moreover it is probable from what the apostle has said, that the more important of these, and the cause of the other, is the inheritance of spiritual quality or tendency. This is the reverse

**of** the doctrine of heredity, underlying that of the fall of man. Just as the apostle shows in ch. 5 that evil is transmitted from father to son, making the first sin universal in its consequences, so here he shows that holiness is alike transmissible, so that the holiness of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob resulted in the holiness of the nation. And yet this is a holiness of nature, not of character; of tendency, not of fixed quality. It leaves individual character to develop itself freely, giving rise to different characters and destinies, and yet insuring a holy seed continually. The choice of Abraham's seed is therefore Provisional, and the final choice of individuals depends on the development of the spiritual quality transmitted to them.

Hence, in spite of the holiness of the root, and of the branches as a result, some of the branches may be broken off, and, in spite of the evil of the Gentile root, some of its branches may turn out well. Heredity tends to the production of character, but does not determine it. But it is the way in which Paul states this fact of the connection of the Gentiles with the people of God that gives this part of the discussion its special significance. They are represented as grafted into the holy stock of the original people of God, and becoming partakers of the root and fatness of the olive tree. This is a modification of the general New Testament view that all men alike, without any distinction, derive spiritual sustenance from God or from Christ. But it is a development of Christ's statement that salvation is from the Jews. And it is a view of religious history the analysis of which shows a striking conformity with the facts. Individualism, and the growth of the individual by immediate connection with God, is true, but it is only a part of the truth. The race is also an entity, and race continuity and growth are as much truths as that the individual abides through all changes, and grows by what it acquires. Israel, by virtue of this law, has acquired a spiritual growth, and accumulated a stock of spiritual truths and virtues and influences, into the possession and benefit of which the other nations are now entering. Christ himself, though his perfect spiritual quality is due to an incarnation, by which, after all these natural means had failed, there was injected into our sinful humanity a divine and healing principle; though he was born into, not out, of the race, yet followed this law so far that he came into the line of this spiritual development. He did not make a separate and individual revelation, but culminated and perfected that revelation, which had in turn produced, and been produced through, a spiritual race. And though this accumulated spiritual force had been misdirected and perverted in the time of

Jesus, yet the leaders and instructors of the church had to be taken from the race in which it inhered, though, as a whole, it furnished instead its rejectors and persecutors. From this, then, it appears that the Jews were to continue to be, by virtue of this inherited spiritual quality, the people of God, and that other nations were to become members of that people only by partaking of the spiritual influences and knowledge that had been stored up for the world in them. Christianity itself is in this view only the development and final form of Judaism. Its Scriptures are rightly incorporated with the Jewish Scriptures, and are themselves probably all written by Jews; its apostles are the continuation of the splendid line of Jewish prophets, and its Christ is the Messiah of the Jews. The Jews, therefore, are the spiritual progenitors of the Christian church, the holy stock on which the redeemed of the Gentiles are grafted.

Therefore, Paul says, the Gentiles cannot boast over the Jews. There may be now a displacement of the Jews in great part, in order to prevent their narrowness from excluding the Gentiles. But the spiritual force and light, of which they become partakers, is Jewish, and not Gentile. Moreover, the principle of faith, which makes the present difference between them, is inconsistent with boasting, as it glorifies God and not man. And the reversal of their respective present positions is much more likely under similar conditions than the reversal of their original positions. This statement is based, of course, on the fact that the Jews' position among the people of God is a natural one, belonging to them on account of inherited traits, and that faith in them will therefore lead to the manifestation of spiritual aptitudes already in possession. While the Gentiles, in whom the inherited dispositions are rather unspiritual and immoral even, have to overcome these by faith. This doctrine of heredity of spiritual, as of unspiritual, dispositions, making men germinal, but not actual, members of God's people, so that the development of actual unspiritual qualities in them is to fall away from their original, natural place, making the apostle's doctrine of heredity complete, is of very great importance in the vindication of God's ways.

In accordance with this inherited quality and disposition of the Jews, and with the fact of God's gracious action everywhere, so that even their falling away accomplishes the gracious purpose of God toward the Gentiles, Paul looks forward to the time when all Israel will be saved. When the full number of the Gentiles has been gathered, when Christianity has become a universal religion, then, at last, the emulation of the Jews will be aroused, and the whole people

will be redeemed. This he confirms by a quotation from Isa. lix. 20, 21, which, however, is not conformed to either the Septuagint or the original Hebrew in anything except merely the statement that the deliverer is coming. In the original, he is represented as coming to or for Zion, and to or for those that turn from iniquity in Jacob. This common inexactness of the New Testament writers, in quoting from the New Testament, would seem to indicate that they did not depend on reproducing even the sense of the particular passage quoted, but simply on recalling the general spirit or drift of the Old Testament, which they clothed in such familiar Scripture language as came to them.

The summing up of this part of the discussion is that on the basis of the Gospel, which is the present standard of judgment and distinction among men, the Jews are enemies of God, because they do not exercise toward it that faith which is the divine requirement under it. But this enmity is also on account of the Gentiles, who, because of it, find the Gospel open to them. But on the ground of election, in which Paul has shown that the final choice of individuals rests on individual faith, but also that there may be choice of a nation or a family as a provisional matter,—a general or probable selection, based on the hereditary transmission of spiritual dispositions leading to faith,—the Jews are beloved on account of the faith of their fathers. This actual faith in them has produced germinal and possible faith in their descendants, and so God has never been left without an actual people among this nation, who are all his *in posse* if not *in esse*.

The reason that is given for this statement, that, according to election, the Jews are beloved, is that the gifts and the calling of God are unrepented. Having bestowed gifts on a people, and called them to Himself, God does not repent and recall them. As we have seen, He continues the gifts, transmitting them from father to son by the law of heredity; and so, the people that God once calls, remain His. Paul, evidently, makes a distinction here between the call of individuals and that of a nation. He sees in one the proof of sporadic and incidental traits that tend to run out and disappear; and in the other, indications of more essential and deeply seated qualities that remain as permanent national traits. Of course they are subject to the mutations that inhere in moral actions and states as such; but, relatively, they are permanent. One nation has the gift and calling of intellectual greatness, another of superiority in art, another of moral pre-eminence; and these are more enduring than the same things in individuals. And Israel is seen by the apostle to have the permanent national trait of

religiousness that makes it, in spite of partial defections, the beloved people of God. This he proves by rehearsing again the course of God's providential dealing with both Jews and Gentiles, in which the latter are shown to have been disobedient, but to have had the door of mercy finally opened to them through the disobedience of the Jews ; and, on the other hand, the Jews, whose disobedience has procured this mercy for the Gentiles, are themselves ultimately to be restored to God's mercy, through the mercy shown to the Gentiles. God's purpose, that is to say, in the present rejection of the Jews, is not that rejection itself, but mercy to the Gentiles, and, ultimately by means of that, mercy to the Jews. The latter's defection and rejection are thus not final nor vindictive, but temporary in their effects, and gracious in their purpose. And this Paul shows to be characteristic of all God's dealing with sin. By His own law of moral continuance and progress by means of natural consequence and heredity, He shuts up sinners to their sin. But this legal and natural effect of sin He supplements by His own gracious action, working under the same law ; and so the present consequence of sin in the race always looks forward to a final redemption. God shut up all unto disobedience, in order that He may have mercy on all. And the same laws of moral action, influence, growth, and transmission, which made the universal prevalence of sin necessary, are those which render a final, universal redemption possible.

And so, finally, before this contemplation, — not of God's absolute and unaccountable judgments, but of a wisdom that grows continually in depth and brightness, as we contemplate it, — the apostle exclaims : “O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God !” And, in the same connection, he means, by the unsearchableness of God's judgments, not that they are based on principles unknown or undiscoverable by man, for his whole discussion has been a searching out of the principles and methods of God's dealing with man, but that they are full of a boundless wisdom and knowledge that outreaches all the pursuit and discovery of man. Moreover, the reason given shows another idea contained in the language. God's ways are so based on absolute wisdom and knowledge that man cannot foreknow or determine them. Otherwise, he might know not only the ways, but also the mind of God, and might share His counsels.

But the apostle does show the impossibility of establishing any original claim on God. Everything is from Him and through Him and for Him ; all being is from Him and in Him ; and all the action of moral beings, while it is free, is yet so preceded and shaped by the divine action,

that it cannot constitute an original claim on the divine judgment, but becomes only an acceptance or rejection of the divine grace. This is the key-note of the apostle's thought ; the immanence of the infinitely gracious and wise God, who does not leave men in individual isolation to work out their own destiny and receive a judicial award, but so binds men together, in each other, and in Him, and makes for them a world of gracious influence and association in which to dwell, and Himself dwells in them a constant source of light and love, that what they are, whether good or evil, receives its character from the free action of men, not in a world made by themselves, but in God's world, where the great tides of the ceaseless, divine activity are the central fact.

## The Historical Testimony of the Prophet~~—~~ Zephaniah.

BY PROF. H. FERGUSON.

THE prophecy of Zephaniah is stated (i. 1) to have been uttered~~in~~<sup>ed</sup> in the reign of Josiah the son of Amon, King of Judah. The~~s~~<sup>the</sup> contents of the prophecy are entirely in accordance with this statement, and the authenticity of the book has never been questioned~~b~~<sup>ed</sup>. To decide exactly to what period of the reign of Josiah it belongs, ~~is~~<sup>it</sup> more difficult. It was evidently, however, written before (but not long~~ago~~<sup>before</sup>) the destruction of Nineveh (ii. 13-15), which event took~~to~~<sup>ok</sup> place, according to the most generally received chronology, B.C. 606~~006~~, some five years after Josiah's death. From the expression "remnant ~~of~~<sup>at</sup> Baal" (i. 4), and from the general tone of zeal for Jehovah, and~~and~~<sup>ad</sup> reproof and reproach for his enemies, we may conclude that it was~~was~~<sup>is</sup> written after the beginning of the reformation of Josiah, in the twelfth year of his reign; <sup>1</sup> and probably after the discovery of the book of the Law, in his eighteenth year. It is therefore in the last nineteen years of Josiah's reign that we place the date of this prophecy; and as the "King's children"<sup>2</sup> are denounced in it, it is most probable that it was not delivered until towards the end of this period, as otherwise these would have been too young to be responsible for their actions, or to inherit such bitter reproof and denunciation, since at the time of the discovery of the Law, Jehoiakim was only twelve years old, Jehoahaz only ten, while Zedekiah was not even born. We cannot be far wrong if we put the date of the prophecy at or near the twenty-fifth year of Josiah (B.C. 617-616).

<sup>1</sup> So Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Jahn, Bleek, Hitzig, Keil, Delitzsch. De Wette (Schrader) considers it to belong to the first years of Josiah, before the Reformation began; so also Ewald and Hävernick.

<sup>2</sup> On this point the majority of modern commentators are inclined to consider that children of some former king are meant; but the reasons adduced are not convincing, and there is no clear example of such a use of the phrase (II. Chron. xxii. 11, cited by Hitzig, does not seem to me to sustain his point).

Of the prophet himself nothing is known. He is described as the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah (*i.q.*, Hezekiah). From this genealogy some have been inclined to consider him of royal blood, and a descendant of Hezekiah, King of Judah, the great-grandfather of Josiah. This can, however, be nothing more than a conjecture. More probably he was of priestly family, perhaps related to that Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah, who was "second priest" at the time of the destruction of the Temple (II. Kings xxv. 18; Jer. xxi. 1, *al.*). For other instances of the name, all in the tribe of Levi, see I. Chron. vi. 36; Zech. vi. 10, 14.

In his prophecy, Zephaniah foretells the sure coming of the Day of Jehovah; *i.e.*, of Jehovah's triumph and vengeance. When it shall come, Jerusalem shall be destroyed and the land depopulated. The Philistines, Moab and Ammon, shall be utterly destroyed, and their land eventually possessed, by the remnant of Judah. The Ethiopians also shall be slain by the sword. Assyria shall be destroyed, and Nineveh be made a wilderness. But the prophecy is not without its brighter side and note of promise, and foretells that, after Jerusalem shall have been punished, a remnant shall still be left which shall return, and shall be richly blessed, and shall be made a name and a praise among all people. Such, very briefly epitomized, are the contents of the prophecy.

But the book also bears witness to the condition of the people at the time it was written, and we may find in it some facts in regard to the social and religious condition of the people at the time of Josiah's Reformation, not elsewhere given with equal explicitness. The writer was an ardent supporter of Jehovah, and as such was doubtless in thorough sympathy with the band of reformers, who were struggling against heathenism and idolatry, and the attendant and inseparable immorality. Very probably he was joined to them, also, by ties of blood; if of the royal seed, being related to Josiah; if, as is likely, his grandfather Amariah was the priest of that name in the reign of Hezekiah (II. Chron. xxxi. 15), he was nearly related to Hilkiah and the other priestly reformers. It must always be remembered that Josiah's reformation was not at all a popular movement, but was carried with a high hand by the zealous and enthusiastic king, only to give place to a renewal of the former indifference and idolatry after his death at Hadad Rimmon. It is too much to say, as Wellhausen does ("Encyclop. Britt.", art. *Israel*), that the people observed the covenant during Josiah's lifetime. Such might be considered to have been the case were the books of Kings and Chronicles our

only sources of information, as the annalist, carried away by the last gleam of prosperity to the people, is oblivious to the darker shadows that were cast upon it. But in the prophecies of Zephaniah and Jeremiah, making all necessary allowance for the different standpoint of historian and preacher, we cannot fail to find unmistakable proof that the covenant was not adhered to even while Josiah was alive, but that it was openly as well as secretly violated by all classes among the people. The Hebrews, or rather the Jews, at that day were syncretists in their religion ; it might have been said of them, as of their neighbors in Samaria, that they feared Jehovah and worshiped graven images at the same time ; the priests were too often like Urijah in the reign of Ahaz, an hundred years before, pliant instruments of the will of a despotic king, and the prophets, with a few exceptions, made a trade of their prophetic powers, and were indifferent to the truth or falsity of their utterances. But a kernel of life was yet left in the nation ; as in Israel in the days of Elijah, so now there were some faithful men who had not bowed the knee to Baal or given in their adhesion to the fashionable indifference or toleration ; and now, having gained to their side the young and enthusiastic king, who had wished to serve Jehovah when he only knew him as the "God of David his father" (II. Chron. xxxiv. 3), and who now was devoted to His cause, they enlisted all his youthful vigor and all his unlimited royal power in a re-establishment of the worship of Jehovah, in greater glory than had been ever known. Great repairs were undertaken in the Temple, which had been alternately neglected by the better and pillaged by the worse of the various monarchs who had preceded Josiah, from the days of Rehoboam down. There was, indeed, a strange condition of affairs, the wrong and incongruity of which does not seem to have been fully appreciated even by the servants of Jehovah themselves. In the Temple Solomon had built to Jehovah, and which had been most solemnly dedicated to His glory, were contained at this time (II. Kings xxiii. 4, ff.) vessels made for Baal, and for the Asherah, and for all the host of heaven ; and more than all this, even a "grove," or Asherah, a symbolical representation of the female divinity of the Canaanites. At the door of the Temple stood the horses consecrated to the sun, and chariots of the sun. By the side of the Temple were houses or stalls where male prostitutes plied their horrid trade, a part of the religious worship of the land. In the very courts of the Temple were altars for all the host of heaven, which Manasseh had made, and on the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, other altars, which had been placed there by former kings of Judah. Such was

The condition of the Temple of Jehovah when the work of restoration began. And as it was defiled with these incongruous additions, so had it been despoiled of much that had made it rich and beautiful. The gold doors of the Temple, and the golden overlaid pillars, and all the silver in the Lord's house, had been given by Hezekiah to Sennacherib, as a bribe to purchase his favor (II. Kings xviii. 15, 16). Ahaz, the father of Hezekiah, had already sacrificed for a like purpose the borders of the bases, and the brazen oxen that held the brazen sea, and the "covert for the Sabbath," and the King's entry (II. Kings xvi. 17, 18). (The silver and gold of the Temple seem to have been commonly used for this purpose in times of need. Cf. I. Kings xv. 18; II. Kings xii. 18, xvi. 8, xviii. 15.) The Temple had been twice plundered by a foreign enemy: once by Shishak, King of Egypt, in the reign of Rehoboam (I. Kings xiv. 25, 26), and once by Jehoash, King of Israel; in the reign of Amaziah the son of Joash (II. Kings xiv. 14). It is true that devout monarchs had from time to time restored the building and lavished their treasures upon it (I. Kings xv. 15; II. Kings xii. 4-16, xv. 35), but the dilapidations had been far greater than the repairs, and its beauty and glory must have been greatly diminished.

And outside the Temple walls, the condition was a strange one for the capital city of the people of Jehovah, who had remained faithful to Him, and to the central sanctuary of His worship, when the Ten Tribes had withdrawn from their allegiance to the House of David. Idolatrous priests (**כְּמִירִים**) burned incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem; others burned incense to Baal, to the sun and to the moon, and to the planets and to all the host of heaven. In the valley of the children of Hinnom, immediately without the city wall, men made their children pass through the fire to Molech; and in the Mount of Olives were high places Solomon had built, where the worship of Ashtoreth and Chemosh and Milcom (probably identical with Molech) was carried on continually. And, as a hundred years before, in the days of Isaiah, so now were to be found, in both Judah and Jerusalem, workers with familiar spirits and wizards (II. Kings xxiii. 5, 10, 13, 24).

But, during the repairing of the House of Jehovah, Hilkiah, the High Priest, made a discovery of momentous importance, which at once enlarged the scope and changed the character of the reformation (II. Kings xxii. 8). He found in the Temple, where it had lain

for ages, unnoticed and unheeded, if not unknown, the Book of the Law (*ספר הרורה*).<sup>1</sup>

This Sepher hatTorah was in all probability, judging from the effects produced, a copy of what is now known as the Book of Deuteronomy, or, at the least, of that portion of it that contains the covenant and the blessings and curses.

Some Scriptural critics have insinuated that Hilkiah only found what he had himself hidden, and that the book now found was a clumsy forgery, which yet imposed upon the king and the people. The view would be hardly deserving of notice, owing to its extreme improbability, had it not been put forward by men of unquestioned ability. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that Hilkiah and Shaphan and the prophets of Jehovah, the representatives and exponents of morality, and of morality as a part of religion, would be capable of such a fraud in the name of Jehovah, yet it is incredible that a fraud, ~~that affected~~, that affected as this did so many and so diverse vested interests, ~~should have been acquiesced in without resistance by those with whose long-established privileges it interfered.~~ There was, as we shall see, a tacit resistance to the reformation, but no sign that the opponents of reform considered that they had been imposed on by a pretended document. The book evidently awakened old memories, and this was the secret of its power. Can we believe that, in the age of the highest bloom of Hebrew literature, there were not scribes among the opponents of Jehovah, as well as among His adherents, ~~of sufficient literary ability to detect such a flagrant imposition as the critics would have us believe was practised upon them?~~

The effect upon the mind of the king was very great. He rent his clothes, and sent messengers to inquire of Jehovah concerning the words of the book; and, in spite of the words of doom, spoken in reply through the prophetess Huldah, he at once set about the work of reformation. This was, externally, thorough and sweeping. He removed all the abominations from the Temple and from Jerusalem and from the cities of Judah, going even outside the limits of his own kingdom, as far as Bethel and the cities of Samaria, upon the sa

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<sup>1</sup> The absence of the article from *ספר* does not warrant the translation of the phrase as simply "a law book." It is the universal rule that the definite ~~ness~~ of the absolute noun extends to the construct noun with which it is connected. Thus to take an instance from this very passage *בבית יהוה* is not to be translated "in a house of Jehovah," but, as the construct word is rendered definite by the word that it limits, "in *the* house of Jehovah."

errand. After this was done, the Passover was celebrated in Jerusalem, according "as it is written in the book of this Covenant," in a manner that had not been seen in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah, nor since the days of the Judges. After this, Josiah's reign lasted for thirteen years, in which it is recorded of him that, "like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to Jehovah with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his might, according to all the laws of Moses; neither after him arose any like him" (II. Kings xxiii. 21-25). But his zeal led him into imprudently opposing Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt, and he was slain at the battle of Megiddo; and after his death, although the worship of Jehovah continued, the abuses he had removed were in great measure brought back; and his reforms seem to have been forgotten except by the few faithful "servants of Jehovah," who kept their faith alive during the gloomy years of trouble and distress that followed, and who were to be the centre of life for the people in their captivity.

To gain a correct idea of the magnitude of the changes that the reform brought about, we must notice the length of time that the objectionable practices had been in existence. The "Grove," or Asherah figure, had been in the Temple of Jehovah certainly since the reign of Manasseh (II. Kings xxi. 3), at the very least reckoning twenty years, and possibly seventy-five; and the Asherah worship had been common in Judah since the reign of Rehoboam (B.C. 975-958), a period of three hundred and fifty years (I. Kings xiv. 23, xv. 13; II. Kings xvii. 4). The altars of Ahaz had been in the Temple over a hundred years (II. Kings xvi. 10-16). The worship of Baal was probably practised by the aboriginal Canaanite population of the land, but had been introduced from the neighboring kingdom of Israel as early as the reign of Jehoram, who married the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and who reigned in Judah B.C. 893-885 (II. Kings viii. 16-18); and, like the worship of the Asherah, it seems never to have been eradicated, though the best of the kings did not encourage it, and at this time it seems to have lost somewhat of its ancient popularity. The Sodomites are mentioned in the reign of Rehoboam (I. Kings xiv. 24), and as having been taken away out of the land by Asa (I. Kings xv. 12), whose reformation, which was, like that of Josiah, short-lived, was like it conducted on the lines marked out in Deuteronomy. The worship of the sun, and of the host of heaven, was practised by Manasseh (II. Kings xxi. 3) and probably by Ahaz, and the horses and chariots of the sun are mentioned as

having been the gifts of the "kings of Judah" (II. Kings xxiii. 11), as if the practice had been of long continuance. The worship of Jehovah on the high places had been practised certainly since the days of the Judges, and there is no record of its having been condemned by any recognized authority until the reign of Hezekiah. The statement in II. Chron. xiv. 3, 5, and xvii. 6, in regard to Asa and Jehoshaphat, are contradicted not only by the express statements in Kings, but by other statements of the chronicler himself (*cf.* II. Chron. xv. 17; I. Kings xv. 14; II. Chron. xx. 33; I. Kings xxii. 43).

The worship upon various high places seems to have been allowed and approved by the religious leaders of the people (I. Kings iii. 2). It was certainly practised by Samuel (I. Sam. ix. 12, 13, 14, 19, 25; x. 8; xi. 14, 15, *et al.*), by David (II. Sam. xxiv. 18–25), and even by Solomon (I. Kings iii. 3, 4); and these high places were never removed, according to the testimony of the Book of Kings, until the reign of Hezekiah, and were restored again immediately after his death. Their removal was at that time evidently a very unpopular measure, and we find Rabshakeh, the general of Sennacherib, making use of it as an argument to induce the people of Jerusalem to rebel against Hezekiah and make submission to his master (I. Kings xviii. 22, 25; II. Chron. xxxii. 10–12; Is. xxxvi. 7).<sup>1</sup>

The high places of Chemosh, Ashtoreth, and Milcom had been standing in the midst of the people since the days of Solomon, some

<sup>1</sup> It would be beyond the purpose of this article to go to any great length into the question of the worship upon the high places. The considerations mentioned seem to conclusively prove the continued existence of the practice from the earliest times. A very ancient law (Ex. xx. 24–26) gave directions as to the way in which altars were to be made, and the prohibitions in Deut. xii. might easily have been understood to apply only to those high places which had been defiled by idolatrous worship. In the unsettled period of the Judges, attendance at a central sanctuary must at times have been impossible, though from I. Sam. i. 3, we see that it was practised. When the ark was in the hands of the Philistines, the sanctuary had lost its most sacred symbol, and it was not until the reign of David that anything like a central sanctuary again appears. It was most natural, then, that notwithstanding the commands recorded in Deut. xii. had been given before the people crossed the Jordan, they should have been forgotten. Talmudic writers affirm that the law upon this subject did not apply until the Temple was built at Jerusalem. Even then the law could not have been generally or commonly known, as we find no sign that Jehoiada the priest, who was supreme during the minority of Joash, ever attempted to put down the worship, although he brought about the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem and a revival of the worship and service of Jehovah (II. Kings xi., xii.). *V. article "Höhe,"* in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch d. Biblischen Altertums.*

four hundred years, as long a time as from the discovery of America until the present day ; but they seem to have been regarded as foreign chapels, which did not particularly concern the people of the land. Hence we may see that what Josiah did, in removing all these so long established institutions, was little short of an entire revolution, and was effected against the will of a very influential portion of the people, if not of an actual numerical majority. Jehovah was indeed the national God, but Baal and Asherah were the favorite divinities of a large part of the people, and had been the divinities of the Canaanites, the original inhabitants of the land, from whom the children of Israel had adopted many beliefs and customs. The Temple at Jerusalem was, indeed, recognized as the special throne of Jehovah, but the people were accustomed to their sacrifices in their own towns, or at the neighboring sanctuaries, and did not willingly yield to the demand of the more earnest worshippers of Jehovah, that the central sanctuary should be the only place where sacrifice should be offered. Accordingly, we find that when the movement lost the support and prestige of the royal power, it collapsed, and was not able to accomplish its purposes until the rigorous process of natural selection had picked out from the mass of the captive Judæans those few who were willing to return to their own land, and to establish there the commonwealth of Jehovah, and to live in obedience to His laws. The majority of the people either perished, or, like the ten tribes of Israel, were content to remain in the land of their exile, and to a great extent conformed to heathenism ; but the few, in whose hearts the leaven of the true faith in Jehovah and His righteousness had worked, returned, and established for the first time, in the full sense of the term, a commonwealth based expressly upon the detailed requirements of the Law of Moses.

In the prophecy of Zephaniah we find recorded several facts that will assist us to a fuller understanding of this period, some of which are not directly stated elsewhere. In ch. i. 4-6 we read : "I will also stretch out my hand upon Judah and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and I will cut off (1) the remnant of Baal from this place, and (2) the name of the Chemarim with (3) the priests, and (4) them that worship the host of heaven upon the housetops, and them (5) that worship and swear allegiance to Jehovah, and (or yet) wear by Malcham (*i.q.*, Milcom, Molech), and (6) those that are turned back from Jehovah, and (7) those who have not sought Jehovah, nor inquired for him."

Here we see that (1) vengeance is proclaimed against the remnant

of Baal (*cf.* II. Kings xxiii. 4), an expression which, though sometimes considered to indicate that this form of idolatry was not the leading or principal one, as in Israel under Ahab, but was an old worship which yet had some adherents in Jerusalem, yet more probably indicates that at the time of the prophet's utterance, in spite of Josiah's strongest measures, there were still left some remnant who remained faithful to their idolatrous worship. (2) The Chemarim are mentioned in II. Kings xxiii. 5 as being the priests whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah and in the places round about Jerusalem. The word is an Aramaic one, and is, in Syriac, the common one for priest. In Hebrew it is used always in a bad sense of priests of a religion other than that of Jehovah. *Cf.* Hosea x. 5 (*cf. per contra Keil in loco*).<sup>1</sup> The ~~same~~ are here clearly distinguished from (3) the Cohanim, by whom ~~are~~ meant the Levitical priests of the high places, who were degraded from their office, yet allowed to eat of the hallowed food of the Sanctuary (II. Kings xxiii. 8, 9). These were worshippers of Jehovah; ~~they~~ the Chemarim, on the other hand, were probably priests of images. Both Chemarim and Cohanim are threatened with destruction. (4) Those who worship the "host of heaven" are also denounced (*cf.* II. Kings xxiii. 4, 5, 11). (5) "Those who swear allegiance to Jehovah, — yet swear by Malcham" (their king). In the Hebrew there is an evident contrast between the expression "swear to" (נִשְׁבַּע ל) and "swear by" (נִשְׁבַּע ב), and the entire force of the passage is lost if we ~~attempt~~ to distinguish between them, as is done in the A. V. The persons denounced under this title are evidently priests of Jehovah, who, in ~~spite~~ of their pretended allegiance to Him, are, in reality, believers in ~~and~~ worshippers of Molech. (It is possible also to consider the passage as referring to those who made their king's (מלך) will the measure of their devotion, who, in order to please Josiah, had taken the covenant with Jehovah, but who were ready to apostasize should that be the pleasure of his successors. Such men have existed in all ages ~~of~~ the world, and were plentiful at the period under consideration, as shown both by what Josiah was able to accomplish and also by what he failed to do.) (6, 7) The next two classes include all opponents of Jehovah among the people, viz., those who have been His worshippers, and who have forsaken Him, and those who have alway-

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<sup>1</sup> The word literally means *dark robed, clad in mourning*, thus contrasting strongly with the white robes of the Levitical Priests and the gorgeous vestments of the High Priest.

lived in heathenism and indifference, "them that are turned back from Jehovah," *i.e.*, those who have relapsed into idolatry, and "those that have not sought Jehovah, nor enquired of (A. V. *for*) Him." "Seeking Jehovah" means to worship Him, to turn to Him especially with prayer and supplication. *Cf.* Ex. xxxiii. 7; II. Chron. xx. 4; Ps. xl. 17, lxxix. 7, cv. 3; Is. li. 1. דָרַשׁ אֶת יְהוָה, which should here be rendered "enquire of Jehovah," not "enquire for," is a very common expression, and means simply to seek Jehovah, to go to Him, and have recourse to Him for aid. *Cf.* II. Chron. xvi. 12; Deut. iv. 29; Ps. xxxiv. 5, lxxxviii. 34; Lam. iii. 25, *et al.* It is often used to denote the habitually pious, and is then equivalent to *worship* or *adore*. *V.* Ps. xiv. 2, ix. 11, xxii. 7, xxxiv. 11; Is. lviii. 2, *et al.*

In face of an opposition, that was evidently murmuring loudly, if not actually complaining, in regard to customs which, from their standpoint, were innovations, the prophet continues: "Hold thy peace at the presence of Adonai Jehovah, for the day of Jehovah is at hand; for Jehovah hath prepared a sacrifice, He hath bid His guests. And it shall come to pass in the day of Jehovah's sacrifice, that I will punish (8) the princes and (9) the king's children, and (10) all such as are clothed with strange apparel."

He foretells, in other words, that when the day of vengeance comes, these, who are at present escaping punishment, will receive their deserts. (8) First among these come the princes (**שָׂרִים**). These were the high officials of the kingdom, men of station and influence, and generally connected with the court. *Cf.* II. Sam. xviii. 5; I. Kings iv. 2; Job xxix. 9, xxxiv. 19; Is. xxx. 4; Jer. xxvi. 11 sq., xxxvii. 14 sq., *et al.* They seem to have formed a hereditary aristocracy in Judah and Jerusalem, and to have been divided upon the subject of religion. In the accounts given in Kings and Chronicles of reformation, we have no mention of any opposition. It is said the people "stood to the covenant," *i.e.*, "consented to it." Nothing in regard to the attitude of the nobles is thus recorded. From this passage, however, we learn that there was a powerful, if not an active opposition, and may understand how easily the good work became undone after the influence of the royal favor was removed. In the reign of Jehoiakim we find the "Sarim" preserving Jeremiah from the ignorant rage of the priests and people. This, however, does not show that they were upon the side of Jehovah, but rather the contrary, as the priests and people were, on that occasion, attacking Jeremiah because they considered him a traitor to Jehovah. On the other hand, when Uriah, the son of Shemayah, of Kirjath Jearim (possibly one of their own

number), repeated Jeremiah's prophecy, we find the princes co-operating with the king to put him to death, and also learn that it was only by the kind offices of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, that Jeremiah escaped a similar fate (Jer. xxvi.). In Jer. xxxvi. the princes seem to have formed a council for the transaction of public business, and to have met in the "scribe's chamber" in the king's house, and to have considered that they were obliged to take cognizance of Jeremiah's book, which had been read by Barach. The majority of the princes, on this occasion, were against Jehovah; only Delaiah, the son of Shemaiah (perhaps brother to the dead Urijah), and Gemariah, the son of Shaphan (the brother of the Ahikam, who had, four years before, befriended Jeremiah), and Elnathan, the son of Achbor (who, on the former occasion, had been the instrument of the purposes of the impious king), only these three seem to have been touched in their consciences by the words of the prophet speaking in Jehovah's name. All the princes, however, seem, as in the previous case, to have had some personal regard for Jeremiah, and sent him warning to hide himself from the king's anger.

In the reign of Zedekiah, the princes appear to have deteriorated in character. This may be explained by the fact that the best of them had been carried captive with Jehoiachin (Jer. xxiv. 1-7). We read that they beat and imprisoned Jeremiah on suspicion of being about to desert to the Chaldeans (Jer. xxxvii. 13-15). When Zedekiah had given him some degree of liberty, they persuaded him to give orders for his death; and when the weak king yielded to their demands, they cast the prophet into the dungeon of Malchiah, into the mire (Jer. xxxviii.).

When Zedekiah proclaimed the emancipation of all Jewish slaves, the princes only pretended compliance, and afterwards re-enslaved all their former bondmen and bondwomen (Jer. xxxiv.). Finally, Ishmael, of the seed royal, and ten of the princes of the king with him, assassinated Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, whom Nebuchadnezzar had made governor over the land (Jer. xli.). We may notice that Shaphan,—the scribe in Josiah's reign,—and most of his descendants, seem to have been faithful adherents of Jehovah (see, for a probable exception, Ezekiel viii. 11).

Shaphan, it will be remembered, was the person to whom Hilkiah the priest first communicated the news of the discovery of the Book of the Law (II. Kings xxii.), and he was, undoubtedly, among the leading reformers. The majority of the princes, however, appear to have been irreligious, not caring very much either for Jehovah or Baal,

so long as they could enjoy their own wealth and privileges. Isaiah describes the princes of his time as "rebellious, and companions of thieves" (Is. i. 23). Jeremiah says of them, in a prophecy uttered in the reign of Josiah, "that they have altogether broken the yoke and burst the bonds" (v. 5); that, "as a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit; therefore, they are become great, and waxen rich. They are waxed fat, they shine; yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked; they judge not the cause, the cause of the fatherless, and the right of the needy do they not judge" (Jer. v. 27, 28). Ezekiel bears the same testimony in similar words (Ezek. xxii. 6, 27). From our author we learn that they were opposed to the reformation, and that they were violent and oppressive (Zeph. iii. 3). (9) The "*King's Children*" are further mentioned as objects for the divine vengeance. The fate of Jehoahaz (Shallum), Jehoiakim, and Jedekiah affords the commentary upon this prophecy. They re-established evil customs as soon as their father was dead, and though, in the day of vengeance, they called upon Jehovah, it was too late.

(10) "All such as are clothed in strange apparel" refers to those who put on the sacred robes or vestments used in the worship of the foreign divinities. Cf. Ezek. xiii. 18-21; II. Kings x. 22. Keil considers the expression to refer simply to those who adopted foreign fashions, but the supposition is hardly probable at this period of the people's history. The strong opposition between Jew and Gentile was of later date. The sin which is denounced by Zephaniah in his whole prophecy is apostasy from Jehovah, or hostility towards His worship, and it is for some form of this that we are to look in this passage.

In II. Kings x. 22, referred to above, the word here translated "apparel" is used of the sacred vestments worn by the worshippers of Baal.

(11) The next class denounced is made up of "those who leap upon the threshold, which fill their masters' houses with violence and deceit." This phrase may be rendered "leap above" or "over the threshold," and in this case may refer to the worshippers of the Philistine divinity, Dagon, who, we learn from I. Sam. x. 5, had this peculiar custom. The second clause, "they that fill their masters' houses with violence and deceit," is hard to explain. At first sight it would seem simply to refer to slaves who committed frauds and robberies for their masters' benefit. But the whole connection is with forms of religious error, and the words evidently describe some further characteristics of "those who leap upon the threshold." It may be that the

worshippers of Dagon, or of some other of the heathen divinities, practised these crimes as a religious ceremony, as the Thugs in India used to murder as an offering to their goddess. An allusion to some such practice as this is probably contained in Jer. vii. 8-10, where stealing and murder and adultery are mentioned in connection with the worship of false gods, and excused by the performers upon the ground that "they were delivered" to do these things; *i.e.*, either that these ceremonies formed their ground of hope for deliverance from danger, or that they had been delivered from danger in order that they might show their gratitude by these acts. The verb used, נָצַל, cannot be understood as it is frequently by expounders of this passage, *permitted* or *given over to perform* these actions, but means here, as elsewhere, deliverance from danger. Should we translate אֲרֹנֵי דָת as a plural of excellence, and understand it as corresponding to Baalim as a title, the sense suggested is still more apparent. That the word, Adon, was used as a divine appellation by heathen as well as Hebrew, is clear from the Phœnician Adonis.

Chapter ii. 4-7 shows us that the Philistines were still a powerful evil in the land. On these grounds it seems best to consider the entire passage as referring to the worshippers of Dagon and the evil customs connected with the *cultus* of that divinity.

In vv. 10, 11, there is probably some special connection between the places mentioned, as singled out for distinction, and idolatrous practices by which they had been defiled, but our information is too scanty to determine what it is. The "Fish Gate," which is mentioned in II. Chron. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39, was a gate on the southern side of the city near the western wall. From II. Kings xxiii. 8 we learn that it was not unusual for city gates to have "high places" upon them or near them.

The "second" does not mean the second gate, but the second ward or quarter of the city. It is the same word that is used in II. Kings xxii. 14 to describe the dwelling-place of Huldah the prophetess, and is there translated "*college*." The "hills" refer, probably, to the city of David and the Temple hills, so that the three places cited really include nearly the whole city. Maktesh was a valley near the city, so called from its mortar-like shape. Nothing is known of it; its inhabitants, from this passage, seem to have been traders, perhaps sellers of supplies to those sacrificing to the various divinities.

To all these places doom is announced, "crying" and "howling" and "a great crashing"; "the merchant people are cut down, all they that bear silver are cut off."

Thus far the prophet has denounced the active foes of Jehovah, who openly served other gods and opposed the reformation. In v. 12 he comes to the class of the neutral and indifferent,—those whose care was for themselves, and who regretted the stir and turmoil of the new movement, and had no confidence in its success. His language is striking and most forcible : “And it shall come to pass, in that day, that I will search Jerusalem with candles, and punish the men that are settled on their lees, that say in their heart, Jehovah will not do good, neither will he do evil.” The phrase, “settled upon their lees,” means, “have lived a quiet, undisturbed life, of indifference and sloth.” Cf. Jer. xlvi. 11. The figure is taken from wine that has been allowed to stand a long while without disturbance, and which has deposited a good deal of sediment. This needs to be kept quiet and undisturbed, to be clear ; if agitated, the sediment rises, and the wine becomes turbid, and its quality is impaired.

From the prophet’s words we may gather that the well-to-do class of Jerusalem, who were prosperous and comfortable, and who did not seriously trouble themselves about religion of any kind, resented, or at least opposed a passive resistance to the *new* laws, as they undoubtedly seemed to them, and to the new notions about righteousness and moral qualifications being necessary for worshippers of Jehovah. “Who is Jehovah,” they would enquire, “that he should make such claims upon us, claims that have never been made before? We have lived in this state for centuries, and only began to be troubled when Hezekiah began to stir up dissension and dissatisfaction by removing the high places to which the people were accustomed.” They would argue with a specious force that the worship of Jehovah and the casting out of Baal had not profited the neighboring kingdom, although since the days of Jehu, Jehovah had been the God of Samaria, He had not saved it from the Assyrian. “Why all this commotion and excitement, this overstrained repentance, this impossible covenant, this exaggerated Passover? Jehovah has never done and will never do us any good, nor has he done, nor will he do, any evil. There is no reason for fear, no cause for terror.” These were the Epicureans of the day, who did not believe that the gods trouble themselves about the world. They were the quiet, conservative, moneyed interest, whose motto then as in all ages of the world was, “*Quieta non movere.*” And for this they are here denounced by the single-hearted and devoted prophet, as the foes of Jehovah.

From chap. iii. we find that besides these obstacles to reformation, the moral condition of Jerusalem was such that punishment was sure

to come ; and that, as far as morals went, the reformation had been practically fruitless. Here must, of course, be borne in mind that the fact alluded to before, that Zephaniah is not an annalist, but an indignant moralist and preacher of righteousness, rebuking the people for sin, and for rebellion against Jehovah, and that hence it is only to be expected that he will paint the sin of the people in its blackest hue. Much that the simple historian of the period would pass by, appears to the prophet as abomination, sure to bring upon the city the vengeance of Jehovah.

Hence, for a correct appreciation of the period, we need to take a mean between the annalist and the prophet, accepting, however, all the facts stated by the prophet as facts ; for appeals to the conscience that were based upon incorrect facts, and of which the errors could be easily exposed, would have been worse than futile.

His picture of the degraded city doomed to destruction is as follows :

"Woe to her that is filthy and polluted, the oppressing city ! She obeyed not the voice ; she received not correction ; she trusted not in Jehovah ; she drew not near to her God. Her princes within her are roaring lions ; her judges are ravening wolves, they gnaw not the bones till the morrow ; her prophets are light and treacherous persons ; her priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done violence to the Law." In spite of the word of Jehovah in their midst, in spite of the warning given them in the fate of other nations, the people had refused to receive instruction, but "they rose early and corrupted their doings." On this account punishment must come, and their pride be humbled, and the false confidence which they had in Jehovah as their national God be destroyed.

Neither outwardly nor inwardly had the reformation been a success. It had been violent and sweeping like that of Jehu in Samaria, but like it its work was imperfect. Indeed, it seems to have had even less permanent effect than that of Jehu. Though an outward conformity had been for a time attained, though the temple of Baal had been destroyed, the "high places" removed, and the "groves" cut down, yet the spirit of indifference and the love of the lax morality of heathenism, which had underlain all the forms of unlawful worship, was not removed.

In spite of the burning words of the prophet, in spite of the royal example, in spite of the teachings of the Book of the Law, — so long forgotten, now once again made known to the people, — they preferred their own way, and, as their own wise sage had said, "were filled with the fruit of their own devices" ; and, going on from bad to worse, ripened gradually for destruction.

**F**rom our examination of the portions of his prophecy that concern **Judah** and Jerusalem, we have seen that we have from Zephaniah the following facts, in regard to the condition of religion and morality in the latter part of the reign of Josiah, after the great reformation had begun. Some, though not all, of these facts can be inferred from the language of Jeremiah.

In spite of all that had been done, there were still to be found in the city: (1) a remnant of Baal; (2) Chemarim and (3) rebellious Cohanim; (4) worshippers of the Host of Heaven; (5) secret worshippers of Molech; (6) renegades from Jehovah, (7) and some who had never yielded themselves to His service. These all are to be “cut off” and “destroyed” in the “Day of Jehovah.”

Besides these there is a second class, made up of the chief obstacles in the way of reformation, who are to be punished in the day of Jehovah’s sacrifice. Their fate, though described in different words, is none the less terrible than that of the former class. These obstacles, in the way of reformation, are: (8) the Princes, the Sarim (**שָׁרִים**); (9) the King’s Sons (**בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ**); (10) the wearers of strange (foreign) apparel, i.e. sacrificers to foreign divinities; (11) “those who leap upon the threshold” (probably those who have adopted the worship of the Philistine Dagon), “which fill their master’s house with violence and deceit” (probably those who rob and steal to fill their Lord’s (**אֱלֹהִים**) house with offerings); (12) the merchants and traders as a source of foreign corruption; (13) the indifferent who are “settled upon their lees,” and who are incredulous as to the power of Jehovah, “who say Jehovah will not do good, neither will He do evil.”

To these elements of religious opposition are to be added the elements of moral degradation among the people. There were two main points in Jehovah’s reformation, as in the prophetic teaching upon which it was based: (1) Jehovah, and none else, was to be worshipped, and He, so far as sacrifices were concerned, only in Jerusalem; (2) Jehovah was the God of righteousness and morality. This second point was as strongly insisted upon by the prophets as the first.

Hence we find Zephaniah giving a dreadful description of the moral condition of the people, although from the accounts of the annalists in Kings and Chronicles, we should suppose that the reformation was successful. He tells us (1) of the existence of a generally degraded moral condition among the people (iii. 1); (2) of the rejection of the call to righteousness (iii. 2); (3) of the evil character of the

princes and judges (iii. 3) ; (4) of the instability and treachery of the prophets (iii. 4, *a, cf.* Zech. xiii. 2-6) ; (5) of the moral degradation of the priests and the disrepute they brought upon the Law of God (iii. 4, *b*) ; (6) and that, in spite of the corruption, pride was felt in belonging to Jehovah, and a false confidence in the protecting power of the "sanctuary of the holy mountain" (iii. 11).

With these elements of opposition to Jehovah and of moral corruption remaining in the land, it is indeed no wonder that, as soon as Josiah died, a counter revolution should have set in. Yet, strangely enough, the impulse given to the outward worship of Jehovah does not seem lost. In the subsequent reigns, He was worshipped very generally, if not earnestly or intelligently, by the people ; and, as we have seen, Jeremiah was considered a traitor to Him, when he prophesied that His holy city should have the fate of Shiloh. The ritual was kept up, daily ascended the fragrance of the incense and the smoke of the holocausts ; although, in the very chambers of the same Temple, men who worshipped Jehovah at one hour, adored at another "all the idols of the host of Israel." There were a few who remained true to the grand ideal ; noble youths like Daniel and his three comrades in Babylon, princes like Gedaliah, priests like Ezekiel and Jeremiah. These constituted the remnant of Judah, the kernel of life that should spring up into vigorous growth after the captivity, and which should build up a community where the law of the Lord, which men now rejected, should be the one and only rule of life. These were the "servants of Jehovah," the types of the great "Servant of Jehovah," for whom they were preparing the way. Like Him they were "despised and rejected of men, men of sorrows and acquainted with grief," from whom men turned away their faces. And like Him "they bore the griefs and carried the sorrows" of their people. They were "wounded for their transgressions," they were "bruised for their iniquities," bore uncomplainingly the chastisement that should bring peace to their people, and the stripes which should prove their healing. They were the few who "knew Jehovah," and who knew Him to be the Eternal and Righteous God, and their faith and their endurance in the midst of seeming failure won, by God's help, the victory. It is a striking thought that, while the power and might of Josiah, and his forcible methods, were fruitless, the quiet influence of the faithful few preserved, in the long years of exile, the national existence as well as the national religion ; and while powerful Israel never returned, but passed easily from its impure form of worship into the idolatries of the land of captivity, the remnant of Judah, strong in

**the** faith of the righteous Jehovah, who might be worshipped with **sacrifices** only in Jerusalem, was strong enough, after seventy years **probation**, to return and establish once more the theocracy, in which **the Law** of Jehovah was at once, as the poet sang, “a lantern unto **their feet** and a light unto their paths.” Towards this consummation **the prophet** Zephaniah performed his allotted part, delivered his **message**, and has, in his recorded prophecy, left it as a graphic picture of **the condition** of his country and countrymen.

In his day, even those who worshipped Jehovah had not learned **the lesson** of righteousness and morality ; and, in spite of their wickedness, yet rejoiced in the pride of the city, and were haughty because **of the** holy mountain of God. He looked forward, by faith, to the **change** that would come in time, after God’s judgment had been **executed** upon the guilty land ; when, though the people should be poor and afflicted, and but a remnant of the old glory, they should trust in **the name** of Jehovah.

The contrast between Zephaniah and the annalists, which is a **contrast** only, and not a contradiction, is as marked as his exact correspondence and agreement with Jeremiah in almost every point. Any **study** of the history of the times that will simply follow the annalists and neglect the prophetic testimony, must necessarily be incomplete and convey an incorrect impression of the condition of affairs.



## Notes.

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### *Modern Chapters and Verses.*

PROF. I. H. HALL, PH.D.

**I**N the matter of the Modern Chapters and Verses, one point seems to have escaped modern notice. (See generally my article *Chapters and Verses, Modern*, in Schaff's Herzog's *Cyclopædia*.) That is, the fact that, although the Arabic numerals were first printed in the margin of a Hebrew Bible in 1660, at the instance of John Leusden, an attempt was begun at the same thing in the Hebrew Bible of Plantinus, small 8vo, Antwerp, 1574. In this volume, every fifth verse is marked with Hebrew numerals, after the fashion already long in vogue; but the first 16 pages (that is, the first sheet) has also the Arabic numerals in the margin, opposite the beginning of each verse, like the modern Hebrew Bibles. The last verse thus numbered is Genesis xxxi. 4, verse 5 beginning the next page.

After I had discovered this fact for myself, I found that it was noted in Masch's *Le Long*, Pars i., Cap. i., Sect. i., § xxxvi. 1., as follows: "Capita et versus Judaeorum more sunt distincti; at in prima codicis plagula singulis commatibus numerus arabicus in margine est adscriptus." Whether the other Plantin Bible of the same date (also 1573), in smaller form, has the same phenomenon or not I am unable to say; though Masch says, "Altera editio in forma minori ab hac non nisi forma differt." The only copy of that edition, which is ordinarily accessible to me, is at present boxed up. But the Plantin Peshitto Syriac New Testament of both forms,—the first, (about) 1573; the second, 1575,—have the Arabic verse-numbers in the margin.

Also, though in the New Testament the modern verses were made by Robert Stephen for his Latin Concordance of 1555, and are commonly reported to have been *first used for reference* in that book, the fact is that the first references made by the modern verse-numbers appear in the marginal references of his first New Testament divided into verses (1551), in the "Index" of the same, and in the "Harmonia Evangelica" which forms a part of the second volume of the same.

The caption of the "Index" is worth quoting as the first literary record on the subject: "Index eorum quae in Novo Testamento docentur. *rimus numerus, caput: alter, versum significat.*"

### Aἰώνιος, II. Cor. iv. 17 and v. 1.

REV. W. H. COBB.

THESE three consecutive verses refute the theory that *aiōnios* is not time-word, as distinctly as though they were written with that object in view. In iv. 17 we find the following contrasts: —

θλύψεως	δόξης
διαφρόν	βάρος
παραντίκα	αιώνιον.

The A. V. renders παραντίκα "but for a moment." Similarly the R. V. "for the moment." The contrast holds *aiōnion* strictly to the sense "everlasting." The next verse gives two more oppositions: —

τὰ βλεπόμενα	τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα
πρόσκαιρα	αιώνια.

Both versions render "temporal" and "eternal." Alford brings out the contrast still more sharply: "not 'temporal,' 'belonging to time,' but 'fleeting,' 'only for a time.'"

Following the etymology of πρόσκαιρος, I should translate thus: "the things that are seen are *for a season*, but the things that are not seen are *for ever*."

The apostle still pursues his contrasts in the verse that follows,  
v. 1: —

οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους	οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον
ἐπίγεος	ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
καταλινθῆ	αιώνιον.

Both versions render "dissolved" and "eternal." *Aiōnion* therefore = ἀκατάλυτον, indestructible, i.e. never-ending. There is no important variation in the Greek authorities for the above verses. Either of them singly witnesses for the temporal sense of *aiōnios*; as combined in immediate succession, the testimony has great force. No doubt it is possible to evade this force; and, indeed, if the Bible had said, in so many words, "eternal punishment is endless," the obvious comment would be: "that is, it has nothing to do with *end*; it pertains to a sphere where the terms 'beginning' and 'end' have no meaning."

*Matt. xii. 43-45.*

PROF. E. P. GOULD.

THE form of this statement, in both Matthew and Luke (xi. 24-26), makes our Lord say that the disastrous result takes place whenever the unclean spirit leaves a man. The condition of all that follows is found in that one act of leaving. This is manifestly absurd, and the only way to get rid of the absurdity is to extend the conditional part of the statement through verse 44, so that it will read, "Whenever the unclean spirit has gone out from the man, and goes through waterless places, seeking rest and finding it not ; and it says, I will return into my house, whence I came out ; and having come, it finds it empty, swept and garnished ; then it goes and takes with it seven other spirits, more evil than itself, and having entered, they dwell there, and that man's last condition becomes worse than the first." That is, the thing which determines the spirit's return is that he finds the house unoccupied, and the lesson is that a man must not only expel his evil spirits, but fill himself with good ones. But it does not follow that the house is left empty whenever the evil spirit departs. Or the statement may be left as it is, simply introducing a conditional particle before *εἰπότας* in verse 44, so that it will read, "and having come, if it finds it empty." What is wanted is to make this one thing, on which evidently the result depends, contingent.

It has occurred to the writer that the evident misplacing of the connectives in the Greek gospels may have arisen from the use of the simple connectives in the Aramaic speech of Jesus. There, the simple copulative conjunctions being used, the logical connections of the several statements are not indicated, but left to be implied from the nature of the whole and the evident relations of the parts. Then, in transferring it into Greek, it is easy to see how the proper connection of the parts may have been missed.

## Proceedings.

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THE seventh meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis occurred, according to appointment, in the Library of the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., at 2.30 P.M., June 5th, 1883.

There were present Profs. Beecher, Bissell, Briggs; Rev. W. H. Cobb; Profs. Dwight, Ferguson, Gardiner, Gould, Hall; Rev. Drs. Hibbard, Jewett; Rev. R. W. Micou; Prof. Mitchell; Rev. Dr. Mombert; Profs. Prentice and Schaff.

In the absence of the President and Vice-President, Prof. Dwight was chosen President *pro tem.*

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The committee of arrangements announced that they had appointed, subject to the approval of the Society, a recess from 6 to 7.30 P.M., to be followed by the transaction of the business of the Society and the election of officers, and then by the hour for short notes. Also another session at 9 A.M. the following day.

The report was accepted and the arrangement adopted.

It was voted that the President be requested to appoint a committee to nominate officers. He subsequently appointed as such committee, Profs. Beecher, Bissell, and Gardiner.

At 3.10 the first paper was read by Prof. C. A. Briggs, D.D., on "The Argument *E Silentio.*" It occupied until 4.07, and was discussed until the recess.

On assembling at 7.30, in the absence of Prof. Dwight, Prof. Beecher was chosen President *pro tem.*

Letters of regret at unavoidable absence from many members were read.

The Council reported that they had fixed upon New York as the place, and the Christmas holidays as the time, of the next meeting; the day and room to be determined by a Committee, consisting of Drs. Short, Briggs, and Schaff.

The Council recommended that the price of the Journal for 1881 be fixed at \$1 to members elected since its publication. This recommendation was adopted by vote of the Society.

The Council at this time, and on the following morning, recommended the following persons for election as members : —

Rev. S. J. Andrews,	Hartford, Conn.
Prof. George F. Moore,	Andover, Mass.
" Frank E. Woodruff,	" "
" Edward Y. Hinks,	" "
" John P. Taylor,	" "
Rev. C. R. Gillet,	Union Theol. Sem., New York.
" Newman Smythe, D.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
" James R. Riggs,	Cranford, N.J.
Prof. F. A. Gast,	Theol. Sem. of German Ref'd Ch., Lancaster, Pa.
" Jas. C. Van Benschoten, LL.D.,	Middletown, Conn.

And they were thereupon duly elected.

The Committee on the Nomination of Officers made their report, and it was laid on the table until the following morning.

The Treasurer's report was presented and also postponed, the President having, on motion, appointed an auditing committee, consisting of Profs. Prentice and Gould.

At 8.30 short notes were given as follows : —

By Prof. Hall, on the notation of verses in the Hebrew Bible.

By Rev. W. H. Cobb, on the title קָרְבָּן לְאַמְתָּה in the Psalms.

    " " " on *aiōvios* as a time-word.

By Rev. Dr. Mombert, on Tyndale's Pentateuch.

By Prof. Gould, on Matt. xii. 43.

By Rev. Dr. Jewett, on the Samaritan and Arabic words for "to create."

These notes, and the discussion upon them, having occupied until 10 P.M., the Society adjourned to 9 A.M. on Wednesday.

Wednesday, the Society reassembled at 9 A.M.

The Treasurer's report was read, showing a balance of \$344.93 in the treasury. The report was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The Auditing Committee reported, after having examined the report and vouchers, and found everything correct.

The death of the Rev. Dr. Krauth, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, since the last meeting, was announced.

Tributes were paid to the memory of Dr. Krauth by Drs: Schaff, Mombert, and Hall, Rev. W. H. Cobb, and others.

The report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers was taken up.

The Committee nominated the former officers (with the exception of the Secretary, who was unable to serve longer, and Prof. Mead, who was absent from the country), and they were elected as follows:—

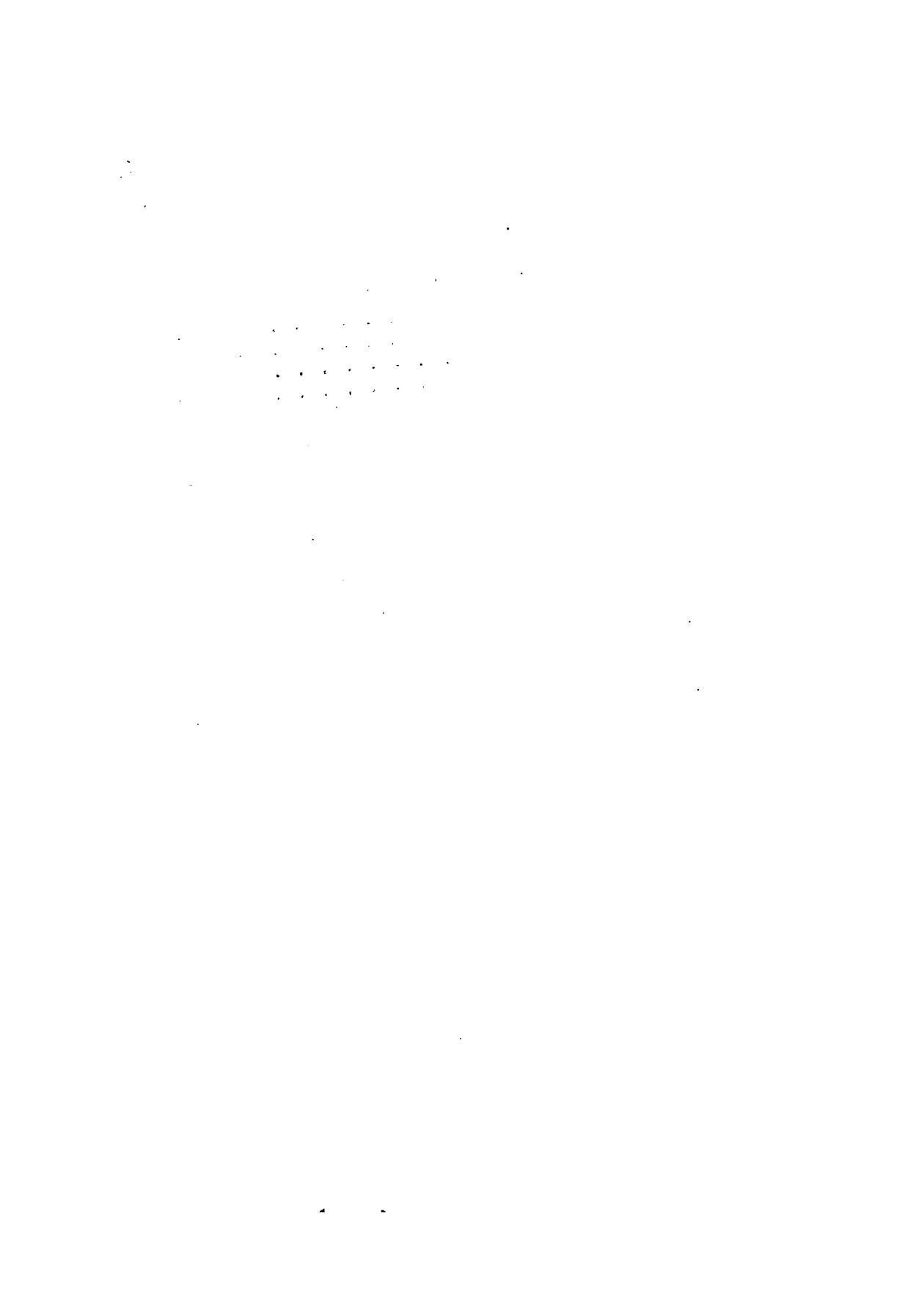
REV. D. R. GOODWIN, D.D., LL.D. . . . .	<i>President.</i>
REV. JAMES STRONG, D.D., LL.D. . . . .	<i>Vice-President.</i>
REV. H. G. MITCHELL, Ph.D. . . . .	<i>Secretary.</i>
REV. C. A. BRIGGS, D.D. . . . .	<i>Treasurer.</i>
REV. EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D.,	<i>Additional Members of the Council.</i>
REV. GEO. E. DAY, D.D.,	
REV. TIMOTHY DWIGHT, D.D.,	
PROF. CHARLES SHORT, LL.D.,	
REV. E. C. BISSELL, D.D.,	

Prof. E. P. Gould read the next paper, beginning at 10 A.M., on “The Argument of Romans ix.-xi.,” and occupied until 11. This paper was discussed until 11.40, when further discussion was postponed until after the reading of the next paper.

At 11.40 the last paper was read by Prof. Henry Ferguson, occupying until 12.25, on “The Prophet Zephaniah and his Times.” This was discussed until 12.40, when

After the reading of the rough minutes, at 12.53, the Society adjourned.

FREDERIC GARDINER,  
*Secretary.*



## DECEMBER.

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### The Independent Legislation of Deuteronomy.

PROF. E. C. BISSELL, D.D.

THE importance of the Book of Deuteronomy in all discussions touching the age and origin of the Pentateuch cannot well be over-estimated. Leading critics, indeed, like De Wette<sup>1</sup> and Graf,<sup>2</sup> have regarded it as decisive battle-ground. Lying in the midst of the supposed development of Pentateuchal literature from Moses to Ezra, it ought to show, if it appear anywhere, positive evidence of the evolution then in progress. It ought to show this especially in its legislation, which, as the name "Deuteronomy" imports, forms the body, and is undoubtedly the main object of the work. It ought to show it most of all in such laws as are original with this book, and intrinsically represent it.

It is said of the Pentateuchal codes in general that they but reflect, in their several parts, the changing social and ethical standard of the Hebrew people during many hundred years previous to the Exile. If this be true, and they are in no sense ideal or prophetical in character,

<sup>1</sup> *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung*. Neu bearbeitet von Schrader, Berlin, 1869, pp. 322 ff., 322 ff.; and *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1837, p. 953: "The view taken of Deuteronomy is for the criticism of the Pentateuch decisive."

<sup>2</sup> *Die Geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, p. 4 f.; cf. also Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium*, p. 3: "Denn zwar erkennt De Wette an, und hat damit für seine Nachfolger einen Fingerzeig gegeben, dessen Nichtbeachtung fast immer der kritischen Untersuchung zur Schädigung gereicht hat: dass in dem Deuteronomium das δός μοι ποῦ στῶ für die ganze kritische Frage über den Pentateuch gegeben ist." Wellhausen, on the other hand, with a good deal of unnecessary bravado, rules the whole matter out of the discussion as something already settled. He says (*Geschichte*, p. 9): "Ueber den Ursprung des Deuteronomiums herrscht noch weniger Zweifel; in allen Kreisen, wo überhaupt auf Anerkennung wissenschaftlicher Resultate zu rechnen ist, wird anerkannt, dass es in der Zeit verfasst ist, in der es entdeckt . . . wurde."

the peculiar product of a superhuman revelation, or inspiration at the genesis, and throughout the progress of a much more limited development, the fact should appear most plainly, not in the features that are common to all of them, but rather in such as are exceptional and individual. There are some laws, as for example that regarding public worship, or that of the feasts, which, in a form more or less modified, appear in each of the three great divisions of the Pentateuchal legislation. In such cases there is ample room for discussion, in fact, imperative need of it, on a host of questions quite apart from the main question. It must first of all be determined whether these diverse forms are, as alleged, the result of widely varying circumstances of place and time, or may fairly be regarded as evidence simply of another point of view within the same period, and on the part of the same legislator. Where, however, a law is found in but one of these divisions, and in but one form, the area of debatable ground is greatly lessened. We are then prepared at once to test our critical theory concerning the age of the document, and to do it under circumstances of the least embarrassment.

Now, it is well known that no inconsiderable portion of the Deuteronomic laws are of this character. And it is a highly significant fact in itself, since it is just what we might expect on the traditional hypothesis, that this code chronologically concludes the legislation of the Pentateuch. But it is also of value as furnishing a capital opportunity to prove the validity of a favorite tenet of many modern critics.

Out of the full score of these early laws original with Deuteronomy, and confined to it, there are some, it is true, of such a nature that a chronological test can only with difficulty be applied to them. But with the majority it is quite otherwise. Their response to such a test is both immediate and categorically direct. The only question remaining to be asked, *i.e.*, for those who will press a question of this sort, is whether these laws are seriously meant, or, like the so-called "Blue Laws" of Connecticut, are but *quasi* statutes, whose originator was satisfied if they were founded on fact, and were not easily distinguishable from fact.

The first example of a law peculiar to Deuteronomy is that concerning *seduction to idolatry*. It occupies the entire thirteenth chapter, and appears in three sections: (1) as applying to false prophets (vv. 2-6); (2) to individual members of the community whom it rigorously singles out from the most intimate relationships (vv. 7-12); and (3) to whole cities which might become infected with the crime

(vv. 13-19). The close logical connection, both of the subject and its treatment with what immediately precedes, is the first thing that attracts attention.

The Deuteronomic code, opening with the twelfth chapter, begins with a command addressed to the people to totally destroy idolatry and remove every vestige of it from the land which the Lord their God is giving them as a possession (xii. 2-4). Next follow directions respecting their own place of worship. There is to be but one such place, and the Lord himself will designate it (xii. 5-28). Then comes the present law prohibiting under penalties, the severest known to the Pentateuch, efforts from any quarter to draw away the people into heathenism. In these three phases of the law, together with a later section (xvii. 2-5) on the punishment of Hebrew idolaters, we have what seems intended to be a complete presentation of the subject as well in its positive as its negative side. And it is not easy to see how any code could have more fully met the requirements of the case on the supposition that the Israelitish people are what and where they purport to be. It offers, by far, the most developed form of Pentateuchal legislation on this theme. That of the middle books, notwithstanding the fact that it is supposed to have originated during the Exile, when the popular spirit of opposition to idolatry really culminated, is not only less comprehensive but much less stringent. And what more natural? The gigantic evil against which a struggle, unsuccessful for a full millennium was to be undertaken, now fairly confronted them. Every part of the law breathes the spirit of originality and of initiatory movement. There are two allusions to the exodus from Egypt (vv. 6, 11). The crossing of the Jordan is in immediate prospect; participial forms and the future tense of the verb characterize every reference to the promised land.

On the contrary, there is nothing in the times of King Josiah, eight centuries later, where critics would anchor our code, save his singular zeal for purity of worship, that could suggest the origin of such a statute in his time. He did, it is true, slay on their own altars some priests of the high places of Samaria (II. Kings xxiii. 20); but the history of that period furnishes no occasion for the peculiar specifications of our law touching idolatrous *prophets* (vv. 2-6); and its form, in other respects, especially in its allusions to Canaanitish neighbors, would have been an anachronism at so late a day. It is universally admitted that the reforms of Josiah were largely inspired and directed by this law. But how is it to be accounted for, unless by the account it gives of itself? On no principle of development could it have been

the spontaneous product of the age wherein it wrought so mightily. The reformation in the days of Hezekiah and other earlier kings is also evidence against it. If, however, from the period of the Conquest, it had existed and lain comparatively dormant, but now, when the divided kingdom was hastening to its fall, under the divine Providence it had come to its inherited right and its legitimate influence, the prodigious effects produced may be readily understood. There is many an analogous fact in the history of Christianity. In the vegetable world, too, as is well known, there are plants that reach their bloom only after lengthy periods of seeming unproductiveness. But there is no period when the flower is not present in germ, or that all the energies of the plant are not steadily working towards it.

The next independent law of Deuteronomy relates to the appointment of judges and officers (xvi. 18), "Judges and officers shall appoint for yourselves in all your gates." By "judges," magistrates seem to be meant, and by "officers," their assistants. In a second passage (xvii. 8-13) it is further enjoined that if these local magistrates find any case brought before them for decision too difficult, they — the judges or elders, not the people — may carry it up to the central place of worship and submit it to the Levitical priests or to the judge, i.e., supreme magistrate who might be ruling in those days; a verdict thus obtained should be irreversible. The law obviously contemplates a settled order of things in the land of Canaan. It does not, however, presuppose it. The cities referred to are those which the Lord their God is *on the point of giving them* (יְתִן). It shows, no doubt, an advance as it respects the institutions of the wilderness (Ex. xviii. 13-26; cf. Numb. xi. 16, 17, 24-29), but an advance along the same line. The original provision for seventy elders is so extended as to adapt it to circumstances in immediate prospect. The dignity and the civil power which, up to this time, had inhered in Moses and the high priest are now to be vested in the priests of the central sanctuary and the chief magistrate of the nation.

And this arrangement seems actually to have been carried out, at least in its main features, in the post-Mosaic history, by Joshua (viii. 33, xxiv. 1), during the time of the Judges (cf. Ruth iv. 1-9), and in the life of Samuel. It is maintained, however, that in this whole matter our author simply imputes to Moses something that must have originated at a much later day. Even so conservative a critic as Riehm<sup>1</sup> affirms that the existence in his time of a court of appeal is

<sup>1</sup> *Gesetzgebung Mosis*, p. 62; *Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Gerichtswesen."

presupposed by the writer of Deuteronomy. And inasmuch as the history gives us no account of an institution like it before the reign of Jehosaphat (II. Chron. xix. 8-11) five centuries later, we must conclude that the law relating to judges and officers was made after his day. To this reasoning and conclusion alike we are quite unprepared to subscribe. For, in the first place, if anything is taken for granted in the Deuteronomic law of the higher court, it is the possibility, and the custom of appeal, not the existence of this very court. With such a general custom the people had been familiar at least for a generation, the harder questions having all along been carried to Moses and Aaron, and after Aaron's death to Moses and Eleazar (Numb. xxvii. 2). This practice was now to be continued, the highest civil authority acting for the lawgiver. In the second place, the court instituted by Jehosaphat was, in some of its features, a totally different affair from the one before us. It was composed of priests *and* Levites, instead of Levitical priests. It had a civil as well as ecclesiastical head acting at one and the same time. Our law presents them as acting independently. The civil head is represented by a family chief of Judah (**יהוּדָה**), an official unknown to Deuteronomy in this connection, with whom are associated also some of the chiefs of the fathers of Israel; while the high priest is the ecclesiastical head. In the third place, we find David, a hundred and fifty years before the time of Jehosaphat, apparently guided in his appointment of officials by the Deuteronomic code (I. Chron. xxiii. 1-4, xxvi. 29-32). It might, indeed, be objected that this account of what David did is found only in the much depreciated history of the Chronicler. But if the second of his books be competent authority for the alleged acts of Jehosaphat, the first should be thought no less so for those of David.

The law for the *punishment of Hebrew idolaters* (xvii. 2-5) has been already casually mentioned in connection with that concerning *seduction to idolatry*. Like the latter, it professes to be anticipatory legislation (v. 2); and there would be no further need of calling attention to it, were it not for a peculiar species of idolatry to which it refers: "And hath gone and served other gods and worshipped them as the sun or the moon or any of the host of heaven which I have not commanded" (v. 3). The worship of the heavenly bodies, Sabæanism, is here recognized as a possibility. But from the historical books of the Old Testament (II. Kings xxi. 3 ff.; II. Chron. xxxiii. 3 ff.), we learn that the public introduction of such worship *in Judah* took place in the reign of Manasseh at the beginning of the

seventh century before Christ. It is accordingly held that the present law would be out of place in the time of Moses, the tacit assumption, of course, being that a law never precedes, but always follows, the outbreak of the crime against which it is directed.

But, were such a principle to be admitted in the present case, the conclusion reached would by no means follow, since there is overwhelming evidence that this particular form of idolatry had been known to the Israelites from the beginning. The kingdom of *Israel* had practised it long before the time of Manasseh, as witnessed to by the Books of Kings (II. Kings xvii. 16). Amos, too (v. 26 f.), during the reign of Jeroboam II., makes direct reference, as is now acknowledged by the best authorities, to the worship of Saturn in the northern kingdom, naming the planet both by its Accadian and its Assyrian title.<sup>1</sup>

It is indisputable, moreover, that sun, moon, and star worship was one of the most primitive and universal forms of idolatry among the leading nations with which the Hebrews during the Mosaic period came in contact. It lay at the basis of the Baal and Astarte cultus of their Canaanitish neighbors. Its prevalence in Egypt is proved by the monuments.<sup>2</sup> And how seriously Abraham's Chaldaean ancestry was devoted to it, appears from the fact that in the wedge-shaped inscriptions of their day, the uniform ideographic representation of the divinity was a star.<sup>3</sup> Hence, so far from finding it strange that we meet with an alleged Mosaic law of this sort in Deuteronomy, we should think it strange if under the circumstances supposed it were not there.

<sup>1</sup> See Riehm's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Assyrien," "Sonne," "Sterne"; also Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften*, etc. 2te Aufl., p. 442, and in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 324-322. Hommel, too (*Die Vorsemittischen Culturen* i. (2), p. 204), speaks of the renowned temple of the goddess of the Moon, which the old king of Ur, Ur-bagas (c. 2870 B.C.), and his son Dungi built; and still further (p. 209), of a temple of the Sun at Larsa, the Ellasar of Gen. xiv. 1. Rawlinson, in *The Religions of the Ancient World* (p. 145), says of the religion of the Phoenicians, "That Shamas or Shemesh, 'the Sun,' was worshipped separately from Baal has been already mentioned. In Assyria and Babylonia he was one of the foremost deities; and his cult among the Phoenicians is witnessed to by such names as Abed-Shemesh, which is found in two of the native inscriptions. . . . The sun-worship of the Phoenicians seems to have been accompanied by a use of sun-images of which we have perhaps a specimen in the accompanying figure which occurs on a votive tablet found in Numidia."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ebers, s.v. "Egypten," in Riehm's *Wörterb.*; also s.v. "Gebet," *idem*.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.*, s.v. "Assyrien." Cf. Rawlinson, *Ancient Mon.*, i, pp. 125, 127.

Besides, the form of the statute is not to be overlooked : "And hath gone and served other gods . . . which I have not commanded." A certain kind of worship then had been enjoined. We cannot well be mistaken in supposing that the second of the ten commandments is specially referred to. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," and especially the clause, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness of that which is in heaven above" (Ex. xx. 3, 4). And we are confirmed in this view by what is said in a previous chapter of Deuteronomy (iv. 19), where the writer, indirectly commenting on the giving of the law at Horeb, alludes to this very thing, *i.e.*, interprets the second commandment, as it would seem in this sense : "And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, all the host of heaven, shouldst be led to worship and serve them." So that the force of the concluding words of our law, "worship any of the host of heaven which I have not commanded," may fairly be said to be, "which I have elsewhere already forbidden."

We come next in order to the *law of the king* (Deut. xvii. 14-20). Fault has often been found with the original political constitution of the Hebrew people, as formulated in the Pentateuch, on the ground of its impracticability. It was, to some extent, impracticable and for a very natural reason. A pure theocracy would be wholly practicable only among unfallen or perfectly sanctified men. But it is not to be regarded as a defect of the Mosaic constitution that it put forward so unique and noble an ideal ; that it pursued it till its practicability at that time, and under the circumstances that then prevailed, was fully demonstrated ; or, further, that from the first it foresaw the exigencies that would arise (Gen. xvii. 16, xxxvi. 31, xlix. 10), and made provision for them by means of statutes designed to regulate and limit what might not be wholly prevented. The law of the king, as we find it recorded in Deuteronomy, is, on its face, framed in anticipation of a juncture to arise. It looks forward to a period when the Canaanites shall have been dispossessed, their land apportioned, and Israel definitely settled in it (*cf.* יְשָׁב, יְרַש, נָא). The demand for a king would then arise. It would come from the people. Permission is granted to comply with this demand conditionally, and directions given in detail, concerning the manner of the sovereign's choice, the title he shall bear (מלך not מלֵך or מלִיך), the government of his household, his income, his relative position among his brethren, the succession and other matters, in a way to set him wholly apart from any contemporaneous kings, so, indeed, as to show that he

was to be a king under the peculiar conditions of a government that must still be recognized as, in the end, theocratic. The law, in short, is Mosaic in the finest shading of its phraseology. It is true that some temptations and evil practices of kings in general—in the event proving to be also those of later Israelitish kings, like Solomon—seem to have been directly in mind throughout, and guarded against. But with the knowledge of what the kings of Egypt and Canaan were, what less could have been expected of such a man as Moses, to say nothing of the fact that our book represents him as a prophet.

On the other hand, there are features of this law which plainly preclude the theory of its supposed origin, near the close of the seventh century, B.C. What sense in such a supposition in the injunction that a foreigner was not to be set up as king? Already, for centuries, the succession had been firmly established in the family of David.<sup>1</sup>

Or, in forbidding to lead the people back again to Egypt? Such a return had not been thought of since the first crossing of the Jordan; although so familiar a subject in the *mouths of the people* in Moses' time (Ex. xvi. 3; Numb. xi. 5, xiv. 4).

It is true that we do not find Samuel, when long after the subject of a king is broached by the discontented people (I. Sam. viii. 1 ff.), quoting this law. And there is excellent reason for his not doing so. He is looking at the matter and speaking of it from the point of view of his petitioners. He calls attention to the additional and oppressive burdens the new office will entail on them; to the more than questionable spirit and form in which their request is made. It is true that he feels obliged to condemn the project, as it is brought before him, just as Gideon had already done (Judges viii. 22-23); and that, finally, in those particular circumstances—as in any circumstances if the best thing were wanted—the request for a king is conceded under protest. But there is just as little reason on this ground for holding that Samuel was unacquainted with the Deuteronomic law of the king, as there is for holding that Hosea was not acquainted with it, who

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<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch (*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft*, etc., 1880, p. 565) has sufficiently answered the point made by Prof. Robertson Smith (*Answer to the Amended Libel*, p. 26), who refers to Is. viii. 5, “wonach die syrisch-ephraimische Ligue die Davidische Dynastie zu beseitigen und einen Syrer Ben-Tab’el zum Könige von Juda zu machen gedachte, indem er dabei bemerkt, dass eine Partei in Juda dieses Vorhaben begünstigte. Aber woher weiss er dass so gewiss? Es ist nichts als auf streitiger und mehr als unwahrscheinlicher Deutung von Ies. 8, 6 beruhende Vermuthung.”

also says (xiii. 11) that God gave to Israel a king in his anger; or that St. Stephen (Acts xiii. 21) was ignorant both of Samuel's and of Hosea's words, because in his reference to the choice of Saul as king he says not a word of there being any opposition to it. The *people* of Samuel's time, it is evident, knew of the law; they do not overlook the advantage they have in it in the appeal they make. They use its language almost word for word in Hebrew, "make us a king to judge us like all the nations" (I. Sam. viii. 5; cf. Deut. xvii. 14). And it has been noticed that the whole context is saturated with Deuteronomic expressions and ideas.<sup>1</sup>

Not inferior in importance to this law of the king, among the independent statutes of the present code, is that relating to *the prophet*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sime, *Kingdom of All Israel* (London, 1883), pp. 35-38; and Prof. Green in the *Sunday School Times* for Oct. 6, 13, 1883. The ingenious theory of Ewald adopted by Riehm (*Gesetzgebung Mosis*, p. 81 ff.), that in the specification of our law that the king "shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he may multiply horses," the hiring out of Israelites as mercenaries to the Egyptian king is meant; and that such a state of things might well have existed in the time of Manasseh is utterly lacking in documentary support. The only passage that even looks in this direction is the threatening contained in Deut. xxviii. 68, that in case of unfaithfulness the people shall be carried down to Egypt in ships. Aside from this there is not a hint of such a possibility in the biblical books. And it is impossible to suppose that if a project so repugnant to the Jewish spirit and institutions had been entertained, it would have been so completely overlooked.

Moreover, in the narrative of the crowning of Joash, c. 878 B.C. (II. Kings xi. 12), there is a notable allusion to a law of some kind that was committed to him. It is said of the high-priest on that occasion that he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown and the testimony upon him. On the word **דָּבָר** Thenius says (*Com., in loco*) that it was not an ornament, not a phylactery on the crown, not the royal insignia, but the law, a book in which Mosaic regulations had been written. This conclusion is certainly in harmony with the uniform employment of the word in the Old Testament. And Kleinert (*Deuteronomium*, p. 97), with other first-rate authorities supposes that our Deuteronomic law of the king is specially meant. Whether this be so, or as seems more likely, it be the entire code of Deuteronomy that is referred to (cf. Deut. xvii. 18, 19), there can be little doubt that it was considered the proper thing to do to put a written copy of some portion of the Pentateuchal law in the hands of the king on his accession. And since this is one of the very things enjoined in the statute we are now considering, it is to be inferred that the custom arose in this way through the mediation of the priests, in whose hands it was kept.

(xviii. 15-19). "A prophet from the midst of thee, from thy brethren like myself, shall the Lord thy God raise up unto thee," etc. It is most singularly introduced in connection with a prohibition of magic, to which, in fact, it holds a subordinate position. Moses is the speaker. He assumes as something well understood, that this prophet had been already provided for at the giving of the law in Sinai, although we have no other record of such a provision. He declares that when he comes he will be the mouth-piece of Jehovah to Israel, and that whoever refuses to hear him, it will be required of him.

Nowhere is the personality of the great mediator of the Sinaitic covenant more distinctly impressed on an utterance of the Pentateuch. Now, let it be supposed that it was not he. Let us look for a moment at the hypothesis, that it is some unknown prophet or priest of many centuries later who is speaking here, as if he were Moses. What must have been the man's temerity to press his impersonation to the extent that he not only makes the supposititious law-giver say that the coming prophet will be like himself, but refer to an event in his own and their past history, concerning which the Pentateuch is silent, and the people of that later day were probably ignorant? How strange the working of his mind, especially if he were himself a prophet, that he should introduce in so dubious a connection, *i.e.*, as subordinate to a law on magic, the matter of Hebrew prophecy, and the culmination of it too, an institution surpassed by no other in its grandeur and importance.

It is not to be supposed that critics who reject the Mosaic authorship of these laws will, with Delitzsch and others, see in the present one a direct, not to say exclusive, prophetic reference to the Messiah. They would rather choose to hold, it is likely, that if there be a latent allusion to such a possible outcome of prophecy, it is simply the product of a wholly natural hope and aspiration of the Jewish mind. But, if this be so, and we have before us simply an *ex post facto* reference to Hebrew prophets and prophecy in general, as they had come to be, and to be known long before the conjectured date of Deuteronomy, it is certainly a surprising and well-nigh incredible circumstance. The almost surreptitious manner of its introduction, as we have said, puzzles us. It presents, moreover, but a single one of the prophet's many-sided functions. It characterizes men like Samuel, Gad, and Elijah, Obadiah, Amos, and Jonah as being like Moses, which would set everybody to thinking of more respects in which they were quite unlike him. It speaks of a prophet, has the office prin-

cipally in mind, when more than a score and a half of them, differing from one another as widely as Elisha and Jeremiah had already appeared, whose activities had extended over a period of five hundred years. It offers as a criterion to prove the claims of such as might give themselves out for prophets, the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their predictions; when such seers of the distant future as Isaiah and Micah were then upon the stage, for whom so specific a test would have been as inappropriate as it was fitting for the sporadic prophets and their imitators in the early days.

We meet next, in the series of laws now under review, with one against the *removing of landmarks* (Deut. xix. 14) : "Thou shalt not remove the boundary line of thy neighbor which those going before have placed as a boundary in thy inheritance which thou shalt inherit in the land the Lord thy God is giving thee for a possession." The reference, plainly, is to the fraudulent displacement of boundaries separating one's landed property from that of his neighbor. How serious a breach of equity it was regarded may be inferred from the circumstance that it is one of the acts singled out in the 27th chapter of this book for special execration. The important point now to be considered, however, is a supposed anachronism of the writer in representing Moses as saying, **אשר נבלו ראננים** "which those going before have set as a boundary." It is rendered by some, "which the forefathers," or "thy forefathers set as a boundary," and is accordingly regarded as a clear *lapsus pennæ* of our *quasi* legislator of the Exodus. But there is not only no necessity for this rendering, there is, as it seems to us, no propriety in it. The word **ראננים** is found without the article or any pronominal or other limitation. It means simply "predecessors," and might justly be employed in such a connection by one who was legislating not for any particular emergency, but for the whole future of the covenant people. And that it is used in this sense here and not in that of "forefathers" who had already departed, the context is conclusive proof. The "boundaries" spoken of are those of the land which the Lord their God is on the point of giving them (**נוֹתֵן**). This participle is as characteristic a feature of all references to the land of Canaan in our code as **יכתב** is of the formula by which the central sanctuary is designated. And the criticism that would impute to our law-giver, whoever he may be, the folly of expressing, within the limits of a single verse, ideas so contradictory as that the Israelites had long been settled in Canaan, and that they had not yet entered it, condemns itself.

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<sup>1</sup> Note the significant change in phraseology in Prov. xxii. 28. Cf. also Hos. v. 10.

But to possess and occupy Canaan meant a long and bitter conflict. It is natural, therefore, to find no inconsiderable part of our code devoted to military operations and rules of war. How captives are to be treated, cleanliness in camp, what cities are to be spared and what destroyed, the demolition of heathen shrines. These are some of the timely topics treated by our law-giver on the eve of the conquest. Of a like nature is the one we now take up, regarding *preparation for battle* (Deut. xx. 1-9, xxiv. 5). It is most unique in character, and bears in every part the evidence of strict historic truthfulness.

First, there is an appeal for courage in view of superior members and strength. He who had brought them out of Egypt would be with them. Should they see horses and chariots, they were not to be afraid of them. Afraid of horses and chariots! Childish admonition if it be not childlike and genuine! In Hezekiah's and in Josiah's time the land already swarmed with them. Ahab alone was master of a good two thousand chariots of war (*cf.* Is. ii. 7). And next, the very process of entering on a campaign is simply detailed. It is assumed, in harmony with Numbers (i. 3), that the whole male population, over twenty years of age, and capable of bearing arms is at the place of muster. It is assumed, further, in accord with instructions of the same book (xxvi. 2), that full lists of those subject to military duty are in the hands of the Shoterim. It is also assumed that a priest specially designated for the purpose (**הכֹהן**), again in dependence on the Book of Numbers (xxxii. 6), where Phinehas acted in this capacity, will be present to hearten and inspire the host with his trumpet and his brave words. It is assumed that the Shoterim, who have the muster-rolls, are empowered, not only to address the assembled levies, retain or dismiss at will such as are found eligible or ineligible for active service (with v. 6, *cf.* Lev. xix. 3 f.), but also to divide and subdivide them into battalions and companies, set them in battle array, and place suitable leaders at their head.<sup>1</sup> The entire arrangement, in short, is peculiarly primitive, and appropriate only to the earliest periods of the commonwealth. After the rise of king, court, and mighty men of war, after Saul's second year, when three thousand chosen men were made the nucleus of a standing army, especially after David's day, when royal body-guards were customary, and foreign mercenaries began to be employed, such an arrangement would have been antiquated and impossible.

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<sup>1</sup> **שׁוּרְעַת** is clearly the object, not the subject, of **פָקַדְתִּי**. It is required both by the context and by the fact that this verb is not used intransitively.

The treatment of hostile cities that are not of Canaan is also made the subject of special legislation in our code (xx. 10-14, 19, 20), and the manner of its introduction is full of meaning. The law-giver had just been speaking of Canaanitish cities, which in sharp discrimination he refers to as "the cities of these nations here" (xx. 15), i.e., lying over against their encampment in the fields of Moab. For them there was one law of procedure. It had been indicated in previous deliverances to which he now refers (v. 17), but it is not alone the peculiar introduction of the subject that is significant. The whole outlook of the legislation is equally so. With what propriety, for example, could a writer of King Josiah's time, three hundred years after the division of the kingdom, a hundred after the final captivity of Israel, when many a fortress of Judah was already in possession of Assyrian troops, in the midst of the moral decadence and political disintegration that are reflected in the prophecy of Jeremiah, preface a command to exterminate the Canaanites, with another specifying how foreign cities were to be besieged and their prospective spoils appropriated? Especially on what principles of psychology could it be anticipated that under circumstances like these a romancing legislator of the later day, without a hint of an impending catastrophe to the polity and people to which he himself belonged, would coolly bethink himself of so small a matter as the fruit-bearing trees that might be growing around the beleaguered towns of imaginary foreign foes, and sedulously enjoin that they be spared for food?

In the ceremonial of purification for murder, the murderer being unknown, recorded in Deut. xxi. 1-9, we have a remarkable example of the utmost simplicity of form united with a singularly active consciousness of the sacredness of human life, and the solidarity of human responsibility concerning it.<sup>1</sup> Where, but amidst the simplicity of primitive times, should we find the authorities of different cities determining jurisdiction after a method so rudimental as actual measurement? The entire scene, in its homely picturesqueness, makes the impression of the very beginnings of political existence. The gathering by a perennial stream, an appointed substitute for the unknown criminal in leading, the hand-washing in token of non-complicity with the crime, the touching declaration breaking into prayer: "Our hands shed not this blood and our eyes saw not the deed. Forgive, O Jahveh, thy people Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood to the charge of thy people Israel," are all of the same simple character. If,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. iv. 10, the Jahvist; ix. 6, P.C.

at first, we seem to be witnessing a sacrifice (*cf.* בְּנֵי, v. 8), we soon find that this is not the case. The fundamental elements of a sacrifice are wanting. There is no altar. The blood is not shed. The victim's neck is simply broken (*cf.* Ex. xiii. 13). It is an execution. Justice has done its work as far as it is possible to do it under these circumstances. The murdered man has been avenged by the whole community acting as his לְאַבָּוֹת. The same form of words, in fact, that in a previous chapter brought to a close the execution of a wilful homicide (xix. 13) also concludes this ceremony.

The next two topics treated in the independent code of Deuteronomy, that of *female captives* (xxi. 10–14) and a *disobedient son* (xxi. 18–21), offer but indefinite indications of their age. Still, the former implies a state of things like that which existed only on the eve of the Conquest, and for a short time after it. The captives referred to cannot be Canaanitish women with whom marriage was forbidden; and the acquisition of foreign territory and spoils, as we have seen, ceased to be a subject of aspiration, and could not have been one of legislation after the reign of David. While the latter harmonizes perfectly with its historic surroundings as well as with the other codes with which it is associated (Ex. xxi. 17; Lev. xx. 9), and seems to be definitely referred to in some passages of the Chokma literature. (Prov. xix. 18, falsely rendered in the A. V.: *cf.* xxx. 17; Eccl. iii. 1–16.)<sup>1</sup>

A peculiar regulation concerning the *bodies of persons who had been hung* is met with in Deut. xxi. 22, 23. It is enjoined that they be buried on the day of execution, in order that they may not pollute the land. While in itself containing nothing out of harmony with a supposed Mosaic date, there is a positive confirmation of such date in the Book of Joshua. In two notable instances this appointed successor of Moses is reported as acting in studied consistency with this law (viii. 29, x. 27). It is true that much of the Book of Joshua is alleged to have been written by the author of Deuteronomy, but these two passages are not included by the majority of critics in that part of it, but admitted to be among its oldest portions.<sup>2</sup>

A law requiring that in the case of building "a new house," a parapet for safety be made around the roof (xxii. 8), might imply either previous and customary life in tents, or that the new-comers would find

<sup>1</sup> It is an interesting fact, and not without significance, that the old Babylonian family customs were very similar to those here indicated. If a son refused to obey his father *or his mother*, various severe punishments might be visited upon him, even to selling him as slave. *Cf.* Hommel, *ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> See Kleiner, *ibid.*, p. 96f.

in Canaan houses already built, as, in fact, is directly stated elsewhere (xix. i). An occasion for the introduction of the subject here may possibly have been the fact that the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, were then in process of providing homes for their families and shelter for their flocks east of the Jordan (Numb. xxxii. 16) antecedent to the passage of the river.

Among the many provisions of the Deuteronomic code inculcating humanity, or conceived especially in a humane spirit, is that regarding a complaint of unchastity previous to marriage, preferred by a husband against a newly-married wife (xxii. 13-21). One main object of it seems to have been to protect an otherwise helpless woman against the brutality of a selfish and unscrupulous lord to whom she was legally bound. The rigorous punishment inflicted on the plaintiff, if he failed to make out his case, the fine (*כַּעֲבָד*, cf. Ex. xxi. 22), the beating (cf. Deut. xxv. 1-3), and the denial of the right of future separation on any terms (xxiv. 1-4), brings the statute into line with other enactments of the present code, and bespeaks for it the same origin. An extended law for a somewhat similar case is found in Numbers (v. 11-31); but the legal process is wholly dissimilar, and the complaining husband there goes unpunished. Riehm holds<sup>1</sup> that in the codification of the Deuteronomic law we have evidence that the one found in Numbers was already considered antiquated, and that hence the former belongs to a much later period. But the two cases are different enough in their nature to require different laws. Both of the laws are apparently based on old-time customs. The Deuteronomic seems to be more changed, and, possibly, with special reference to that of Numbers, supplementing it, as it were, with the needed moral background and standard by which a one-sided application might be avoided. Without superseding it for the special case it had in view, it emphasizes in its heavy penalties for the baseless slanders of a husband a principle of equity there unrecognized, but which, expressed or unexpressed, should always be understood to rule in similar circumstances.

Israel was considered as forming a peculiar *congregation* (*לְקָדֶשׁ*)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gesetzgebung*, etc., p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> This term is found nowhere else in the Pentateuch except in Numb. xvi. 3, xx. 4, where it is used, in the one instance by the promoters of Korah's rebellion, and in the other by the people who murmur at Moses in the wilderness of Zin. In itself, it is thought to indicate a late origin for a document in which it occurs; and its appearance in Joel is one of the reasons given for assigning that work to the period of the Exile. But there were good reasons for its employment in the

of the Lord, and it is not strange that we find at the beginning of the national life *a law defining and restricting its bounds* (Deut. xxii. 1-11). With a mixed multitude swarming in its camp, a more opportune moment for such a law than just before the Conquest there could not well have been. The first provision concerns persons unmanly by castration or other mutilation of the reproductive organs. Held in honor by contemporaneous people, they failed to meet the totality of the divine claim; as they were unable also, in some instances, to comply with the requisition of the Abrahamic covenant whose seal was circumcision.

Yet such a law would scarcely have been suggested to the imagination of a man eight centuries later. Even Samuel mentions eunuchs as among the prospective servants of Israelitish kings (I. Sam. viii. 15-18). And so we find them at the court of Ahab (I. Kings xxii. 9), of Joram (II. Kings viii. 6, ix. 32), and in the kingdom of Judah employed with honor by the very successor of Josiah (II. Kings xxiv. 12, 15-18). Israelites, it is likely, they were not; but foreign slaves. Still, the employment is no slight symptom of altered circumstances. And we are not surprised to see Isaiah (lvi. 3 ff.)<sup>1</sup> advancing to a far more spiritual view, making, in fact, the transition to that new economy in which the queen of Ethiopia's eunuch becomes a distinguished trophy of this same "ecclesia of the Lord."

But, from a special subordinate class, our law goes on to mention nationalities that are eligible or ineligible to the privilege of Jewish citizenship. And here the impress of its time upon the document becomes still more decided. The attitude assumed by our law-giver towards these nations does not seem unnatural, if he be Moses. But no writer in his senses could have seriously taken it after the time of Solomon. Because of their treatment of Israel on their march from Egypt (Numb. xx. 18 ff., xxii. 5) the Ammonite and Moabite are forever shut out from citizenship among the chosen people. The

middle books of the Pentateuch under the historical circumstances mentioned; and there is no good reason why, later, Moses should not himself have adopted the word and filled it with a better spirit. Moreover, the principle that rules in this whole section is thoroughly Levitical. Its requirements are quite analogous to those respecting the qualifications of a priest (Lev. xxi. 17 ff.), as also of all offerings made to the Lord (xxii. 18 f. 24). And it is not the first time that the Deuteronomic code has shown a marked advance beyond that of the middle books in the sentiment that Israel was to be a consecrated, priestly nation (with Lev. xvii. 15, cf. Deut. xiv. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Schultz (*Com., in loco*) has called attention to the coloring of the language in the context as seeming to show a dependence on Deuteronomy.

mitted to it after a short probation ; so, too, the Egyptian on the ground of kindred blood, the latter on that of the Hebrew strangers.

The earliest prophets. There is scarcely one of them that is not facing in a contrary direction. So it is with Hosea (vii. 13), with Joel (iv. 19), with Amos (iii. 9), and especially in the first forty chapters of whose prophecy there are nearly constant accusations of Egypt. And Edom ! Considering their hostility to Israel, nothing could be more friendly than the tone of law alludes to them. But we find absolutely no echo of the subsequent period, even down to the time of the Maccabees (c. 131). Saul fought with them (I. Sam. xiv. 47) ; David, made them tributary (II. Sam. viii. 14). Under Joram they lost their independence. They were the heartiest allies of Ephraim against Ahaz (c. B.C. 740) ; and never did their hatred show itself more conspicuously than in the siege and capture of Jerusalem (B.C. 588), when, in the language of the Psalmist, he cried out, "Raze it, raze it to the foundation thereof !" (Ps. cxxxvii.) The more important prophets from Obadiah and Joel to Ezekiel take up the position towards Edom which is the exact antithesis of that of the Mosaic law. Which one of them, or what man of their time, possibly have been the author of it ?<sup>1</sup>

come next to a brief regulation touching runaway slaves of masters seeking refuge in Israel (xxiii. 16, 17). They are to be given up, but allowed to dwell unmolested wherever they may go. The law is stamped with no indubitable marks of Mosaic origin. The test of political and moral relationships is to be the criterion, it is to be adjusted to almost any age of the world, from B.C. 1800 to the present time. If a theory of interpolations is to be allowed free play, there is many a period of Israelitish history subsequent to Moses when it might have been fitly interjected among the Pentateuchal laws. But why may it not be Mosaic, as it claims ? It breathes his spirit, and is most apposite to the circumstances of Israel, as themselves fugitives.

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<sup>1</sup> We find a similar, if a less marked, change of feeling with respect to Moab indicated in the later times. The story of Ruth, the Moabitess, was probably written not long after the death of David. The scenes it described occurred a full hundred years earlier (Ruth i. 1). And, although the history represents this people as more or less inimical to Israel or Judah down to the latest periods, still the spirit of the Book of Ruth is clearly reflected in the great prophet of King Josiah's day, who, after predicting their overthrow, declares : " Yet will I bring again the captivity of Moab in the latter days, saith the Lord " (xlvi. 47, cf. xlvi. 6, 7, 18).

tives from Egypt. It harmonizes well, too, with the oft-repeated reference to the former thraldom. And, happily, the monuments furnish us with positive evidence that such a law would at least be no anachronism at the time of the Exodus. In an extant treaty between Rameses II. and the king of the Hittites, one article relates to this very matter of the mutual exchange of fugitive servants. That Moses was acquainted with this fact, and intentionally forbade what it as positively required, we need not assert. Enough that in this case the science of archæology comes promptly forward to set a bound to the literary fancies that are so inclined to run riot among these ancient records.<sup>1</sup>

Of peculiar historic as well as moral interest is the Deuteronomic *law of divorce* (xxiv. 1-4). The form in which it is found, the character of much of the legislation with which it is associated, as well as the very nature of the case, serve of themselves greatly to weaken the force of the objection that it is too developed a law for the period of the Exodus. Were no weight to be allowed to the statement in Genesis (ii. 21-24) for the genuineness of which our Lord seems to vouch (Matt. xix. 4, 5, 8), that monogamy was the original and designed relationship of husband and wife, it might be expected that the relation of the sexes would be one of the first and principal respects in which a perverted nature would manifest itself. And we find accordingly that cognizance is taken of it in what purports to be the earliest history and the earliest laws (*cf.* history of Abraham and the seventh commandment). And the regulation now before us might be regarded as little more than a specification under the seventh commandment. It is remarkable alike for its concessive and its restrictive character. It assumes the prevalence of divorce,—a fact also recognized in a number of other laws of this and the Levitical code (Lev. xxi. 7; Deut. xxii. 19, 29). It assumes that it was carried on with some degree of formality. And such a custom, with the form it took of giving a “bill of divorce,” our law does not forbid; neither does it command it. Herein our Lord corrected the Pharisees’ false quotation of the Pentateuch, changing their “Why did Moses command” into “Moses suffered.”

In its restrictions, on the other hand, the law assumes the sacredness of the marital tie, and provides against an obvious tendency to break and renew it at will. Its sole prohibition, however, is of the re-marriage of divorced persons after a second marriage had been en-

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<sup>1</sup> See *Records of the Past*, iv., p. 31 f.

tered upon by the former wife. This, as the words "after that she has been defiled" (*cf.* Numb. v. 20) indicate, it looked upon as a form of adultery and not to be tolerated. The law tends directly to the preservation of the original tie; and, in case it is severed, plainly encourages a single life in view of a possible later reunion. It does not rise to the plane of Malachi (ii. 13-16), who declares that God "hates putting away." But neither, on the other hand, does it misrepresent a Moses of the exodus, or go beyond what might have been expected of a legislation that followed and flowed out of the ten commandments.<sup>1</sup>

*Punishment by flogging* (Deut. xxv. 1-3) seems to have been resorted to in Israel chiefly for gross offences against sexual morality (Lev. xix. 20; Deut. xxii. 18). The spirit of the Deuteronomic law respecting it is thoroughly national in its recognition of the Israelitic election and brotherhood. At the same time the mode of inflicting the punishment by making the offender lie flat upon his face is thoroughly Egyptian, and positively out of harmony with the later rabbinical practice.<sup>2</sup>

*Levirate marriage*, legally sanctioned first in Deuteronomy (xxv. 5-10), had no doubt prevailed in its main features from the earliest times. In the narrative of Judah's sin with his daughter-in-law (Gen. xxxviii.), assigned by critics to the document JE., we find the practice already in force to the extent that any breach of it is regarded as a serious crime. Accordingly, the Levitical regulation (Lev. xviii. 16), forbidding marriage with a deceased brother's widow, is obviously to be limited to cases where there were children, as also the Jews of our Lord's time understood it.<sup>3</sup> And not only is our law in its place in the age of Moses with respect to that which goes before it, but also that which follows. The story of Ruth, whose scene is laid in the period of the Judges, is evidently not a little modified by it. The detailed proceedings of Boaz, his singular care to follow a certain fixed order, his appeal to the regular legal tribunal of his city, and the motive he urges for his conduct, in which he uses almost the very language of our code, to "raise up the name of the dead upon his in-

<sup>1</sup> The last-remark is fully supported by what is known from the monuments of ancient Babylonian customs. If a man would separate from his wife, who had not been untrue to him, he was obliged to pay her a sum of money so large that very few could have availed themselves of the legal right. Cf. Hommel, *ibid.*, p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Criminal Code of the Jews according to the Talmud Massechath Synhedrin*, by Berger. Lond., 1880, p. 122 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Versus* Riehm, *Gesetzebund*, etc., p. 68.

heritance," give at least a color of probability to the theory that the law of Deuteronomy was already a recognized authority in Palestine.

The next independent ordinance of our code *prescribing punishment for a gross act of immodesty* on the part of a woman (xxv. 11, 12) offers no internal characteristics by which its age might be even approximately fixed, unless it be the form of the punishment. The offending hand was to be cut off. It is the only instance in the Pentateuch where mutilation is directly enjoined. So unusual and severe a retribution for such an act would scarcely have been thought of in the later time.

The *commission for the destruction of Amalek*, found in Deuteronomy (xxv. 17-19), there can be little doubt, refers directly to Ex. xvii. as its basis and original. An entire clause of the Hebrew, and the most essential one, is repeated word for word. The appeal, moreover, is made in a way to indicate an event still fresh in remembrance: "Remember<sup>1</sup> that which Amalek did to thee in the way as ye came out of Egypt." And still another side-light appears in an allusion to the present circumstances of Israel: "So it shall come to pass that when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about, in the land which the Lord thy God is giving thee to possess as an inheritance, thou shalt wipe out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; forget it not."

If now, on the other hand, we follow the biblical history of the relations of Israel to Amalek, subsequent to this supposed period of the Exodus, we shall see how impossible and absurd it would have been for such directions to be seriously promulgated as late as the reign of Josiah or even that of Solomon. After their first defeat in a sharply-contested battle with Joshua at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 8-16), we find them joining the Canaanites in a successful attack on Israel at Hormah (Numb. xiv. 43-45). Later Balaam, in his prophecy, for some reason not clearly known, hails them as the "first of the nations," but predicts their total overthrow (Numb. xxiv. 20). Another hundred years follow, and, as allies of the Ammonites and Moabites, they make a partially successful foray upon the coasts of Israel (Judges iii. 13). Then Gideon successfully warred with them. But it was not till the days of Israel's first king that the Pentateuchal commission really began to be executed. In two great campaigns Saul broke their strength, wasted their land, and put to death their king (I. Sam. xiv. 48, xv. 2-33). The entire history of this war is pervaded by the

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<sup>1</sup> The infin. abs., like the emphatic imperative in Greek, Gesen. § 131, 4, b., is used.

**spirit** of the ancient code. Samuel's words to the king are: "Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, 'I am punishing (visiting judicially, פְּקֻדָּת) that which Amalek did to Israel. . . . Now go and cut off Amalek and utterly destroy all,' that he has" (Sam. xv. 2, 3). And thoroughly as Saul did his work, it did not satisfy the terms of his commission. David dealt the hostile remnant a heavy blow after their capture of Ziklag, and in Hezekiah's time, still a century before the date assigned by some to the Deuteronomic code, so reduced and feeble had they become that five hundred Simeonites are able to complete their overthrow and extinction (I. Chron. iv. 43). After this time the name of Amalek disappears from history.

Our code is brought to a fitting close by a peculiar formula of acknowledgment and thanksgiving. It is professedly given to be used immediately subsequent to the conquest and quiet occupation of the promised land. Critics are not satisfied with this account which the document gives of itself, and see in its strong liturgical cast positive marks of a later day. Kleinert, however, among others, takes exception to this opinion as being unworthy of an age in which the knowledge of the Vedas has ceased to be a monopoly.<sup>1</sup> It may be added that such an objection is unworthy of an age that has brought to light the stores of information contained on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. This one simple liturgical ceremonial of Deuteronomy we are able, in fact, to match with many far more elaborate ones, in different tongues, that date from even an earlier period.<sup>2</sup> The wonder is, indeed, not that we have this one simple, prescribed formula of thanksgiving for the individual Israelite in his periodical visits to the central sanctuary, but that, in all the biblical literature before the Exile, it stands so much alone. We have really nothing of a precisely similar character with which to compare it. And in view of the consideration that prayer, in some form, must date

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<sup>1</sup> *Das Deuteronomium*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> See especially an inscription from the tomb of Beni-Hassan, of the 12th Egyptian dynasty, in Warrington's *When was the Pentateuch Written*, p. 18 f.; also, the prayer of Menkaura to Osiris, dating as far back as the 5th dynasty (Wilson's *The Egypt of the Past*, London, 1881, p. 93), and the philosophical precepts of Ptah-hotep (*ibid.*, p. 107 f.), computed to be five thousand years old; and cf. Rawlinson, *The Religions of the Ancient World*, p. 60 f., and 24, where he says of the religion of ancient Egypt that its "worship was conducted chiefly by means of rhythmic litanies or hymns, in which prayer and praise were blended, the latter predominating." For still other specimens of this liturgical worship see *Records of the Past*, vol. ii., pp. 105, 134; vol. iv., pp. 99-104; vol. vi., pp. 99-101; vol. viii., pp. 131-134.

back to the beginnings of human history, it would seem the height of captiousness to characterize the ceremonial before us as an anachronism in the age of Moses.<sup>1</sup>

Such, now, are the independent laws of Deuteronomy, the primary and essential elements, as we may suppose, of this remarkable code. And such are a few of the more patent internal characteristics by which its age as a whole, and in its several parts, might be approximately inferred. That they are demonstrative need not be held ; that, however, they show an overwhelming weight of probability in favor of Mosaic origin throughout cannot well be denied. Such an origin, in fact, is directly or implicitly claimed by the great majority of the statutes brought under review, and especially by those that are of chief importance. If it be denied in the case of the rest, is it too much to demand that adequate reasons be given for wrenching them from the ancient mould in which we find them imbedded?<sup>2</sup>

Mosaic claims, we are well aware, are often summarily dealt with in these days ; but sometimes, perhaps, without sufficiently pondering the consequences. The alternative here, at least, does not lack in startling effects. If not Moses, then some one who would be thought to be Moses, or to write in the spirit of Moses. In either case, an antique flavor, Mosaic sanction is wanted. But why? If the critical theories prevailing in many quarters be adopted, there was no Moses who was worthy of such pains. And why, especially, such an excess of Mosaic coloring in a purely legal document, so that it might almost be thought that the laws were a conceit to magnify the half-mythical hero, instead of the name of Moses being used to give weight to the laws.

If not Moses, we ask again; then who? Some king of Judah or

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the firstfruits are to be brought in the hands in a basket, fore-stalls any objection that might arise on the ground that we have here prescribed a different disposition of the firstfruits from that enjoined in another place (xviii. 4; cf. Numb. xviii. 12 f.).

<sup>2</sup> So, too, Bleek, in a similar connection (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Vierte Auflage, bearbeitet von J. Wellhausen, Berlin, 1878, p. 35) : " Wir sehen also, wie ein bedeutender Theil der Gesetze und Anordnungen des Pentateuchs, sowohl dem Inhalte als der Form nach, dem Mosaischen Zeitalter angehören muss. Da wir nun als ein feststehendes sicheres Ergebniss gefunden haben, dass so bedeutende Theile des Gesetzbuches von Moses herrühren, dass also auf jeden Fall das Wesentlichste der darin enthaltenen Gesetzgebung ihm angehört, so sind wir nicht berechtigt, ihm einzelne der sich darin findenden und auf ihn zurückgeführten gesetzlichen Anordnungen abzusprechen, wenn sie nicht bestimmte Spuren eines abweichenden Characters und einer späteren Zeit an sich tragen."

Israel? The history furnishes no example of a royal legislator; enough, of those who broke and trampled upon the laws of their fathers. Possibly, some prophet then? Which prophet? His modesty in concealing his name and adopting as pseudonym that of the leader of the Exodus is only equalled by the way in which he introduces the subject of prophecy in his work, as incidental to a law regulating magical arts. But why not a priest, possibly Hilkiah himself, who first introduces our code to the attention of his king? Critics are by no means agreed among themselves whether the code is of priestly or prophetic origin; it is too little pronounced in either direction. Priestly, in any decisive features, it is far enough from being; quite the reverse, if its uniform point of view be taken account of. The point of view from beginning to end is conspicuously that of a tender father of his people, emphatically Mosaic, in short, and nothing else. And that it is genuine, and not assumed for effect, the latest results of biblical archeology unite with the best results of literary criticism in strongly confirming.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The reasoning employed in this paper, to show that the independent legislation of Deuteronomy is Mosaic, bears with equal force against the theory that it has undergone any special revision, in a period subsequent to Moses. There is neither in form, spirit, or language, any valid evidence whatever of any such revision in the series of laws we have passed under review.

## Recent Discussions of Romans ix. 5.

BY PROF. EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D.

SINCE the publication of the articles on Rom. ix. 5, in the *Journal* of our Society for 1881, there have been several discussions of the passage which seem worthy of notice, especially as in some of them those articles have been quoted with approval or criticised. The venerable pastor and Professor of Theology in the University of Geneva, Hugues Oltramare, has a long and able note upon it in his recent elaborate and valuable *Commentaire sur l'Epître aux Romains* (2 vols., Geneva and Paris, 1881-82). He adopts the doxological construction, placing a period after *σάρκα*. In England, the marginal note of the Revisers appears to have given great offence in certain quarters. "I must press upon every reader," says Canon Cook, "the duty—I use the word 'duty' emphatically—of reading the admirable note of Dr. Gifford [on this passage] in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' I should scarcely have thought it credible, in face of the unanswered and unanswerable arguments there urged, that English divines would venture to have given their sanction to one of the most pernicious and indefensible innovations of rationalistic criticism." (*The Revised Version of the first three Gospels*, Lond., 1882, p. 167, note.) Elsewhere he speaks of "the very painful and offensive note on Romans ix. 5, in the margin of the Revised Version" (*ibid.*, p. 194).

It appears that Canon Cook sent a challenge to Canon Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, to meet the arguments of Dr. Gifford, and that this led to the publication of the first pamphlet to be noticed, the title of which is given below.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gifford replied to Professor Kennedy in a pamphlet of 66 pages,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *The Divinity of Christ*. A Sermon preached on Christmas Day, 1882, before the University of Cambridge. With an Appendix on Rom. ix. 5, and Titus ii. 13. By Benjamin Hall Kennedy, D.D. . . . Printed by desire of the Vice-Chancellor. Cambridge, also London, 1883. 8°. pp. vii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> . . . A Letter to the Rev. Benjamin Hall Kennedy, D.D., . . . in reply to Criticisms on the Interpretation of Rom. ix. 5, in "The Speaker's Commentary." By Edwin Hamilton Gifford, D.D. . . . Cambridge, also London, 1883. 8°. pp. 66.

and Professor Kennedy rejoined in a pamphlet of 72 pages, entitled *Pauline Christology*, Part I.<sup>1</sup> We shall probably have in due time a surrejoinder by Dr. Gifford, and Part II. of Professor Kennedy's *Pauline Christology*.

Professor Kennedy translates the last part of Rom. ix. 5 as follows : "And of whom *is* the Christ as concerning flesh. He who is over all *is* God, worthy to be praised for ever. Amen." (*Sermon, etc.*, p. 19.) As was remarked in our *Journal* for 1881, pp. 99, 132, there is no grammatical difficulty in this construction. But I cannot adopt the view which Professor Kennedy takes of the passage. He regards the last part of Rom. ix. 5 as added by St. Paul "to win the ear and gain the confidence of the Jews by declaring his adherence to doctrines which they prized, a Jewish Messiah, and one supreme God worthy to be praised for ever." (*Sermon*, p. 21; comp. pp. 20, 25, and *Pauline Christology*, I., p. 61.)

My objections to this view are, (1) that there was no need of Paul's declaring his adherence to doctrines which neither he nor any other Christian of that day was ever charged with questioning, the Jewish origin of the Messiah, and the unity of God; and (2) that the last clause of verse 5, according to Dr. Kennedy's construction, is not a direct affirmation of monotheism in distinction from polytheism, though monotheism is implied in the language.

Were Professor Kennedy's construction of the passage to be adopted, I should rather regard the δῶν ἐπὶ πάντων as having reference to God's providential government of the universe, and especially to his providential dealings with the Jews, in the revelations and privileges granted them with a view to the grand consummation of them all in the advent of the Messiah, as the head of a new, spiritual dispensation, embracing all men upon equal terms. The δῶν, in this connection, may include the past, present, and future; and we might paraphrase as follows, supplying what may naturally be supposed to have been in the mind of the Apostle : "He who is over all," He who has presided over the whole history of the Jewish nation, and bestowed upon it its glorious privileges; He whose hand is in all that is now taking place, who brings good out of evil, the conversion of the Gentiles out of the temporary blindness and disobedience of the Jews; He whose promises will not fail, who has not cast off his people, and who will

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<sup>1</sup> *Pauline Christology*, Part I. Examination of Romans ix. 5, being a Rejoinder to the Rev. Dr. Gifford's Reply. By Benjamin Hall Kennedy, D.D. Cambridge, etc., 1883. 8°. pp. 72.

finally make all things redound to the glory of his wisdom and goodness, "is God, blessed for ever. Amen."

But with this understanding of the bearing of the δῶν ἐπὶ πάντων, it seems more natural to regard the enumeration of the distinctive privileges of the Jews as ending with ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, and to take the last clause as a doxology, prompted by the same view of the all-comprehending, beneficent providence of God, and the same devout and grateful feeling, which inspired the doxology at the end of the eleventh chapter.

Professor Kennedy is a devout believer in the doctrine of the Trinity and the deity of Christ ; and one cannot help admiring the conscientiousness and sturdy honesty which lead him, in the pure love of truth, to defend an unpopular view of this mooted passage. He speaks feelingly of "that mischievous terrorism, which, like carbonic dioxide in a crowded and closed room, pervades and corrupts with its stifling influence our British theological atmosphere." "Men," he says, "who judge of this verse as I do, and who publish and defend that judgment as I do, know that they have to encounter the open rage of a few, the suppressed displeasure of a great many, and the silence of masses, who, whatever they may think on one side or the other, yet for various private reasons consider 'golden silence' the safe course." (*Pauline Christology*, I., p. 3 ; comp. pp. 34, 38.)

It is not my purpose to enter into any detailed analysis or criticism of Professor Kennedy's pamphlets. He urges powerfully against Dr. Gifford's view the Pauline usage of θεός, and other considerations ; but on some minor points takes positions which seem to me untenable, and exposes himself to the keen criticism of his antagonist, who is not slow to take advantage of any incautious expression. In the *Pauline Christology*, I., pp. 22, 23, he presents, though with some hesitation, an extraordinary view of the cause of Paul's grief expressed in Rom. ix. 2, 3, but I will not stop to discuss it. He also takes an indefensible position (*ibid.*, pp. 26, 32) in regard to Cyril of Alexandria ; and draws, I conceive, an inference altogether false (pp. 28, 29) from the passages in Origen against Celsus viii. 12 and 72. The former of these will be discussed hereafter in reply to Dr. Gifford ; in the latter we have the expression τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι λόγου καὶ θεοῦ, where the ἐπὶ πᾶσι belongs only to λόγου, not to θεοῦ also, as Professor Kennedy seems to understand it ; comp. *Cont. Cels.* v. 4, τοῦ . . . ἐμψύχου λόγου καὶ θεοῦ. Christ, according to Origen, is δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κίριος, and δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι λόγος, but not δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεός, which is, as Dr. Kennedy elsewhere observes, "the Father's express title, applied by

Origen to the supreme God nearly 100 times." (*Pauline Christology*, I., p. 27.)

Professor Oltramare had not seen the articles in our *Journal*, but replies effectively on many points to the arguments of Godet and Dr. Gifford. I only note here that Oltramare, Dr. Gifford, and Professor Kennedy agree in taking ὁ χριστός, in v. 5, not as a proper name, "Christ," but in the sense of "the Christ," "the Messiah," which the definite article suggests and the context requires, or at least favors.

Dr. Gifford's pamphlet is mainly occupied with a reply to Dr. Kennedy, but he bestows some criticisms on my paper in the *Journal* for 1881, of which it seems to me well to take notice. I regret to say that he also makes some complaints, which I must also consider.

He complains, first (*Letter*, p. 27), that in quoting a sentence of his (*Journal*, p. 91), I have omitted altogether the first part, in which the cause of Paul's anguish is said to be "the fall of his brethren."

I omitted it simply for the sake of brevity. I had already assumed this as the cause of his grief at the beginning of the discussion (*Journal*, p. 91). I had expressly mentioned it as such, twice, on the very page (p. 91) containing my quotation from Dr. Gifford; it was implied in the clause "whom they have rejected," which I did quote, and it was a point about which there was no dispute. Every reader would take it for granted that when Paul's anguish was spoken of, it was his anguish on that account. Under these circumstances I fail to perceive how my omission of a part of Dr. Gifford's sentence, in which I had nothing to criticise, has given him any reasonable ground of complaint.

Here I observe that Dr. Gifford passes over without notice the first point of my criticism of his sentence (*Journal*, pp. 91, 92). I still venture to think that it is not unworthy of attention.

Dr. Gifford next complains that after having once quoted the remainder of his sentence fully, I proceed to criticise it, omitting in my second quotation the words "whom they had rejected." I omitted this clause, because, having been just quoted, it seemed unnecessary to repeat it; because it formed no part of the particular *privilege* of the Jews of which Dr. Gifford was speaking, the climax of which was expressed by the words "the *Divine Saviour*"; and because its omission was likely to make the point of my criticism strike the reader somewhat more forcibly. That I have done Dr. Gifford no injustice seems to me clear from the fact that, in the sentence quoted, "his anguish was deepened [not caused] most of all by the fact that their race gave birth to the *Divine Saviour*," the phrase "his anguish" can only mean

"his anguish on account of the rejection of the Messiah by the great majority of his countrymen." This is also clearly implied in the first words of my criticism, "Paul's grief for his unbelieving countrymen, then." Not a word of my criticism, which Dr. Gifford seems to misunderstand, would be affected in the least by the insertion of the omitted clause.

Two typographical errors in Dr. Gifford's pamphlet give a false color to his complaint. He calls on the reader to "observe the note of admiration in place of the all-important words 'whom they had rejected.'" It stands *inside* of the quotation-marks in the sentence as he gives it, as if I had ascribed it to *him*, but *outside* in the sentence as printed in the *Journal*. Again, in quoting his own sentence from the Commentary on Romans, he omits the comma before "whom they have rejected," thus making the relative clause an inseparable part of the sentence, and aggravating my supposed offence in omitting it.

In commenting on Dr. Gifford's assertion that "Paul's anguish was deepened most of all by the thought that their race gave birth to the Divine Saviour, whom they have rejected," I had exclaimed, "Paul's grief for his unbelieving countrymen, then, had extinguished his gratitude for the inestimable blessings which he personally owed to Christ; it had extinguished his gratitude for the fact that the God who rules over all had sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world!" (*Journal*, p. 92.)

Dr. Gifford remarks, "Another note of admiration at Paul's ingratitude, a pure invention of Professor Abbot." (*Letter*, p. 28.)

My critic appears to misunderstand me. I shall be very sorry if, through my unskilful use of irony of which Dr. Gifford speaks, any other reader has failed to perceive that my note of admiration is an expression of wonder that in his reference to the Jewish birth of the Messiah as deepening Paul's grief at the unbelief of his countrymen, and in his whole argument against a doxology, Dr. Gifford ignores the fact that THE ADVENT OF CHRIST, necessarily suggested by the words *καὶ ἐξ ὅν χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, was to the Apostle a cause of joy and gratitude immensely out-weighing all temporary occasions of grief, and might well prompt an outburst of thanksgiving and praise to God. That the very language he uses did not suggest this is a marvel. He does not meet at all the point of my objection to his view.

It will be observed that I do not, with many commentators, regard the doxology here as simply or mainly an expression of gratitude for the distinctive privileges bestowed upon the Jews as a nation, and still

Less for the particular fact that, as Dr. Gifford expresses it (p. 30, and note in his Commentary), "Christ was born a Jew." That gratitude, not sorrow, was the predominant sentiment in the mind of the Apostle in view of these privileges I do not doubt; but these particular occasions for thankfulness were lost, I conceive, in the thought of the actual advent of Christ, incomparably the greatest and most joyful event in the history of the world, and the most glorious expression of God's love and mercy to man, for which eternal gratitude was due. It was this which prompted the song of the angels, "Glory to God in the highest," and which prompted here the doxology which so fitly closes the Apostle's grand historic survey of those privileges of his people, which were the Providential preparation for it.

Let us now consider more particularly Dr. Gifford's arguments and criticisms.

*Jewish Privileges, and Connection of Thoughts in  
Rom. ix. 1-5.*

Dr. Gifford assumes that the Apostle, in his enumeration of the privileges which God had bestowed on his nation, names them only as reasons for the deepening of his grief for the fall of his countrymen; and thus finds in vv. 1-5 of the chapter one unbroken strain of lamentation, leaving no room for a doxology.

It appears to me that this is a very narrow view of what was probably in the Apostle's mind, and that there are other aspects of these privileges, which the way in which they are mentioned would more naturally suggest to the reader, and under which it is far more probable that the Apostle viewed them here. As I have elsewhere observed, the *manner* in which he recites them is not that of one touching upon a subject on which it is painful to dwell. To say nothing here of the *oīrves*, observe the effect of the repetition of the *ōv* and the *kai*. Let us consider some of these other aspects.

(1) The privileges of the Jews which the Apostle recounts were the glory of their nation, distinguishing it above all the other nations of the earth. This detailed enumeration of them, so evidently appreciative, was adapted to gratify and conciliate his Jewish readers, and to assure them of the sincerity of his affection for his countrymen. It was also adapted to take down the conceit of his Gentile readers, who were prone to despise the Hebrew race.

(2) These privileges had been the source of inestimable blessings to the Israelites in the course of their long history. (See Rom. iii. 1, 2.) Through them the worship of one God, who rewarded righteousness and punished iniquity, was preserved in their nation.

(3) They were parts of a great providential plan which was to find and had found its consummation in the advent of the Messiah, "the unspeakable gift" of God's love and mercy.

(4) They were tokens of the Divine favor to the Jews as a nation, and especially to their pious ancestors, which gave assurance to Paul that God would not cast off his people, whom he had chosen ; that they were still "beloved for the fathers' sake" ; that the present unhappy state of things was only temporary, and that, finally, all Israel should be saved.

The first three aspects of these privileges are obvious, and would naturally suggest themselves to every reader of the Epistle ; the fourth we have strong reasons for believing to have been also in the mind of the Apostle. (See the eleventh chapter.)

Here I must express my surprise at the manner in which Dr. Gifford has treated my quotations from the eleventh chapter in reference to this last-mentioned aspect of the Jewish privileges. (*Letter*, p. 26 f.) He omits entirely my statement of the purpose for which I introduce them (*Journal*, p. 92), though this is absolutely essential to the understanding of what is meant by "this view" in the first sentence which he quotes from me ; and then, wholly without ground, represents me as teaching two things : (1) "that as we read the simple enumeration of Jewish privileges in vv. 3, 4 [he means vv. 4, 5], we are not to connect it, as is most natural, with the preceding context." How can he say this, when in the whole treatment of the subject (*Journal*, pp. 88 f., 91, 2d paragr., 104, 105), I have taken particular pains to point out the connection of thought, and to show that my view of vv. 4, 5 agrees with the context? (2) That "in order to understand the Apostle's meaning at this point, we must anticipate by an effort of our own imagination all the long-sustained argument . . . and the far-reaching prophetic hopes which make up the three following chapters." If Dr. Gifford had not omitted the sentences in which I stated my purpose, it would be at once seen that I did not make these quotations to show what the *reader* of verses 4, 5 is expected to draw from them by an effort of his own imagination, but what the *Apostle*, together with other things more obvious to the reader, may be reasonably supposed to have had in mind when he wrote. When a person treats at length of a subject on which he must have meditated often and long, meeting objections which he must have been frequently called upon to answer, I have been accustomed to suppose that what he actually says may afford some indication of what was in his mind when he began to write.

I admit that the privileges which the Jews enjoyed as a nation may be regarded as having incidentally aggravated the sin and the shame of their rejection of the Messiah; that the contemplation of them under that aspect would have deepened in some measure the Apostle's grief; and that it is possible, though I see nothing which directly proves it, that he viewed them under this aspect here. Dr. Gifford's error, I conceive, lies in ignoring the other obvious aspects, under which they could be only regarded as occasions of thankfulness; and in not recognizing the well-known psychological fact that the same object of thought often excites in the mind at the same time, or in the most rapid succession, mingled emotions of grief and joy and gratitude. One knows little of the deeper experiences of life who has not felt this. That this should be true here in the case of the Apostle who describes himself as "sorrowful, yet always rejoicing"; who exhorts his Christian brethren to "rejoice evermore," and to "give thanks always for all things to God, the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," cannot be regarded as strange or unnatural.

There is no incongruity between sorrow for the misuse of a great privilege, whether by ourselves or by others, and devout thankfulness to God for its bestowal. In a pious mind, these feelings would naturally co-exist. Take, for example, the privilege of having been born and educated in a Christian land, so sadly abused by the majority of those who enjoy it.

I may note here another fallacy which appears to me to lurk in the language Dr. Gifford uses respecting the Jewish privileges. He repeatedly speaks of them as "lost" (pp. 30, 34, 35), inferring that the remembrance of them can only deepen the Apostle's grief. But these privileges were distinctions and glories of the Jewish people, which from their very nature could not be lost. They, and the blessings of which they had been the source, were facts of history. Even in the case of the unbelieving Jews, though abused, or not taken advantage of, they were not, properly speaking, "lost." The privileges themselves remained unchanged, a permanent subject of thankfulness to God. In Dr. Gifford's assumption that verses 4 and 5 are only a wail of lamentation, he ignores these obvious considerations.

I will here state briefly my view of the connection of thought between vv. 4, 5 of the ninth chapter, and what precedes.

In vv. 1-5 the purpose of the Apostle was to conciliate his Jewish-Christian readers, and indirectly, the unbelieving Jews,<sup>1</sup> by assuring

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<sup>1</sup> Though the Epistle to the Romans was not addressed to unbelieving Jews,

them of his strong affection for his people, and his appreciation of their privileges.<sup>1</sup> His affection is shown (1) by his deep sorrow for the unhappy condition of the great mass of his countrymen in their rejection of the Messiah (ver. 2); and (2) by his readiness to make any sacrifice, even that of his own salvation, were such a thing possible, if thereby he might bring them to Christ. His appreciation of their privileges is indicated by the detailed manner in which they are enumerated, and is distinctly expressed by the *οἵτινες εἰσιν Ἰσραὴλ* and what follows. The *οἵτινες* shows that it is not merely because he belongs to the same nation with the Jews that he is ready to make such a sacrifice for them; but because their nation is *such* a nation, distinguished above all the other nations of the earth; a nation dedicated to God, whose whole history had been glorified by extraordinary marks of the Divine favor, a nation to which he is proud and thankful to belong. The *οἵτινες* introduces the *distinguishing characteristic* of his *συγγενεῖς καὶ σάρκα*. They are not merely fellow-countrymen, they are ISRAELITES; and as Philippi remarks, "In dem Namen Israelit lag die ganze Würde des Volkes beschlossen." So far as the word *οἵτινες* indicates a *causal* relation, it strengthens the reason for the affirmation which *immediately precedes* (not directly that in ver. 2, to which Dr. Gifford refers it); it serves, as Tholuck remarks, "zur Begründung eines solchen Grades aufopfernder Liebe." Dr. Gifford's assumption that the memory of these privileges only deepened the Apostle's grief is not proved by the *οἵτινες*, and really rests on no evidence.

So much for the connection of vv. 4, 5 with what precedes; how naturally the doxology at the end was suggested, and the reason for

one object of it was to meet, and to enable its readers to meet, objections which the unbelieving Jews urged against Christianity, and which many Jewish Christians urged against Paul's view of it. The strength of the prejudice against himself personally which the Apostle of the Gentiles had to encounter, is shown by the earnestness of his asseveration in ver. 1.

<sup>1</sup> So Theophylact, on vv. 1, 2: — Μέλλει προῦν δεῖξαι, ὅτι οἱ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα αὐτῷ εἰσι. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ δύξῃ κατ' ἐμπάθειαν ταῦτα λέγειν, προδιαβάνει, καὶ λέγει περὶ τῶν Ἐβραιών τὰ χρηστότερα, τὴν ἴπποναν ταῦτα ἀναιρόν, καὶ δύο λογοῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπερβαλλόντως φίλειν. And on vv. 4, 5: — Ἐπανεῖ τοίστοις ἐνταῦθα καὶ μεγάλινει, ἵνα, ὅπερ ἔρη, μὴ δύξῃ κατ' ἐμπάθειαν λέγειν. Ἡρέμα δὲ καὶ ἐπανιτεῖται, ὅτι οἱ μὲν θεοὶ ἡβούλετο αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι κ.τ.λ. So also, in the main, Theodoret, Calvin, Locke, and especially Flacius Illyricus, whose notes on vv. 1, 3, and 4 are very much to the point. Dr. Hodge has stated his view of the Apostle's purpose in almost the same language as I have used above. (See *Journal*, p. 91, note; see also Dr. Dwight, *ibid.*, p. 41.)

the position of *εἰλογητός*, are pointed out on pp. 88 f., 90 ff., and 104 f. of the *Journal*, and I need not repeat what is there said.

οὐ ὅν.

In Dr. Gifford's remarks on οὐ ὅν (p. 46), he speaks of my "gratuitous assumption that οὐ ὅν, in this passage, 'admits of being regarded as the subject of an independent sentence,'" and affirms that this "is simply . . . begging the whole question in dispute." It is so if "admits of being regarded" is synonymous with "*must* be regarded"; not otherwise. That οὐ ὅν, grammatically considered (and it is of this point that I was speaking), may either refer to the preceding οὐ χριστός, or introduce an independent sentence, is simply a thing plain on the face of the passage. If Dr. Gifford denies this, he not only contradicts the authorities he cites, who only contend that it is *more* naturally connected with what goes before, but virtually charges such scholars as Winer, Fritzsche, Meyer, Ewald, Van Hengel, Professor Campbell, Professor Kennedy, Professor Jowett, Dr. Hort, Lachmann, and Kuennen and Cobet, with ignorance or violation of the laws of the Greek language in the construction which they have actually given the passage.

In reply to Dr. Dwight, who admits that the construction of this passage is ambiguous, but makes a statement about "cases similar to that which is here presented," I remark that no similar case of ambiguity from the use of the participle with the article has ever, to my knowledge, been pointed out, so that we have no means of comparing this passage with a similar one. Dr. Gifford seems to argue from this (p. 46) that there is no ambiguity here. But I fail to perceive any coherence in his reasoning. He "concludes" that St. Paul "could not possibly have intended his words to bear" an ambiguous construction "in a passage of the highest doctrinal importance." Certainly. No writer, whose object is to express and not to conceal his thoughts, *intentionally* uses ambiguous language. But how does this prove that the language here is not actually ambiguous? The fact that it is so is plain; and it is also obvious that, had the Apostle intended to express the meaning conveyed by Dr. Gifford's construction, all ambiguity would have been prevented by using οὐ εἰπών instead of οὐ ὅν.

If Dr. Gifford's proposition, "The reference of οὐ ὅν not ambiguous" (p. 45), denies a *grammatical* ambiguity here, it denies, as I have said, what is plain on the face of the passage, and what is generally, if not universally, admitted by competent scholars; if, on the other hand, conceding the grammatical possibility of two different constructions of οὐ ὅν here, he affirms that there is no *real* ambiguity, because

he deems the one he adopts the only one tenable, he simply beg whole question.

It is true, as Dr. Gifford observes, that in the cases in the Testament in which δ ὡν introduces an independent sentence other construction is grammatically possible. But it is equally on the other hand, that in the cases in which δ ὡν refers to a preceding subject, no other construction is grammatically possible. It follows that the examples of the use of δ ὡν in the New Testament do not help us to decide which of the two possible constructions is the probable here. There are no "cases similar to that which is presented." Dr. Gifford's claim that 2 Cor. xi. 31 is similar we have examined presently.

On what ground, then, is it affirmed that the construction which refers δ ὡν to δ χριστός is "easier" here than that which makes δ ὡν the subject of an independent sentence? There is not the slightest grammatical difficulty in either. Nor is there the slightest difficulty in the latter construction, on account of the fact that the verb is not εγένετο. In the case of a doxology, which the Αμήν naturally suggests, the ellipsis of εστί or εἰη, when εὐλογητός is employed, is the usual usage; nor is there any grammatical difficulty in the construction adopted by Professor Kennedy.

It has indeed been asserted by many, as by Dr. Gifford, that the construction of the δ ὡν, for which he contends, is the "usual" one, and, therefore, more easy and natural. Examples which I have cited of the other construction support his assertion, and also show that, in general, the construction with the article in the nominative case, as the subject of an independent sentence, is much more common in the New Testament than that which refers it to a substantive preceding it. (See my article, p. 97.)

In one respect, and one only, so far as I can see, does the construction which refers δ ὡν to δ χριστός may be regarded as more natural. It is the one which naturally presents itself to the mind. It has this advantage only for a moment; for the reader who perceives at once that δ ὡν may introduce an independent sentence, and the Αμήν suggests a doxology. The separation of δ ὡν from δ χριστός by τοῦ, or by a pause after σάρκα, might at once suggest the idea that "he who is") may introduce a new sentence. This possibility, as soon as it is perceived that there are really two constructions, the question is decided.

not depend at all on the fact that the one presented itself to the mind a moment before the other, but must be determined by weighing all the considerations which bear on the subject. One of these considerations, second to no other in importance, is Paul's use of language. In the eight preceding chapters of the Epistle the Apostle has used the word θεός as a proper name, designating the "one God, the Father," about eighty-seven times, and has nowhere applied it to Christ. Could anything then be more natural than for the primitive reader of the Epistle to adopt the construction which accords with this *uniform* usage of the writer?

On p. 48 Dr. Gifford claims that 2 Cor. xi. 31 is "exactly similar in form" to Rom. ix. 5, and, therefore, proves "that the clause δὸν ἐπὶ πάντων κ.τ.λ. must, according to Paul's usage, be referred to the preceding subject δὸν χριστούς"; and he again speaks of the "exact correspondence between the two passages." He overlooks two fundamental differences: (1) that in 2 Cor. xi. 31 the construction which refers the δὸν to δὸν θεός κ.τ.λ. is the only one *possible*; and (2) that what precedes the δὸν does not, as he incorrectly affirms, form a sentence "grammatically complete," as in Rom. ix. 5; but on the contrary, an essential part of the sentence, the object of the transitive verb οἰδέν (namely, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδημαι), is separated from the verb which governs it by the clause introduced by δὸν.

#### *Distinction between θεός and κύριος.*

In regard to the distinction between θεός and κύριος, which Dr. Gifford charges me with having "asserted in a most inaccurate form" (*Letter*, p. 12), I cannot perceive that he has pointed out any inaccuracy in my statement. That the word θεός in general expresses a higher dignity than κύριος seems to me beyond question. The use of κύριος in the Septuagint as a proper name, taking the place of Jehovah on account of a Jewish superstition respecting the pronunciation of the *tetragrammaton*, is something wholly exceptional and peculiar. I have not, however, as Dr. Gifford incorrectly represents, "suppressed all reference" to this very frequent use in the Septuagint, and occasional use in the New Testament. I note the fact that "it is seldom used of God in the writings of Paul except in quotations from or references to the language of the Old Testament," and then remark upon its two-fold use as applied to God in the Septuagint. (See *Journal*, pp. 127, 128.) That as a title of Christ it does not stand for Jehovah is fully shown, I think, by Cremer in his *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutest. Gräcität*, 3te Aufl., p. 483 ff., or

Eng. trans., 2d ed., p. 382 ff. The argument that as a designation of Christ in the writings of St. Paul it is equivalent to Jehovah, because in a very few places he applies to Christ language of the Old Testament in which *κύριος* represents Jehovah, loses all its apparent force when we observe the extraordinary freedom with which he adapts the language of the Old Testament to his purpose without regard to its meaning in the connection in which it stands. On this it may be enough to refer to Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of the N. T.*, 3d ed., § 74. He remarks: "Paul does not inquire into the original meaning of Old Testament expressions; he takes them in the sense which he is accustomed to give to similar expressions, even in the case of such terms as *πάτης*, *κύριος*, *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* (Rom. i. 17, ix. 33, x. 13, 15)."

In the passage of the Old Testament (Ps. cx. 1) which Christ himself has quoted (Matt. xxii. 43-45; Mark xii. 35-37; Luke xx. 41-44) as illustrating the meaning of *κύριος* as a designation of the Messiah, the Messiah (if the Psalm refers to him) is clearly distinguished from Jehovah, at whose right hand he sits, as he is everywhere else in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> This very passage is also quoted by the Apostle Peter as proving that "God hath MADE Jesus both *Lord* and Christ." When these and other facts are adduced to show that the term "Lord" as applied to Christ in the New Testament does not stand for Jehovah, but describes the dignity and dominion conferred upon him by God, Dr. Gifford simply remarks that "this reasoning has been employed again and again in the Arian and Unitarian controversies, and again and again refuted." I wonder how many of his readers would regard this as a satisfactory answer to my quotations (if he had given them) from the Apostles Peter and Paul, or are ready to assume, with St. Jerome, that *Dominatio* involves *Deitas*. The "refutations" to which Dr. Gifford refers, "again and again" repeated, do not appear to have been convincing to those to whom they were addressed.

Dr. Gifford refers to Waterland, Pearson, and Weiss. Weiss has already been sufficiently answered by Weiss; see above. Waterland and Pearson cite such passages as Hosea i. 7, "I will save them by Jehovah their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, nor by horses, nor by horsemen," as proving that Jesus Christ is called Jehovah in the Old Testament. (Pearson, *Expos.*

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Micah v. 4: "And he shall stand and feed in the strength of Jehovah, in the majesty of the name of Jehovah, HIS GOD."

*of the Creed*, p. 217 f., Nichols's ed.) Pearson cites to the same purpose Zech. x. 12; Jer. xxiii. 5, 6 (comp. Jer. xxxiii. 15, 16); Zech. ii. 10, and other passages. Such exegesis might perhaps be pardoned in the time of Pearson and Waterland, though commentators like Calvin, Pocock, Drusius, Grotius, and Le Cleçc had rejected this wild interpretation; but it can hardly be supposed that it needs a formal refutation at the present day. It may be enough to refer Dr. Gifford to "The Speaker's Commentary" on the passages mentioned, and the note in the *Journal* for 1881, p. 124.

### Origen.

Dr. Gifford still appeals to Rufinus's translation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans as proving that Origen "certainly" interpreted the last part of Rom. ix. 5 as he does (*Letter*, pp. 32 ff., 65). His positiveness is not abated by the circumstance that Rufinus so altered, abridged, and interpolated this work of Origen, that for the most part we have no means of determining what belongs to Origen and what to Rufinus, and that his friends thought he ought to claim it as his own.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Gifford gives his readers no hint of this important fact, of which he could not have been ignorant, and for which I had cited Matthaei, Redepenning, and Rufinus himself (*Journal*, p. 135). There is perhaps no higher authority in Patrology than Cave, who, in his list of Origen's writings, thus describes the work on which Dr. Gifford relies with so much confidence: "In *Epistolam ad Romanos* Commentariorum tom. 20. quos pessima fide a se versos, misere interpolatos, truncatos et ad medium fere partem contractos edidit Rufinus, versione sua in 10. tomos distributa." — *Hist. Lit. s.v. ORIGENES*, i., 18 ed. Oxon. 1740. Thomasius, in his valuable work on Origen, was more prudent in his use of authorities. He says: "Am wenigsten aber wagte ich den Commentar zu den Römern zu benützen, der nach der *Peroratio Rufini in explanationem Origenis super Epist. Pauli ad Rom.* Vol. iv. eine gänzliche Umgestaltung durch den Ueersetzer erfahren zu haben scheint." (*Origenes* (1837), p. 90.) Even Burton, who in his very one-sided *Testimonies of the Ante-*

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<sup>1</sup> "Adversus hanc audaciam excandescit Erasmus, nec immerito quidam Rufinum objurgarunt, quemadmodum ipse sibi objectum fuisse ait in peroratione sue translationis, quod suum potius, quam Origenis nomen hujus operis titulo non inscripsisset. Hinc etiam sit, ut vix Origenem in Origene reperias," etc. — Lumper, *Hist. theol.-crit.*, etc. Pars ix. (1792), p. 191.

*Nicene Fathers*, etc., quotes largely from spurious works ascribed to Hippolytus and Dionysius of Alexandria without giving any warning to the reader, could not bring himself to cite Rufinus's transformation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. (See *Testimonies*, etc., 2d ed., p. 339.)

Dr. Gifford's citations from the treatise of Origen against Celsus do not appear to me to answer his purpose. He quotes passages (*Cont. Cels.* i. 60, 66; ii. 9) in which Origen has called Christ θεός, but in the last one adduced (ii. 9) the words at the end of the sentence, κατὰ τὸν ὄλων θεὸν καὶ πατέρα, as De la Rue remarks, "manifestam continent antithesin ad ista, μεγάλην ὥτα δέναμον καὶ θεόν, ut pater supra filium evocatur."<sup>1</sup> What is wanted is to show that Origen has not merely given Christ the appellation θεός, "a divine being," in contradistinction from ὁ θεός, ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεός, ὁ ἐπὶ πάτη θεός, by which titles he constantly designates the Father, but that he has called him "God over all," as he is represented as making St. Paul do in this so-called translation of Rufinus. It is the Father alone who in the passages cited by Dr. Gifford (*Cont. Cels.* viii. 4, 12) is termed ὁ ἐπὶ πάτη θεός; in viii. 14 of the same treatise Origen emphatically denies that the generality of Christians regarded the Saviour as "the God over all"; and in the next section he expressly calls him "inferior" to the Father (ὑποδέστερος), as he elsewhere speaks of him as ἐλάττων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα and δεύτερος τοῦ πατρός (*De Princip.* i. 3, § 5), and says that "he is excelled by the Father as much as (or even more than) he and the Holy Spirit exceed other beings," and that "in no respect does he compare with the Father" (οὐ συγκρίνεται κατ' οὐδὲν τῷ πατρί, *In Joan.* tom. xiii. c. 25; *Opp.* iv. 235). It is not easy to believe that one who uses such language as this applied the last clause of Rom. ix. 5 to Christ.

<sup>1</sup> De la Rue understands the κατά to denote "inferiorem ordinem," and says it is often so used. I doubt this, and if the word is genuine, should rather take it as meaning "in accordance with the will of," or "by the will of," nearly as in the phrase κατὰ θεόν in Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek authors. But it seems to me very probable that the true reading is μετά; comp. Orig. *In Joannem* tom. i. c. 11, τὸν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ὄλων θεὸν λόγον; Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 32, ὡς πρώτη δέναμος μετὰ τὸν πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότην θεόν (and similarly *Apol.* i. 12, 13; ii. 13); Euseb. *De Eccl. Theol.* i. 20, p. 93 c., κύριος τῶν ὄλων μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεόν. The prepositions κατά and μετά are very often confounded in MSS. by an error of the scribe, the abbreviations for the two words being similar. (Montfaucon, *Palaeogr. Graeca*, p. 345; Sabas, *Specim. Palaeogr.*, Suppl., tabl. xi., xii.) See Bast ad Gregor. Corinth. ed. Schaefer (1811), pp. 69, 405, 825, and Irmisch's *Herodian* iv. 1638, who gives eight examples. Cobet remarks:

In the passage *Cont. Cels.* viii. 4, I perceive no ground for regarding the titles  $\tauὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν τῶν θεῶν$ , and  $\tauὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι κύριον τῶν κυρίων$ , as denoting equal dignity. The latter, high as it is, as applied to Christ, is far from proving that he might be called  $\ἐπὶ πάντων θεός$ . The last sentence quoted by Dr. Gifford shows the distinction. The purport of it is that "he has risen to the God OVER ALL who worships HIM undividedly" (this is said in opposition to the worship of the heathen, distributed among many gods), "through him who alone leads men to God, namely, the Son, the God-Logos and Wisdom," etc. The relation of the Son to the Father, from whom he has derived all that makes him an object of worship, and whose image he is, is such, according to Origen, that the relative worship paid to him is all *ultimately* paid to the God over all, the Father, who alone is the Supreme Object of worship.

Still less, if possible, is the quotation from *Cont. Cels.* viii. 12 to Dr. Gifford's purpose. It teaches, he says, "that Christ is to be worshipped as being One with the Supreme God." "One" in what sense? Dr. Gifford omits the words that immediately follow, in which Origen cites Acts iv. 32, "And the multitude of believers were of one heart and one soul," as explaining the meaning of the words, "I and the Father are one."<sup>1</sup> A little further on Origen says: "We worship, then, the Father of the Truth, and the Son, who is the Truth;<sup>2</sup> two distinct persons, but one in agreement of thought, and in harmony of feeling, and in sameness of will,"  $ὅντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ δημονίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος$ ; so that he

"Qui codices Graecos triverunt sciunt κατὰ et μετά compendiose sic scribi ut vix oculis discerni possint. Passim confundi solere sciunt omnes." — *Variae Lectiones*, in *Mnemosyne* vii. 391.

Dr. Gifford may prefer Burton's view, who says (*Testimonies*, etc., 2d ed., p. 293), it "can only mean 'God after the pattern of the God of the universe.'" It would take too much space to give my reasons for differing from him. Martini says (p. 175), "Entweder ist es s. v. a. *per deum* [there is some mistake here, perhaps only a comma omitted] *cuius auctor est summus deus, oder secundum voluntatem summi dei.*" Mosheim renders it *nächst*; Rössler, *nach*; Crombie and Prof. Kennedy, *next to*. These translations rather represent *μετά*, but show what the translators thought the context to require, and may thus be regarded as confirming my conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> So in his *Comm. in Joan.* tom. xiii. c. 34, Opp. iv. 245, Origen explains John x. 30, as relating to the unity of *will* between the Father and the Son.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Origen, *In Joan.* tom. ii. c. 18, Opp. iv. 76<sup>b</sup>:  $\delta\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\tau\eta\zeta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\kappa\iota\alpha\zeta$  θεὸς πλειων ἴστι καὶ μεῖον ἡ [we should read, perhaps, ἡ ἡ] ἀγέκτια: "the God who is the Father of the Truth is more and greater than the Truth."

who has seen the Son . . . has seen in him, who is the image of God, God himself.”<sup>1</sup>

In the view of Origen, the moral union between the Father and the Son was perfect, so that the worship of the Son, regarded as the image of the Father, reflecting his moral perfections, his goodness and righteousness and truth, is virtually the worship of the Father himself; it terminates in him as its ultimate object. (See *Cont. Cels.* viii. 13 *ad fin.*)

Origen's ideas respecting the worship of the Son appear distinctly in what he says of prayer. In his treatise on Prayer, he teaches that prayer, properly speaking, is “perhaps never to be offered to any originated being, *not even to Christ himself*, but only to the God and Father of all, to whom our Saviour himself prayed and teaches us to pray.” (*De Orat.* c. 15; *Opp.* i. 222.) There is much more to the same purpose. In his later work against Celsus, he says that “every supplication and prayer, and intercession, and thanksgiving is to be sent up to the GOD OVER ALL, *through* the High Priest, who is above all angels, the living Logos, and God. But we shall also supplicate the Logos himself, and make requests to him, and give thanks and pray, if we are able to distinguish between prayer properly speaking and prayer in a looser sense, ἐὰν δυνάμεθα κατακούειν τῆς περὶ πρωτευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως.” (*Cont. Cels.* v. 4, and see also v. 5; *Opp.* i. 580.) Compare *Cont. Cels.* viii. 26: “We ought to pray only to the GOD OVER ALL; yet it is proper to pray also to the only-begotten, the first-born of the whole creation, the Logos of God, and to request him, as a High Priest, to carry up our prayers which reach him to HIS GOD and our God.” So *Cont. Cels.* viii. 13: “We worship the one God, and the one Son, who is his Logos and Image, with supplications and petitions as we are able, bringing our prayers to the GOD OF THE UNIVERSE *through* his only-begotten Son, to whom we first offer them; beseeching him, who is the propitiation for our sins, to present, as High Priest, our prayers and sacrifices and intercessions to the GOD OVER ALL.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to notice here an ambiguous sentence in this section, which has been translated, incorrectly, I think, “We worship one God, therefore, the Father and the Son, as we have explained.” The Greek is, ἐναὐτῷ θεῷ, ὁ ἀποθεῶσκαμεν, τὸν πατέρα [,] καὶ τὸν νιὸν θεραπείομεν. We should, I believe, place a comma after πατέρα, and translate, “We worship, therefore, one God, the Father, and the Son.” This is confirmed by what follows, cited above, and by the language used in the next section (c. 13): διὸ τὸν ἐναὐτῷ θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἐναὐτῷ αἴτοι καὶ γόγον καὶ εἰκόνα . . . σιζομεν.

<sup>2</sup> It may be worth while to note that Origen (*Cont. Cels.* viii. 9) justifies the

I do not see how any one can read these passages and regard it as probable, much less as *certain*, that Origen understood Paul in Rom. ix. 5 to describe Christ as ὁ ὥν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἰς τὸν αἰώνα. It is clear, at any rate, that he did not understand the passage as Dr. Gifford does (*Letter*, p. 3), as “a testimony to the co-equal Godhead of the Son.”

Dr. Gifford's argument from the *Selecta in Threnos*, iv. 5, rests on a false assumption, which has been already sufficiently remarked upon.

#### *Punctuation in MSS.*

On p. 36 of Dr. Gifford's *Letter*, speaking of punctuation in MSS., he observes that “it is universally acknowledged that no marks of punctuation or division were in use till long after the days of St. Paul.” This remark, if intended to apply to Greek MSS. in general, is inaccurate, and indicates that Dr. Gifford has been misled by untrustworthy authorities. If it is intended to apply to New Testament MSS., I do not see how the fact can be proved, as we possess no MSS. of the New Testament of earlier date than the fourth century. But the essential point in Dr. Gifford's remarks is, that the punctuation in MSS. of the New Testament is *of no authority*. This is very true; and it should have been remembered by the many commentators (including Dr. Gifford) who have made the assertion (very incorrect in point of fact), that a stop after σάρκα is found in only two or three inferior MSS. in Rom. ix. 5, as if that were an argument against a doxology here.

The results of some recent investigation in regard to this matter are given in our *Journal* for 1882, p. 161. The investigation has since, through the kindness of Dr. C. R. Gregory, been carried somewhat farther. I can now name, besides the uncials A, B, C, L, the first three of which are not “inferior MSS.,” at least twenty-six cursives which have a stop after σάρκα, the same in general which they have after αἰώνας or Ἀμήν. In all probability, the result of an examination would show that three-quarters or four-fifths of the cursive MSS. containing Rom. ix. 5 have a stop after σάρκα.

In regard to Codex A, Canon Cook thinks the testimony of Dr. Vance Smith, whom Dr. Gifford cites as saying that the stop after

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honor paid to the Son on the ground that he receives it by the appointment of the Father (ἀποδείχουσιν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ δέδοται αἵτινες τὸ τιμασθαι, citing John v. 23), and is declared by God to be ἡξιον τῆς δευτερευούσης μετὰ τὸν θεὸν τῶν ὄλων . . . τιμῆς. (*Cont. Cels.* v. 57.)

*σάρκα* is “evidently *a prima manu*,” is “not verified or likely to be verified.”<sup>1</sup> Many others will question the testimony of a Unitarian heretic. It would have been only fair, therefore, to have added the fact, mentioned on p. 150 of the *Journal*, that Dr. Sanday agrees with him. I would add that I am informed, on good authority, that Dr. Scrivener has examined the MS. at this place with the same result.

The whole matter is in itself unimportant; but it is important that writers like Dean Burgon should cease imposing upon unlearned readers by making reckless assertions about it.

*Van Hengel on the τὸ κατὰ σάρκα.*

As regards the limitation *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα* (*Letter*, p. 38 f.), the examples cited by Van Hengel from Plato's *Philebus* (c. 7, p. 17<sup>c</sup>) and Isocrates (*ad Nicocl.* c. 29 *al.* 30) in support of his view, and urged by Dr. Gifford in opposition to it, are, I think, not to the purpose on either side. The formulæ “A and *also* B,” and “not only A, but B,” into which the quotations, so far as they bear on the matter, may be resolved, do not express “antithesis,” but agreement. Dr. Gifford's citation from Demosthenes (*cont. Eubul.* p. 1229, l. 14) furnishes no analogy to the *τὸ κατὰ σάρκα* here, and is wholly irrelevant, for two reasons: (1) because the *τὸ καθ' ἵμᾶς* [al. *ἵμᾶς*] is introduced with a *μέν*, which of course leads one to expect an antithesis, such as follows, expressed by *δέ*; and (2) because the *τὸ καθ' ἵμᾶς* is probably to be regarded as the direct object of the verb *θαρρεῖν*, used here, as often, transitively, like its opposite *φοβεῖσθαι*. Van Hengel's rule relates only to clauses like *τὸ κατ' ἐμέ*, *τὸ εἰς ἕμῶν*, in which the article *τὸ* with its adjunct is neither the object nor the subject of a verb, or at least of any verb expressed. (See Van Hengel, *Interp. Ep. Pauli ad Rom.* ii. 348.)

*Irenæus.*

As to the quotation of Rom. ix. 5 by Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 16, § 3), I must still, for the reasons assigned in the *Journal* (p. 136), regard it as doubtful whether he referred the last clause of the verse to Christ. In opposition to the Gnostics who held that the *Ælon Christ* first descended upon Jesus at his baptism, Irenæus is quoting passages which, like *ἔτι δὲ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα*, speak of the *Christ* as *born*. But why, Dr. Gifford asks, does he quote the remainder of the passage if it had nothing to do with his argument? (*Letter*, p. 42.) I answer, he may well have included it in his quotation, if he regarded it as a

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<sup>1</sup> Canon Cook, *Revised Version of the first three Gospels*, p. 194; comp. p. 167.

doxology, or gave it Dr. Kennedy's construction, for the same purpose as Photius has quoted it in his work against the Manichæans (*see Journal*, p. 138 f.), namely, as confirming the doctrine insisted on throughout his book, that the God of the Jews, the God of the Old Testament, was not, as all the Gnostics contended, a being inferior to the Supreme God, but the God over all. So understood, it would agree with the language which Irenæus uses so often elsewhere, describing the Father as the God over all, while he nowhere, to my knowledge, speaks of the Son as God over all. I admit that Irenæus *may* have applied the last clause to Christ, separating the θεός from ὁ ἀντὶ πάντων as a distinct predicate; but I perceive nothing which determines with certainty the construction he gave it. The whole question is of the least possible consequence. One who could treat 2 Cor. iv. 4 as he has done (*Hær.* iii. 7, § 1; iv. 29, § 2), is certainly no authority in exegesis in a case where doctrinal prejudice could have an influence.

Dr. Gifford thinks that Irenæus "most probably" refers to Rom. ix. 5 when he says (*Hær.* iii. 12, § 9) that the mystery which was made known to Paul by revelation was that ὁ παθών ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου οὗτος κύριος τῶν πάντων καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεὸς καὶ κριτής ἐστιν. He omits the words that immediately follow, preserved in the old Latin version: "ab eo qui est omnium Deus accipiens potestatem, quoniam subiectus factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis," where Christ as θεός is distinguished from him who is "omnium Deus," from whom he received his power. This does not go far towards proving that Irenæus would call *Christ* "God over all." I observe incidentally that Irenæus's explanation of "the mystery which was made known to Paul by revelation" (Eph. iii. 3) differs widely from that which Paul himself gives (Eph. iii. 6 ff.).

#### *Clement of Rome.*

Passing to p. 41 of Dr. Gifford's *Letter*, I remark that if Clement of Rome in the passage cited (*Cor.* c. 32) had Rom. ix. 5 in mind, as he probably did, and regarded the last clause as applicable to Christ, it would have been altogether to his purpose to have added it to the τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, his purpose being to magnify the distinctions bestowed by God on the patriarch Jacob. Dr. Gifford will not, I think, find many who will regard the simple expression "the Lord Jesus" as equivalent to "He who is over all, God blessed for ever"; it is rather the equivalent of the Pauline ὁ χριστός, a title which, when it denotes the Messiah, involves lordship. So far, then, from inferring, as Dr. Gifford does, from this passage of Clement, that he "probably"

(*Letter*, p. 65) applied the last clause to Christ, I should infer from his omitting it, where, thus understood, it would have been so much to his purpose, that he probably did *not*. This presumption would be confirmed by the way in which he speaks of Christ, and distinguishes him from God, throughout his Epistle.

*The Newly-discovered Quotation of Rom. ix. 5 by Irenæus.*

Dr. Gifford (*Letter*, p. 41) adduces a passage from Irenæus, "which no one," he observes, "so far as I know, has hitherto noticed in this connection. Prof. Abbot indeed says (p. 136) that the only place where Irenæus has quoted Rom. ix. 5 is *Hær.* iii. 16 (*al.* 18), § 3. Alas! for the man who ventures on that spirited but dangerous hobby, the universal negative. These are the words of Irenæus in *Fragm.* xvii. (Stieren): ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς προεπωθῆ καὶ ἐπέγνωσθη καὶ ἐγενήθη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσὴφ προεπωθῆ ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδᾳ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἵερεὺς ἐγενήθη."

Dr. Gifford has fortunately given the Greek of the passage, that is to put me to shame, and I have not the slightest apprehension that any reader of his *Letter* will call the fragment of Irenæus which he cites a quotation of Rom. ix. 5; at the very utmost it could only be termed an *allusion* to that passage. The editor of the *Σειρά* or Catena from which this fragment is taken (Nicephorus Theotoki), and the editors and translators of Irenæus, as Grabe, Massuet, Stieren, Migne, Harvey, Roberts and Rambaut, and Keble, though they all refer in the margin to supposed quotations, have failed to make any reference here to Rom. ix. 5. If it be a quotation, the discovery of the fact belongs probably to Dr. Gifford alone. It will be observed that Dr. Gifford spaces the letters in ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς as if they must be regarded as *quoted* from Rom. ix. 5. He does not note the fact that this fragment of Irenæus is part of a comment on Deut. xxvii. 12, and is given in a fuller form in a Latin translation by Franciscus Zephyrus or Zephyrius (= Zafiri) in his edition of a Catena on Deuteronomy, as cited by Grabe in his edition of Irenæus (p. 469). This reads: "Notandum, benedicendi munus in tribubus demandatum, ex quibus Christus designatus cognoscitur et generatur," etc., and shows how little the ἐξ ὧν κ.τ.λ. has to do with Rom. ix. 5, and how groundless is the inference which Dr. Gifford draws from this accidental coincidence of expression.

Long before Dr. Gifford's *Letter* was published I had noted this fragment, together with a similar passage in Irenæus (*Hær.* iv. 4, § 1) as examples of τὸ κατὰ σάρκα without an antithesis expressed, and had

caused them to be printed among the Additions and Corrections in the number of the *Journal* for 1882, p. 160, referring to the *Journal* for 1881, p. 101. So far as they go, they both, I think, favor my view of the controverted passage rather than Dr. Gifford's. If they are to be regarded as *quotations* of Rom. ix. 5, they favor it more than I had supposed.

*Position of εὐλογητός.*

In Dr. Gifford's remarks on the position of *εὐλογητός* (*Letter*, p. 54 f.), he maintains that in the text of the Septuagint, in Ps. lxviii. 20 (Sept. lxvii. 19), *εὐλογητός* should be read but once, and connected with what follows. For this, so far as I can ascertain, he has the authority of only two unimportant cursive MSS. (Nos. 183, 202),—in which the omission of one *εὐλογητός* is readily explained as accidental, on account of the *homoioteleuton* or dittography,—in opposition to all the other known MSS. of the Psalms, more than a hundred in number, including the uncials, among them Κ and B of the fourth century, and the Verona MS. of the fifth or sixth. (The Alexandrian MS. and the Zürich Psalter are mutilated here.) The omission of the first *εὐλογητός*, moreover, leaves the *κύριος ὁ Θεός* simply hanging in the air, without any construction. To adopt such a reading in the face of such evidence is to do violence to all rational principles of textual criticism. The difference between the LXX and the Hebrew is easily explained by the supposition that in the Hebrew copy used by the translators, the תְּהִלָּה was repeated (which might easily have happened), or at least that they thought it ought to be.

Dr. Gifford takes no notice of my explanation of the *reason* for the ordinary position of such words as *εὐλογητός*, *εὐλογημένος*, *ἐπικατάρατος*, etc., in doxologies, benedictions, and maledictions, or of the exceptions which I adduce (save Ps. lxviii. 20, which I waive), or of my argument that if we take the last clause as a doxology, the position of *εὐλογητός* after the subject is not only fully accounted for, but is rather required by the very same law of the Greek language, which governs all the examples that have been alleged against the doxological construction. (*Journal*, pp. 103–111.) As this view is supported by so eminent a grammarian as Winer, to say nothing of Meyer, Fritzsche, and other scholars, it seems to me that it deserved consideration.

*Different Senses of εὐλογητός.*

On p. 56 of Dr. Gifford's *Letter*, he gives as examples of the use meaning of the word *εὐλογητός* the expressions “Blessed be God”

and "Blessed be thou of the Lord," and remarks that "Dr. Abbot 'overlooks the fact' that, whatever difference there may be, it lies *not in the sense of the word εὐλογητός*, but in the different relations of the persons blessing and blessed." I must confess that I have overlooked the fact, if it be a fact; and must also confess my belief that not a few of Dr. Gifford's readers will be surprised at the proposition that there is no difference in the sense of the word *εὐλογητός* when, applied to God, it means "praised" or "worthy to be praised," and when, applied to men, it means "prospered" or "blessed" by God. The fact on which Dr. Gifford seems to lay great stress, that *εὐλογητός* in these different senses represents the same Hebrew word, will not weigh much with those who consider that many words in common use have several very different meanings in Hebrew as well as in other languages. The two meanings are as distinct as those of *εὐλογία* in the sense of *laus, laudatio, celebratio* (Grimm, *Lex. s.v. εὐλογία* No. 1), and of *bonum, beneficium* (Grimm, *ibid.*, No. 5).

The very common use of *εὐλογητός* in doxologies to God seems to have led the Septuagint translators to restrict its application in the sense of "praised," or rather "worthy to be praised," to the Supreme Being. To this perhaps the only exception is in the expression *εὐλογητὸς ὁ τρόπος σου* in 1 Sam. xxv. 33. In the New Testament, apart from the passage in debate, its application is restricted to God, "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." My point is that whatever force there may be in the argument from this extensive usage in favor of its application to God rather than to Christ in Rom. ix. 5, it is not diminished in the slightest degree by the fact that, in a few passages of the LXX the word is applied to men in the very different sense of "prospered" or "recipients of blessings," *i.e.* benefits, from God.

I have now, I believe, taken notice of all the points of importance in which Dr. Gifford has criticised my statements, or statements which he has ascribed to me. I am not without hope that in a future edition of his pamphlet he may see reason for modifying some of his remarks, and for giving more fully the context of some of his quotations.

The Readings 'Ελληνας and 'Ελληνιστάς,  
Acts xi. 20.

PROF. B. B. WARFIELD, D.D.

THIS is one of the very few passages of importance in the New Testament, in which the reading may be considered with some justice as yet unsettled. The great modern editions from Griesbach to Tregelles — Mattheai alone excepted — are, indeed, unanimous in reading Ἑλληνας.<sup>1</sup> With them most commentators and historical students agree.<sup>2</sup> There never was a time, however, when Ἑλληνιστάς did not have a respectable following among exegetes.<sup>3</sup> And Westcott and Hort have put an end to the unanimity of even the editions. The Revised English New Testament so far follows as to put "Many ancient authorities read *Grecian Jews*" in their margin; although exactly what is meant by this, it is impossible for an outsider to divine, amid the contradictory reports of what the margin was intended for, and the curious distribution of the terms "many," "some," "most," "ancient authorities."

At all events, it is clear that a new discussion of the reading, on its merits, cannot be thought a re-opening of a dispute already practically closed.<sup>4</sup> What is proposed, is to briefly consider the evidence, and attempt to reach at least a provisional conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> Usher, Grotius, Witsius, and especially Bengel (not in ed. maj., but "Gnomoni et margo, ed. 2 . . . et vers. Gerin," says his son) were their forerunners. Cf. Erasmus and Drusius.

<sup>2</sup> The following rather miscellaneous list of recent names will show how widely spread the opinion is among English writers: Alford, Farrar, Hackett, Hinds, Howson (in *Life of Paul*), Jacobus, J. B. Lightfoot (in "Galatians"), Norris, Plumptre, Purves, Scrivener, Schaeffer (in *Lange*), Tate, Webster, and Wilkinson (in notes).

<sup>3</sup> Among recent English writers there are for this view such as: J. A. Alexander, W. Kay, P. Schaff (*Companion to New Testament*, p. 8, note 2), Shirley, Canon Spence (apparently: in Schaff's *Popular Commentary*, in *Isc.*, "On the whole, the evidence is in favor of 'Ἑλληνιστής,' yet very doubtfully"), Bishop Wordsworth, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The most elaborate recent discussions of this reading in English are probably the following: KAY, W., "On the Word *Hellenist*, with Especial Reference to *Acts xi. 19 (20)*," Calcutta, 1856 [defends 'Ἑλληνιστάς']; ALFORD, H., *Excursus II. to Prolegomena to Acts* in his *Greek Testament* [against Kay, defends 'Ἑλληνας']; SCRIVENER, F. H., in his *Plain Introd.*, etc., p. 536 of ed. 2, 1874, cf.

*The External Evidence.*

The essential facts of the evidence are included in the following summary :

For Ἑλληνιστάς : [? Χ\*], B, D<sup>2</sup>, E, H, I, P, almost all uncials, all cursives except one (including 13, 61, etc.), [Pst. ?], Eus. [? Chrys.].

For Ἑλληνας : Χ<sup>c</sup>, A, D\*, c<sup>er.</sup> [= Hort's 112], [? Chrys.].

In explanation of this summary we need to remark :—

(1) C is here defective ; but in no other case in Acts does it desert the mass of documents when they read either Ἑλληνας or Ἑλληνισταί.

(2) It is exceedingly doubtful whether Χ\* should be cited for Ἑλληνιστάς. It actually reads εὐαγγελιστάς, which is usually assumed to presuppose Ἑλληνιστάς, on account of its like termination. But since it seems certain that εὐαγγελιστάς was suggested by, and results from, the proximity of εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, the inference does not seem secure. No doubt Ἑλληνιστάς could be more readily than Ἑλληνας mistaken for εὐαγγελιστάς ; but if any substantive were derived from εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, it could not fail to take the form εὐαγγελιστάς. It is only with grave doubt, therefore, that the weight of Χ\* can be thrown in favor of Ἑλληνιστάς.

(3) The force of A, as a witness for Ἑλληνας, is somewhat weakened by the fact that this MS. reads Ἑλληνας also at ix. 29, where the true reading is undoubtedly Ἑλληνιστάς. D is defective at ix. 29 ; but, as Mr. Purves notes, both A and D insert καὶ before Ἑλλήνων in xvii. 4 — as do also the good cursives, 13 and 61. If this be due, as he suggests, to a tendency in A and D to put forward the Gentile work of the Church, the testimony of these MSS. here to Ἑλληνας should be somewhat suspected. The existence of such a tendency in A and D needs, however, justification.

(4) The versions fail to distinguish between the terms Ἑλληνιστάς and Ἑλληνας, and hence are not valid witnesses in this matter. Only the Peshitto may be an exception, inasmuch as it reads, at ix. 29, "those Jews who knew Greek" ; but even it reads "Greeks" at vi. 1.

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ed. 3, 1883 [defends Ἑλληνας]; HAMMOND, C. E., in his *Outlines of Textual Crit.*, etc., ed. 2, 1876, p. 113 [defends Ἑλληνας]; HORT, F. J. A., in his *Notes on Select Readings*, Gr. Test. vol. II., p. 93, 1881 [defends Ἑλληνιστάς]; PURVES, G. T., "The Reading Ἑλληνας in Acts xi. 20," in *The Presbyterian Review*, vol. IV., p. 835 sq., 1883 [defends Ἑλληνας against Hort]. See also the elaborate notes in the critical editions; in the commentaries of Alford, Wordsworth, Bloomfield, Plumptre and Howson and Spence, *in loc.*; and in Farrar's *Life of Paul*, I. 285, etc.

(5) Chrysostom (whose words, *ἴσως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ἔβραιστὶ Ἐλληνας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν*, both Theophylact and Ecumenius repeat) reads “Greeks” in his commentary clearly, although Ἐλληνιστάς stands in the text commented on. This throws his testimony somewhat in doubt. It may be that the quotation from Acts has been conformed by later copyists to the Syrian type of text (which undoubtedly read Ἐλληνιστάς); or it may be that Chrysostom understood Ἐλληνιστάς as equivalent to Ἐλληνας, either in the general import of the word or in this context, and hence, though reading the former, could cry out, *ὅπα, Ἐλλησιν εἰαγγελίζονται*. The weight of his evidence for Ἐλληνας is weakened in proportion to the probability of his being able to thus interpret Ἐλληνιστάς.

The evidence being thus before us, its estimation is not without its difficulties, although the issue can scarcely remain doubtful.

*The Genealogical Evidence.*—The application of genealogical considerations leads immediately to the conclusions that both readings are pre-Syrian, and that neither is Alexandrian in its origin,—as, indeed, the presence of B in the one group and of D\* in the other sufficiently evinces. Beyond that, progress is more difficult. It is certainly striking that, with the exception of D\*, Ἐλληνας is not supported by any of the typical Western documents. It is not easy to suppose, on the one hand, that Ἐλληνας arose as a Western corruption and yet failed to propagate itself in the later Western texts, or, on the other, that Ἐλληνιστάς was originally Neutral or Neutral-Alexandrian, and thence seeped, by mixture, into all late Western texts. One is almost tempted to suppose the support of Ἐλληνας due to the accidental conformity of independent obvious conjectural emendation. On closer consideration, however, it appears that all the documents which class here with B have Neutral or Neutral-Alexandrian elements; and thus Ἐλληνιστάς is readily accounted for as the Neutral-Alexandrian reading, and Ἐλληνας as the Western. On genealogical considerations, therefore, there is a probability that Ἐλληνιστάς is the more original reading. This probability fails to be decisive only because genealogical evidence only assigns readings to their respective classes, and leaves it to internal evidence to determine the relative purity of the classes; and internal evidence of classes can only determine usual, not invariable, relations. Although, therefore, it is certain that the Neutral-Alexandrian readings are generally better than the Western, the rule is not absolutely without exceptions, and there is a possibility that the present case may be an exception.

*Internal Evidence of Groups.*—We appeal, consequently, to In-

ternal Evidence of Groups for additional evidence and greater surety. Here we find ourselves embarrassed at once by the doubt resting on the testimony of ΙΙ\*. If its witness were clearly for ἐλληνιστάς, the known high character of the combination B ΙΙ, here increased greatly by the adjunction of many other important witnesses, would throw the weight of the external evidence overwhelmingly for that reading. Just in the degree that we judge it probable that the present reading of ΙΙ\* is only a stupid blunder for ἐλληνιστάς, must the testimony for that reading appear to us to approach the overwhelming point.

Even when we lay aside the testimony of ΙΙ\*, however, the internal evidence of groups appears still to support ἐλληνιστάς,—B being rarely wrong when in conjunction with such a train as here sides with it.

Still another mode of procedure is open to us, by which we may reach an independent result, and thus test the probabilities already raised. We may try, by internal evidence of groups, the special value of the group which here appears as the evidence for ἐλληνιστάς. We have noted something over a hundred cases in which the group ΙΙ\*, A, D\* occurs in the Book of Acts. In the great majority of these, however, it has either actually or practically the support of all other MSS. except ΙΙ\*; in other words, the rival reading is a mere individualism or slip of the careless scribe of ΙΙ\*, which has been corrected into conformity with the universally supported reading by the scholarly hand whom we know as ΙΙ\*. These cases are only valuable in helping us estimate the value of ΙΙ\*, to whom hardly due credit is usually attached. The remaining instances may be conveniently classified as follows:—

(1) Instances in which ΙΙ\*, A, D\* have the support of two or more of the primary documents:<sup>1</sup>—

NO.	ACTS.	READING.	ADDITIONAL SUPPORT.	EDITORS ADOPTING IT.	INTERNAL PROBA- BILITY.
1	i. 17	ην εν	(ΙΙ*) B C E 13, 61, al. vg. Copp.	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.
2	v. 36	ως	B C E al. <sup>10</sup> Chrys.	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.
3	vii. 45	εξωσεν	B C H P al. <sup>plu.</sup> Chrys.	L. T. vii. Tr. H. A.	right.
4	xii. 50	omit καὶ	B C 13, 61, al. Copp. Syr. etc.	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.
5	[xvi. 30]	προ-[α; αγων]	(ΙΙ*) B C E L P al. 13, 61, al. <sup>plu.</sup>	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.]
6	xvii. 25	καὶ τὰ παιτα	ΙΙ* B E al. <sup>10+</sup> vg. Cop. Syr. <sup>p.</sup> etc.	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.

<sup>1</sup> The letters in the fifth column explain themselves: L. = Lachmann; T. = Tischendorf's viii. ed.; T.<sup>vii.</sup> = Tischendorf's vii. ed.; H. = Westcott and Hort; and A. = Alford.

(2) Instances in which they are supported by B and secondary authorities only :—

7	iv. 34	insert <i>επηρχον</i>	B E P al. <sup>plu.</sup> 13, 61, al. Eus. Chrys.	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.
8	xiii. 1	<i>τετραρχον</i>	B E H L P al. 13, 61, al.	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> Tr. A.	—
9	xvii. 25	omit <i>ως</i>	B E K L P al. vg. etc. Clem.	L. T. Tr. II. A.	right.
10	xviii. 21	omit <i>καὶ</i> before <i>αιγάθ.</i>	B 8 cursive, vg. Theb. etc.	T. Tr. H. A.	right.
11	xix. 16	omit <i>καὶ</i> before <i>καταχ.</i>	B Egr. 13, c. scr. al. <sup>6</sup> Copp. etc.	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.
12	xxii. 28	insert <i>δὲ καὶ</i>	B E II L P al. <sup>plu.</sup> vg. Syrr. Ath. etc.	L. T. Tr. H. A.	right.

(3) Instances in which they are supported by C and secondary authorities only :—

13	i. 11	<i>εμβλεποντες</i>	C al. <sup>plu.</sup> Chrys. Cyr. Thdrt. etc.	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> A.	wrong.
14	ii. 26	<i>η καρδ. μον</i> (order)	C E P al. omn. <sup>vid.</sup> ex- cept R <sup>*</sup> B	L.	wrong.
15	iii. 16	insert <i>επι</i>	C E P al. <sup>plu.</sup> Copp. vg. etc. Ir.	L. T. Tr. A.	wrong.
16	x. 33	<i>απο</i>	C	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> A.	wrong.
17	xiii. 10	omit <i>τον</i> before <i>κρι.</i>	C E II L P al. omn. <sup>vid.</sup> except R <sup>*</sup> B	L. T. Tr. II. <sup>mg.</sup> A.	right?
18	xv. 24	<i>εξελθοντες</i>	C E P al. <sup>plu.</sup> Copp. Syrr. vg. Ir. Or.	L. T. Tr. [T <sub>1</sub> . <sup>mg.</sup> ] A.	right?
19	xvi. 32	[ <i>τον</i> ] <i>κυρον</i>	C E II L P al. omn. <sup>vid.</sup> except B R <sup>*</sup>	L. T. Tr. II. <sup>mg.</sup> A.	wrong?
20	xx. 22	<i>μοι</i>	C II L P al. omn. <sup>vid.</sup> except B R <sup>*</sup> [Egr.]	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> Tr. A.	wrong.

(4) Instances in which they are supported by R<sup>\*</sup> and secondary authorities only :—

21	[xxi. 22]	<i>παντ. δει. συνει.</i>	R <sup>*</sup> C <sup>2</sup> E II L P al. <sup>plu.</sup> 13, vg.	L. T. A.	wrong.]
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(5) Instances in which they are supported by secondary authorities only :—

22	iii. 22	<i>νμων</i> after <i>θορ</i>	61, al. vg. Ir. Or. Chrys.	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> Tr. A.	wrong.
23	[iv. 18]	<i>το</i> before <i>κα-</i> <i>θορ</i>	E P al. <sup>plu.</sup> Chrys.	T. <sup>vii.</sup> Tr. A.	wrong?]
24	v. 31	omit <i>τον</i> before <i>δονν.</i>	E II P al. <sup>plu.</sup> Chrys.	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> Tr. [H.] A.	right?
25	[vii. 16]	insert <i>τον</i> be- fore <i>ει.</i>	E II P al. vg. Syr. P. Ath. Chrys.	L.	wrong.]
26	xi. 20	<i>ειληνας</i>	cscr. Arm. Eus. [Chrys.]	L. T. Tr. A.	conflict.
27	xvii. 30	<i>παραγγειει</i>	E II L P al. <sup>plu.</sup> 13, 61, etc. Cyr.	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> Tr. A.	wrong.
28	xviii. 3	[ <i>ιρηνα-</i> ] <i>ζετο</i>	E L P vg. Syrr. Arm.	L. T. <sup>vii.</sup> Tr. II. <sup>mg.</sup> A.	right?
29	xx. 24	[see digests]	13, 40, 43, 68. [vg.]	L.	wrong.

This last list, of course, furnishes the truest parallels to our present passage, and it must be confessed that the most of them are clearly wrong, while none of them are clearly right, and (besides xi. 20) only two seem capable of being plausibly defended. The case is little better with the other instances which lack the support of B; out of nine cases, only three apparently can be plausibly defended, and these are all of such character that internal evidence is of somewhat doubtful value in regard to them. The result of this investigation also, thus, is to discredit ἐλληνας.

Three, or perhaps four, independent methods of examining the evidence thus elicits from the external testimony a consentient witness for the probable originality of ἐλληνιστάς. The exact force of this cumulative probability is not easy to estimate. It is certainly strong enough to give us full confidence in the correctness of ἐλληνιστάς, in the absence of strong rebutting considerations drawn from internal evidence. And in the presence of such rebutting considerations, it is strong enough to demand from us very anxious questionings and very strenuous efforts after harmony before we set it aside.

#### *The Internal Evidence.*

*Transcriptional Probability.*—That the transcriptional probability goes with the external in favor of ἐλληνιστάς is scarcely open to doubt. Any ordinary reader would naturally expect ἐλληνας here; and, therefore, a scribe, finding it here, would be very unlikely to alter it into the difficult reading and rare word, ἐλληνιστάς. This is not to assume in scribes a nice appreciation of the true course of the history, but only a slight attention to the immediate context in its most obvious appearances. The contrast with Ιωνδίους that would inevitably suggest itself to the mind of any copyist would be the standing one,—ἐλληνας,—which he would almost venture to write without reference to his copy; only if he had just written Εβραίους, would he think of ἐλληνιστάς as its contrast. The strengthening *kai'* before the *πρός* would render it all the more inevitable that he should expect to find, and hence should write, ἐλληνας. The general progress of the narrative from v. 19 points in the same direction. All combined renders ἐλληνιστάς so difficult a reading as to forbid our supposing that any scribe would (consciously or unconsciously) write it here for ἐλληνας,—points out ἐλληνας as so obvious a correction as to make it very probable that scribes might even independently (consciously or unconsciously) write it here for ἐλληνιστάς.

On the assumption that ἐλληνας is the original reading, explanations

of its alteration to ἐλληνιστάς may, no doubt, be suggested by acute minds. Three such, perhaps, deserve consideration: (1) Meyer (whom, among others, Renan follows) very acutely supposes that this reading may have been brought in through a mechanical assimilation of the passage to ix. 29; and he thinks that the fact that codex 40 adds here καὶ συνεζήτουν speaks in favor of this supposition. (2) Others suppose that the Ἐλληνας was corrected to ἐλληνιστάς in order to bring the passage into formal harmony with the statement that Cornelius was the first Gentile received into the church, — to which Mr. Purves adds the dogmatic consideration that our MSS. were written when ecclesiastical authority was rising high, and the alteration may have been designed to save the supremacy of the Apostles (in the matter of first bringing Gentiles into the Church). (3) The disturbing effect of εὐαγγελιζόμενοι may be appealed to; its immediate proximity may have exercised a mechanical influence on the scribe's mind or hand, and led him to write -ιστάς instead of -ας. We see an extreme result of this influence in Ι\*. And what happened in the case of one scribe cannot be asserted to be impossible. Nay, may not the error of Ι\* be an inheritance rather than the origination of its scribe? And may we not see here the first step in the origin of the false reading, ἐλληνιστάς, which would be the obvious correction of εὐαγγελιστάς?

No one of these explanations can be pronounced impossible. But the question before us concerns, not impossibilities, but relative probabilities. And all of them are very improbable in comparison with the likelihood of the immediate context having led to a change in the opposite direction. The intrusion of ix. 29 into the mind of the scribe who wrote codex 40 is apparently due to the great similarity of the passages, an important element of which was the presence here of ἐλληνιστάς; it is, therefore, more probably a result than the cause of that reading. Both of the two first of these explanations go too far afield for their reasons, and credit the scribes with too great mental activity. So thoughtful a scribe as the second supposes, for instance, would scarcely fail to be thoughtful enough to see that there was no discord between Ἐλληνας here and the claims of Cornelius to be the first-fruits of the Gentiles; or, if not, would be stupid enough to be satisfied with the postpositing of this account to that. The influence of dogmatic considerations on the New Testament text can scarcely ever be surely traced, and cannot be assumed to account for such readings as we have before us. And, finally, while it cannot be denied that εὐαγγελιζόμενοι has influenced the mind and hand of the writer

of Χ\*, and so may have done so elsewhere, it is not very probable that it has originated the reading ἐλληνιστάς, a reading that occurs in so many and such widely separated documents. Possible as all these explanations are, therefore, it must be confessed that the probability arising from transcriptional considerations is distinctly in favor of ἐλληνιστάς, the very difficulty of which is, in this aspect of it, its strongest recommendation.

*Intrinsic Probability.* — On the other hand, it must equally be confessed that the intrinsic evidence yields a strong probability for ἐλληνας. The very facts which transcriptionally suggest ἐλληνιστάς as the original reading throw the intrinsic probability in the other scale. Ἰουδαίους of v. 19 demands something other than Jews for its contrast. This demand is intensified by the κα' before πρὸς ἄλλ., after which we apparently must inevitably expect some word denoting Gentiles. The further context only more and more adds to this expectation. The position of this paragraph (after xi. 1-18) would render such a solemn statement that the Greek-speaking Jews, as well as those who spoke Hebrew, were preached to in Antioch flat in the extreme, if not ridiculous. The contrast introduced by δέ (v. 20) lends its support in the same direction. The importance which was accorded in Jerusalem to the tidings of what had occurred at Antioch; the mission of Barnabas; his curious exhortation to the converts προσμένειν τῷ κυρίῳ, as if they specially needed such an encouragement; the still more curious explanation of how he came to give such a very obvious exhortation (in v. 24), as if, in this special case, it required great goodness and faith in him; Barnabas' call for aid to Saul, who had, as Barnabas knew, been set apart to preach to Gentiles; and, finally, the name of Christians given here first (v. 26) to the followers of Christ, and as a result of these labors, — a name which distinguished them from the Jews, and apparently marks the need of such distinction, — all these are but items of proof that Gentiles must be understood at v. 20. When we add that the next thing we hear of the Antiochian Church is that it is sending missions to the heathen (xiii.), and the next thing (xv.) that Judaisers from Jerusalem find it an uncircumcised body, the proof seems complete.

Nor do the efforts appear to us to have issued satisfactorily, which have been made to show that this apparent intrinsic necessity for a word in v. 20, which should express the notion of "Gentiles," is *prima facie* only. Some of the considerations which have been advanced with that end in view scarcely deserve refutation. Thus, when it is pleaded that the passage so read is inconsistent with the constant

representation of Cornelius as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, it is sufficient to ask why the events here described need be placed before his conversion. And when it is urged that the reception of so many Gentiles would have made more noise, judging by the commotion the case of Cornelius roused, it is sufficient to reply that the precedence of Cornelius' conversion is the sufficient account of this quiet, and to point to the opposition (xv.) which was finally developed. Other considerations, however, possess inherent force and demand respectful hearing. There are especially two of these : (1) Most defenders of Ἐλληνιστάς insist that the term Ἰουδαῖος does not demand a sharper contrast than is furnished by it. Dr. Hort no doubt speaks extremely, and somewhat unguardedly, when he declares that the intrinsic evidence suggests Ἑλλῆνες “only if it be assumed that Ἰουδαῖος is used in a uniformly exclusive sense throughout the book, whereas it excludes proselytes in ii. 10 and . . . xvii. 17 . . . and may, therefore, exclude Hellenists here.” It is plain, on the contrary, that the contrasting word here must be something other than Jews in either blood or religion, in both of which particulars Hellenists were Jews. When the contrast is between modes of life only, it is expressed by Ἐβραῖος and Ἐλληνιστάς. But some plausibility attaches to the statement that no sharp contrast is intended here at all ; but what the passage is designed to teach is that, while all those who came to Antioch spoke to Jews only, the men of Cyprus and Cyrene devoted their labors especially to the Greek-speaking Jews, who were, perhaps, living more or less apart from their stricter brethren. Dr. Alexander, as well as Dr. Hort, urges this argument strongly. It cannot be considered, however, other than a *dernier resort*. The natural sense of the *kai* before *πρὸς Ἑλλ.* (which, indeed, Dr. Alexander, in company with several others, e.g. Wordsworth, but without doubt wrongly, omits) is against it ; as is also the whole implication of the context. Moreover, this theory may be said to be, if we may use the pointed words of Reuss,<sup>1</sup> “d'autant plus absurde, qu'à Antioche et dans les contrées environnantes on n'aura guère trouvé des Juifs parlant l'hebreu.” (2) Again, it is frequently urged that Acts xiv. 27 is inconsistent with the assumption that Gentiles are meant in our present passage ; for, “that God had *opened* the door of *faith* to the Gentiles,” “would not have been news to them if they, who had been converted in large numbers at Antioch (v. 24), had been *Gentiles*.” (Wordsworth.) We take it that it is this that Dr. Hort has in mind when he says, again somewhat extremely, that “if

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<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Apostolique*, p. 133.

Gentiles, in the full sense, are the subjects of vv. 20–24 [of Chap. xi.], the subsequent conduct and language of St. Paul are not easy to explain,” to which we may again oppose Reuss, who, on the other hand, asserts that, if Greek-speaking Jews be alone understood, “ la conversion des païens disparaît ainsi du récit et tout ce qui suit n'a plus raison d'être.”<sup>1</sup> The more moderate statement is itself fully met by calling attention to the immediate sequence of xv. 1 sq. to the words of Paul, which are thought to prove that the Antiochian Church was purely Jewish.

Accordingly, we feel driven to the conviction that the intrinsic evidence very strongly demands the sense of “Gentiles” in our passage. And this is the judgment of most expositors. Meyer, for example, declares that “it is *necessary*”;<sup>2</sup> Alford, that “nothing to his mind is plainer,” and these are but specimens of a very general judgment.

Thus, the question is of necessity forced upon us whether Ἑλληνιστάς, which has been commended by external and paradiplomatic evidence alike as the probably original reading, can bear such a sense as will meet and satisfy the intrinsic demands of the passage. The word occurs so rarely that its usage cannot be adequately investigated. It occurs but twice elsewhere in the New Testament (Acts vi. 1 and ix. 29); and in both passages Jerusalem is the scene and Græcizing Jews, as distinguished from those who spoke Hebrew, seem to be denoted. It is, of course, impossible to frame any theory as to the general or even Lucan usage of the word on so narrow a basis. Outside the New Testament it is equally rare; its place being partly supplied by the participle of Ἑλληνίζω (as, e.g., in Aeschines c. Ctesip. 2<sup>3</sup> and Athen. 6<sup>4</sup>). From what usage we have, however, from its derivation, and from its cognates, it is not impossible to obtain a generally accurate notion of its sense. One thing is clear: the narrowing of its concept to “Græcizing Jews” is entirely unjustified and utterly indefensible. The word naturally means “a Græcizer,” and must obtain any narrower limitation from the context in which it is used. Although it might be possibly applied, as Ἑλληνίζω is applied, in the passage just cited from Athen. 6, to Greeks who affected classicism,

<sup>1</sup> l. c.

<sup>2</sup> What is meant by the omission of this clause by Wendt, from the latest edition of Meyer's Acts, we cannot profess to know.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός, Σκίθης, βάρβαρος, Ἐλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ.

<sup>4</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνίζοντες λέγειν δεῖν φασὶν ἀργυροῦν κόσμον καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον [instead of ἀργυρώματα or χρυσώματα].

its most natural and usual application would be to express the notion of Græcizing foreigners of whatever race. There can be small doubt but that an Athenian Greek would look upon the heathen masses at Antioch, and especially the mixed multitude which constituted the lower and artisan classes of that metropolis, no less than upon the Jews of Alexandria, as in the truest sense Hellenists.

Whether Luke could take the same view of the matter is not so clear. That he was of Gentile origin seems, indeed, certain. He would not, therefore, be expected to speak from the purely Jewish standpoint; when the contrast was a religious one, he might naturally adopt the Jewish speech; but when it was an ethnic one, such an adoption would be less natural. It is not impossible that he was an Antiochian, and it might be thought that this would render it unnatural for him to speak of his compatriots as Hellenists. It is necessary to remember, however, that the term was in no sense an objectionable one: “Hellenisten (Griechlinge) war der, übrigens durchaus nicht spöttende, Übername, welcher von Seiten der National-griechen solchen Fremden gegeben wurde, die in Sitten, Lebensver-hältnissen, Sprache oder sonstwie dem Griechentum sich enger anschlossen” is probably as good a definition as could be framed for the word.<sup>1</sup> In such a Hellenistic age as that of which our history treats, and to which it belongs, the mere fact that men were designated as not of pure Greek origin had surely lost all sting. If, moreover, we assume that Luke was himself of Greek birth or descent,—either of which may be true,—the term loses all strangeness in his mouth.

More serious difficulties confront us when we leave the *à priori* ground and inquire after the standpoint of the Book of Acts itself. We find no difficulty in the fact that both at vi. 1 and ix. 29 ἐλληνιστάς means Græcizing-Jews; for, that when speaking of Jerusalem the Hellenists are Græcizing-Jews is natural, and offers no presumption against the use of the same word to express Græcizing-Syrians when Antioch is spoken of. Nor do we find difficulty in the fact that Antioch was in a sense a Greek city, and is spoken of as such, e.g., in II. Macc. iv. 10, 15. The contrast in that passage is between Jew and foreigner, and consequently we find in v. 13 ἐλληνισμός and ἀλλοφυλαρμός used as convertible terms; and the whole passage is conceived and written from an intensely Jewish view-point. It can scarcely be seriously maintained that the mass of the Antiochians were other than Hellenizers, and might be correctly and naturally described under that term by any one writing out of a less strongly Jewish feeling. Even

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<sup>1</sup> Reuss in Herzog's R. E. ed. 2, sub.-voc.

in the mouth of a Jew the word "Greek" had two senses, in one of which it was a national term, the opposite of "barbarian" (Rom. i. 14), and in the other a quasi-religious one, the opposite of "Jew" (Rom. i. 16). In the former sense it excluded Hellenists; in the latter, it included all Hellenists of other than Jewish blood and faith. From the strongly Jewish standpoint of II. Macc. it was inevitable that Antioch should be thought of and called Greek or Heathen; from the liberal standpoint of Luke, himself a Gentile, and perhaps even a Greek in the narrower sense, the same city might rather seem Hellenistic. It is, therefore, of much greater importance to note Luke's own use of the term Ἑλλην. It lies on the face of things that he not only speaks of the Corinthians (xviii. 4) and Amphipolitans (xvii. 4) and Asians (xix. 10) as Greeks, but also of the Gentiles that lived in Iconium (xiv. 1), and Timothy's father at Lystra (xvi. 1, 3). It also lies on the face of things that the standing opposite to Ἰουδαῖος in Acts is Ἑλληνις, not Ἑλληνιστής. Luke thus apparently adopts the Jewish standpoint, and speaks from that point of view. Presumptions thus arise against his calling the Antiochian heathen, Hellenists, rather than Greeks or Gentiles; and against his opposing to Ἰουδαῖος other than its usual and accurate opposite Ἑλλην or Θρη (xiv. 5). These presumptions are still further increased by the fact that Ἑλληνιστής and Ἰουδαῖος are not in any event mutually exclusive; Ἑλληνιστής in the sense of "Greek-speaking Jews" is but a part of Ἰουδαῖος, and the Ἰουδαῖοι of Antioch were but a part of the Ἑλληνιστής understood in the broad sense of "Græcizers." The weight of these presumptions is certainly very great, but hardly great enough to render it impossible to suppose that Luke has used Ἑλληνιστής here to express the population of Antioch in general. Paul, a Jew, could desert his usual Jewish standpoint and usual contrast of "Greeks and Jews" just once for the more Greek view-point and expression of "Greeks and barbarians" (Rom. i. 14); and there is no reason why Luke, a Gentile himself, may not similarly have deserted just once the Jewish standpoint, and have written "Jews and Græcizers" rather than "Jews and Greeks." And it needs to be observed, also, that, however true it may be that "Jews and Hellenists" do not constitute an exclusive and clear partition, generally speaking, it is sharply enough drawn for the needs of our present passage, and suffices for the progress of thought there indicated. The advance from the narrower word to the broader, from which the narrower by the very contrast is excluded, secures the progress demanded by the context. "Some preached to the Jews only, but some preached also to the Hellenistic population in general."

This last remark anticipates somewhat the discussion of the fitness of this understanding of the term to the immediate context. It cannot be denied that it has a somewhat strange appearance there. The inexactness of its contrast to Ἰουδαῖος is disturbing, especially after force has been thrown upon the contrast by the *καί*. That the demands of the contextual flow of thought are preserved, however, has been already pointed out; and the strangeness of the word here to us may result from the rarity of it in general. If it were an ordinary term in the common speech of the day to describe the population of the Hellenizing cities, it would become very natural in this context. Difficult, then, as it confessedly is to take it here in the sense of the Antiochians in general, it is scarcely impossible; and thus there emerges at least one way in which the conflict between the intrinsic evidence and the other forms of testimony can be voided.

#### *The Conclusion.*

In attempting to combine the various elements of this evidence and reach a conclusion, four courses are open to us:—

(1) We may follow the external and transcriptional evidence to the neglect of the intrinsic, and read Ἑλληνιστάς in the sense of "Greek-speaking Jews."

(2) We may follow the intrinsic evidence to the neglect of the external and transcriptional, and read Ἑλλῆνας.

(3) We may follow the external evidence as valid for the transmitted text; and then assume, on the basis of the intrinsic evidence, a "primitive error," arising probably from the proximity of εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, and so venture to restore Ἑλλῆνας by critical conjecture.

(4) We may harmonize the external and transcriptional evidence on the one side with the intrinsic evidence on the other by reading Ἑλληνιστάς, and understanding it in the broad sense of "Græcizers," meaning thereby the total mixed population of Antioch.

No one of these courses is free from grave difficulty. To the present writer the *first* appears almost, if not quite, impossible; it does absolute violence to every exegetical hint a context could well give. And however true it may be, as Dr. Hort says, that "the difficulty probably arises from the brevity of the record and the slightness of our knowledge," it remains equally true that, in the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to do such violence to contextual indications. The *third method*, again, can be but the resort of desperation, and cannot be adopted so long as any loophole of escape is open to us. Conjectural emendation is, no doubt, a proper

enough method of castigating the text ; but every resort to it, and every use of it, in cases where intrinsic evidence and transcriptional evidence do not unite to compel the resort and suggest the remedy, is not only precarious but unjustifiable. Drs. Howson and Spence<sup>1</sup> well remark that the remedy offered by the *second method* is very suspiciously easy. It is a dangerous expedient to adopt the easiest reading in such cases as this, especially when it is done in the face of apparently decisive external testimony. It cannot be too strenuously emphasized that divided internal evidence is suspicious.<sup>2</sup> To venture to cast aside, on intrinsic grounds alone, the combined external and transcriptional probabilities, differs in little but the name from the most uncertain kind of conjectural emendation. Nevertheless, if any of the first three methods are to be adopted, it must be this ; although it is essentially the acceptance of an impure conjecture of a tolerably precarious kind. No doubt other cases may be pointed out where an equal array of external witnesses is confessedly overborne by the weight of internal considerations ; the difficulty here lies in the division of the internal evidence itself. If we can persuade ourselves that the transcriptional evidence is also in favor of Ἑλληνας, our procedure will become easy and certain. Then, it will be plain that the stem of descent became corrupt after the divergence of the Western class, and before the separation of the Neutral and Alexandrian. This occurs actually in other cases, and is theoretically conceivable. But in the present case the transcriptional evidence apparently stubbornly arrays itself on the wrong side to allow this supposition. According as we consider the transcriptional evidence here to be strongly for, faintly for, or possibly against Ἑλληνιστας, ought we to judge this second method of procedure to be impossible, improbable, or probable. The difficulties that lie against the *fourth method* have been already sufficiently adverted to and are obvious of themselves. The fact that it alone harmonizes the various kinds of evidence is much in its favor. It is possible that it has the support of the Greek commentators, from Chrysostom to Thcophylact, who apparently read Ἑλληνιστας in their text, and without any hesitation explain it of the Gentiles. It may account for the carelessness of the versions in not seeking discriminating equivalents for Έλληνες and Ἑλληνισται, in which they may be simply a reflection of the usage of their day. It is still

<sup>1</sup> Schaff's *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*, *in loco*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the brief and pertinent remarks in Wescott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, vol. i., p. 542, and the corresponding passage of vol. ii., in §§ 32-37.

further supported by the failure of the fathers to preserve a distinction between the words. Our choice must certainly lie between this method and the second, and beset with difficulty as it is, this fourth method appears to the present writer, on the whole, the easier solution. We propose, therefore, the provisional adoption of the reading [ἐλληνιστάς] — enclosed in square brackets — with the reading Ἑλληνας on the margin, and the understanding that it stands there as a true gloss as well as less well-authenticated various reading. It may not be impossible that some such process may go on in our minds in this case as that which Dr. Vaughan describes in the preface to the third edition of his *Commentary on Romans*: “It is deeply interesting,” he says, “to take note of the process of thought and feeling which attends in one’s own mind the presentation of some unfamiliar reading. At first sight the suggestion is repelled as unintelligible, startling, almost shocking. By degrees light dawns upon it; it finds its plea and its palliation. At last, in many instances, it is accepted as adding force and beauty to the context, and a conviction gradually forms itself that thus, and not otherwise, was it written.”<sup>1</sup> The same process may attend the consideration of a new understanding of an old reading.

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<sup>1</sup> 5th ed., London, 1880, p. xxi. Cf. also *Authorized or Revised? Sermons, etc.*, London, 1882, p. xii.

## Ænon near to Salim.

BY PROF. WM. ARNOLD STEVENS.

THERE is perhaps no lost Biblical site, unless it be "Bethany beyond Jordan," that the student of the Gospel narrative is now so eager to recover, as the *Ænon* of John iii. 23. Here John the Baptist appears for the last time on the public arena of history. Here he delivers his last recorded testimony to the Messiah, unsurpassed in moral sublimity by any utterance that has since fallen from human lips. Neither *Ænon* nor *Salim* occurs elsewhere in the New Testament; whether either is mentioned in the Old Testament remains to be ascertained. Both names have wandered like disembodied spirits in search of their proper habitat. They have traversed Palestine from south to north, on both sides of the Jordan, and sometimes have settled down in very "dry places."

That the Greek *Αἰνῶν* represents an Aramaic derivative of 'Ain, "spring," either an intensive or a plural (see Grimm, *Clavis N. T.*), is scarcely to be questioned. It is therefore a descriptive local name, equivalent to "the Springs." So J. Lightfoot: "I should rather take *Ænon* for the name of some large and spacious compass of ground, full of fresh springs and waters, than for any one particular town, river, or city" (see *Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, on John iii. 23). Its situation is only defined as that of the well-known, or at least the better known, *Salim*. The latter name, it is to be noted, is an unexplained exception to current Greek usage as to names of towns; it is not feminine (though so given in Robinson's *Lexicon*; in Grimm's *Clavis* the question of gender remains unnoticed), but either masculine or neuter.

The writer has been led, while treating of the life of Christ, in the classroom, to a frequent examination of the arguments *pro* and *con* for each of the proposed sites. From data supplied by the Gospel narrative itself, he had been inclined to seek the locality in central rather than southern Palestine, and that, either in the valley of the Jordan, south of Beisân, or, following Robinson, in the neighborhood of Sâlim, east of Nâblous. A three or four months' tour in Palestine,

early in 1883, afforded an opportunity to visit the Ghôr at Beisân, as well as the tract lying north and east of Nâblous. The result of a personal examination of the ground was to convince him of the general correctness of Robinson's identification (adopted also by Capt. Conder) as against any other of the numerous proposed sites. Capt. Conder attempts no definite localization, but seems inclined to place Ænon as near Khûrbet 'Ainûn as the course of the Fâr'ah stream will allow. It is perhaps possible to determine the site still more precisely. The object of this paper is in part to advocate Robinson's view, and also to direct special attention to the western end of the Wâdy Beidân, three or four miles north of Sâlim, as the probable site of the New Testament Ænon. First a glance at

#### *Leading Opinions Hitherto.*

1. *In the Ghôr, South of Beisân.* — Fourth century tradition placed both Ænon and Salim eight Roman miles to the south of Scythopolis, and not far from the Jordan ("juxta Jordanem"). See Jerome (*Onomasticon*, articles *Ænon* and *Salim*). The latter was still pointed out, a village called Salumias. Jerome, in opposition to the then prevailing view, also considered this to have been the royal residence of Melchizedek. Epiphanius considered it to have been the Salem near Shechem.<sup>1</sup>

Drs. Robinson and Smith, who together explored that part of the Ghôr in 1852, found no trace of ruins, or of either name except the Wely or shrine of a Sheikh Sâlim at the foot of Tell Ridghah, less than two miles from the stream of the Jordan. The industrious

<sup>1</sup> "Ænon juxta Salim, ubi baptizabat Joannes, sicut in Evangelio cata Joannem scriptum est (iii. 23) : et ostenditur nunc usque locus in octavo lapide Scythopoleos ad meridiem juxta Salim et Jordanem" (Jerome, *Migne Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 23, tom. iii. 163).

"Sichem et Salem, quæ (Latine et Græce) Sicima vocata est, civitas Jacob, nunc deserta. Ostenditur autem locus in suburbanis Neapoleos juxta sepulcrum Joseph," etc. (*ibid.*, 266).

"Salem, civitas Sicimorum, quæ est Sichem; sed et alia villa ostenditur usque in præsentem diem (juxta Eliam contra occidentalem plagam hoc nomine; in octavo quoque lapide a Scythopoli in campo vicus Salumias appellatur; Josephus vero Salem esse affirmat in qua regnavit Melchisedec, quæ postea dicta est Solyma, et ad extremum, Hierosolymæ nomen accepit" (*ibid.*, 267).

"... Oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem, et ostenditur ibi palatum Melchisedec, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam" (*ibid.*, vol. 22, tom. i. 445).

(See also Reland, *Palestina*, p. 721.)

inquiries of Tyrwhitt Drake and Capt. Conder were equally unsatisfactory. See report of Drake (*P. E. F. Quarterly*, 1875, p. 32) : "Ænon and Salim have been identified by Van de Velde as Bir Sâlim and Sheikh Sâlim. Inquiries of the Arabs and the Fellahin in the above district resulted in not a man of them ever having heard of either of the places."

Among the moderns who more or less confidently adopt this site are Van de Velde, Greswell, Andrews (*Life of Our Lord*), Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 393), Pressel (in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, art. "Salim"; also Güder, art. "Johannes der Taüfer"), Caspari (*Chronologisch-geog. Einleitung*, § 87), Ellicott (*Life of Christ*, p. 126, note, Amer. ed.), Grove (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Salim"), Hackett (*ibid.*, Amer. ed., art. "Ænon").

Eusebius and Jerome appear simply to have reported current tradition, and, as the citations in the accompanying note show, unlinked with any confirmatory historical facts. It is a manifest objection to the correctness of the tradition, that it places Ænon so near to the Jordan. The site identified by Van de Velde as Salim is but a little over a mile from the river, and the springs of the proposed Ænon not much farther. Now a spot within two or three miles at most from the river Jordan would scarcely call for special description as a place of "much water," this fact being evidently inserted by the evangelist to designate it as an appropriate locality for the administration of baptism. Considering that the Jordan valley had been the scene of the Baptist's public ministry for a year or more, the annexed reason for the choice of Ænon at the time seems plainly to indicate that it was *not* in the Jordan valley, at least in close proximity to the river itself. To add "for there was much water there" were quite superfluous, if John was still within a few minutes' walk of the river.

2. The majority of modern expositors take us to *Southern Judea*, chiefly supporting their opinion by the similarity of the two names with the *Ain* and *Shilhim* of Josh. xv. 32 : שְׁלַחִים וְעַיִן. In Josh. xix. 7 Ain again occurs. The En- of En-Rimmon, in Neh. xi. 29, is supposed to be the same. (See Wieseler *Chron. Synopse der vier Evv.*, p. 247.) It is also urged : "The Evangelist indicates plainly enough that his Ænon is to be looked for in Judea; for, after having said (iii. 22) that Jesus and his disciples had baptized in the land of Judea (*ἐν τῇ Ιουδαϊκῇ γῇ*), he immediately proceeds *ἡν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάνης βαπτίζων εἰς Αἰνῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμου*. Now it is certainly most natural to refer the comparison, here indicated by *καὶ*, not merely to the act of baptizing, but of baptizing in the land of Judea; there was no need of

this clause to inform us that John baptized." (*Ibid.*, Eng. Tr., p. 245.) So Meyer, briefly, that Ænon "in Judæa, nicht in Samarien, gelegen haben muss." But this is to pervert entirely the writer's *kai* in iii. 23. It is intended to indicate, not identity of locality, but the simultaneousness of these two ministries at this junction of the Gospel history. John was still engaged in baptizing,—this being still further explained in verse 24,—"for John was not yet cast into prison." The tenor of the passage is rather to distinguish the two locations apart than to identify the latter as belonging to the same region. Among those who adopt the above identification are Alford, Godet, Pressensé (*Jesus Christ*, Eng. Tr., p. 227; in his note he favors an etymology which he is scarcely justifiable in attributing to Wieseler, namely, that Ænon is a contraction (!) from En-Rimmon), Milligan and Moulton (*Popular Commentary on the N. T.*; the parenthetical statement that Shilhim of Josh. xv. 32 is "translated Salem in the LXX," gives an incorrect impression of the fact).

The resemblance of a שִׁילְחָם (Shilchām ; in codex Alex. of the LXX Σεληέμ), with an *Ain* near it, to the Σαλείμ of the text, is but a slender support for this view.<sup>1</sup> Against it is the drift of the Evangelist's narrative (according to the interpretation given above), the absence of historical or geographical data to establish it, and, finally, the absence of an abundance of water in any site to which the names given in Joshua can probably be assigned.

3. *East of the Jordan.*—This embraces a third class of conjectures. Dr. Lightfoot was at first inclined to locate Ænon in Galilee (see *Harmony of the Gospels*, part iii., published in 1650), but in his *Chorographical Inquiry*, dated 1671, he withdrew that opinion, and favored the hypothesis of an Ænon in Southern Peræa, believing that "we must look for it either in Galilee or Peræa," for the reason that it was about this time that John was seized by Herod, and that he must, accordingly, have been baptizing at some point within Herod's dominions. The erudite Lampe argues at length to the same effect, that the scene of John's closing ministry was, in all probability, not remote from the Peræan capital of Herod Antipas, the city Julias, or from Machærus, the fortress of John's captivity.

Among recent writers, Edersheim is disposed to entertain favorably the view "that Ænon, near Salim, was actually within the dominions

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<sup>1</sup> Wieseler considers Αἰρών in Josh. xv. 61 (according to the codex Vat. μαδων) to be the same place as the Αἴν in v. 32 (codex Alex.). It is difficult to see on what ground this assumption rests.

of Herod," and, "in that case, may even have been in Peræa itself" (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i., p. 657).

But against this hypothesis the words addressed to John by his disciples seem decisive : " he that was with thee beyond Jordan," etc. (John iii. 26). For, although the phrase "beyond Jordan" is certainly not to be taken in every case as denoting *east* of the river, it can scarcely be otherwise understood in the present instance. The *first* scene of the Baptist's activity, as described in the fourth Gospel, is " Bethany beyond Jordan" (i. 28). In describing the transactions of scene *second*, it is inconceivable that the writer should have used the phrase "beyond Jordan" in a reverse and a rare sense, and without a glimpse of a reason for so doing.

4. '*Ain Fârah* (or '*Ain Wâdy Fârah*) near *Jerusalem*. — This identification of *Ænon*, by Dr. Barclay, with one of the headsprings of the *Wâdy Kelt*, would scarcely detain us, except for its adoption by Mr. Trelawney Saunders, who has confidently inserted it in his New Testament Map of Western Palestine, recently constructed from the plates of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The following is the description of the spring as given in the *P. E. F. Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 170 : "'Ain Fârah is a very fine spring, surrounded with a thick growth of reeds and oleander bushes. Small fish have been found in the water." It is interesting to compare with this the glowing description and the illustrative wood-cut in Dr. Barclay's *City of the Great King* (see pp. 558-569). It lies equally distant from 'Anâta (Anathoth) and Jeba (Geba), about three and one-half miles to the east, in the bed of a precipitous ravine. I was not myself fortunate enough to see the spring, though on two different occasions, while exploring the routes from Jericho to Bethel and Ai, I was a mile or two above the spot, among the steep gorges that converge towards it ; and again, several miles below it, I climbed down into the bed of the *wâdy*, to which, for a part of the year, it furnishes a visible stream.<sup>1</sup>

The chief argument for the identification is the name *Suleim*, belonging to a small *wâdy* south of Anathoth. This similarity of name, and the existence of a copious spring in the neighborhood, constitute an argument certainly entitled to a hearing, but hardly sufficient to offset two historical improbabilities : first, that the Baptist should have

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<sup>1</sup> The volume of water is not sufficient to supply the channel below through-out the year. If the reader will take the trouble to consult the large map of the Pal. Ex. Fund, he will see that the permanent stream of the *Wâdy Kelt* does not begin at 'Ain Fârah, but several miles lower down, at 'Ain el Kelt.

been prosecuting his mission at this late period so near Jerusalem, the central seat of the opposition on the part of the Pharisees and the hierarchy ; second, that he should have chosen this sterile tract, amid a tangle of precipitous ravines, as a suitable place for a multitude to gather about him and receive baptism.

It is perhaps needless to add to the preceding Sepp's conjecture of Beit 'Ainâن, near Hebron (see his chapter on "Der Täufer at Ænon," *Leben Jesu Christi*) ; Lightfoot's, referred to above, that Salim lay in Galilee, in the territory of Issachar ; and others. Dr. Thomson, in his recent *Central Palestine and Phœnicia*, remarks, p. 153 : "Both Ænon and Salim, therefore, must be classed with Biblical sites not yet identified."

5. *Near Sâlim, east of Nâblous.* — Robinson was the first to identify this village with the Σαλεῖμ of John's Gospel (*Researches*, iii. 333), leaving the suggestion, however, as a mere hypothesis, from the absence of sufficiently confirmatory data. He remarks upon the ruin 'Ainâن, which he had visited, situated on a small tell, about seven miles north-east of Sâlim, but finding "no Salim near, nor a drop of water," passes it by without pausing to account for this capital specimen of *lucus a non* ; evidently, he attached but little importance to the name for the purpose of fixing more precisely the site for which he was seeking. Sâlim lies on the southern slope of the mountain Neby Belân, about four miles from Nâblous, and two and one-half miles due east from Jacob's Well. "It is a small village resembling the rest, but evidently ancient, having rock-cut tombs, cisterns, and a tank. Olive trees surround it ; on the north are two springs, about three-quarters of a mile from the village" (*P. E. F. Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 230). "In the Samaritan Chronicle it is called Salem the Great, and the Samaritans understand it to be mentioned in Gen. xxxiii. 18. Sâlim is also possibly the Caphar Salama of I. Macc. vii. 31, which seems to have been in Samaria" (*ibid.*).

Robinson's identification of this Sâlim with that of John iii. 23 has been adopted by many recent authorities. See Conder's *Tent Work in Palestine*, chap. iii., also the *Memoirs*, cited above, and *Hand-book of the Bible*, p. 320 ; Rowland (art. "Salim," *Imperial Bible Dict.*) ; Porter (in Murray's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*) ; Major Wilson (*Bible Educator*, vol. iv., p. 121).

As to Ænon, Conder seems disposed to locate it as near as possible to Khurbet 'Ainâن, but is content to leave it somewhere in the broad open valley of the upper Fâr'ah, between Salim and 'Ainâن. Porter (*Hand-book*, p. 340) places it on the northern fork of the Fâr'ah at or

over but, *Far'ah Kidârîy*, *Louâl* or the *Fâlî* is very small so that over a still more extensive distance above that makes the junction of the two tributaries of the stream.

### *Wâdy Beidân.*

The *Far'ah* is the principal western affluent of the *Jordan*. It is a narrow deep valley, flanked by parallel mountain ranges running at first due northward, then more to the south, till it reaches the *Gâid*. The distance from the northern mountains to Burj Far'ah to the *Jordan*, following the general line of its course, is about twenty miles. The stream itself is a slender current bounded by banks, steep, but grassy and dry throughout, at certain points I judged them one hundred feet high or more. About half the valley expands to the width of from one to two miles. The opposite ridges of the two mountain ranges are stated by Conder to be about four miles apart. In this extensive tract, through which we had passed there is not a single village. It is true of the *Wâdy* and a tribe of nomadic Arabs. They numbered in 1878 according to the report of Tigranik Dabakha one hundred and forty men, and one hundred and eighty women.

In the *Wâdy* a story, the valley is known only as a thoroughfare. "It was in this valley that Jacob drove his flocks and herds from Soccoth to Graemus near Gerasa. It was along the banks of its stream that the 'garments and vessels' of the hosts of Benhadad were thrown as far as Jordan" (*Conder, Test Work*, p. 91).

The situation and course of the *Wâdy Beidân*, which forms the western branch of the *Far'ah*, will be seen by a glance at the large map of the Palestine Exploration Fund. At its beginning, it is a deep gully in the limestone strata between Ebal and Neby Belân; in the rainy season it drains the plain between Jacob's Well and Sâlim, but most of the year is a dry gully. Starting from the springs called *Râs el Far'ah*, it is about two miles in length, running almost due east till it joins the northern branch of the *Far'ah*. The writer's entrance into the valley was from the village of 'Askar, where he had encamped the previous day, April 20. The path follows nearly the ancient road to Damascus, *via* Sythopolis and Gadara. It skirts the base of Mt. Ebal, a little above the level of the plain of Sâlim, and, in the course of half an hour's riding, descends rapidly alongside of the gully. Our guide, a man from 'Askar, called the gully *Wâdy Ibrîd*. It is the southernmost branchlet, referred to above, of the *Wâdy Beidân*, which latter name the men of whom we made inquiry applied only to the lower portion, where the water supply is perennial. The hills on either side

as we descend are treeless ; scarcely a shrub is seen for half an hour, except a few rows of olives on our right across the gorge. The path is deeply worn into the white marl, and worms its way among the softer portions in so crooked a fashion as to make rapid riding an impossibility. The gorge narrows and deepens ; the steep mountain wall on the right is Neby Belân, rising to the height of nearly two thousand feet above us. Between the path and Neby Belân is the deeply cut torrent-bed down among the rocks, edged on the side next to us with upturned strata of dark, nummulitic limestone, shooting up from the gorge in strikingly picturesque serrated masses. The whole pass must always have formed a magnificent natural gateway to Shechem from the east.

In less than an hour after leaving 'Ain 'Askar we are at 'Ain es Subiân, the southernmost of the large springs that feed the Fâr'ah. Turning now a little to the left, in a few minutes more we descend abruptly into another ravine, at the foot of the Mt. Ebâl group. Here we are at the proper beginning of the Wâdy Beidân,—the Râs el Fâr'ah springs, which feed with perennial abundance the southern fork of the Fâr'ah stream. Fountains are bursting forth from the rocks on either side, and a mountain brook is plunging downward in cascades and broken streams to the lower bed of the Wady. The road, instead of following the water-course, crosses it, and, continuing northward to Tûbâs, traverses the triangular terrace which separates the two branches of the Fâr'ah.

This rocky glen of fountains may well detain the traveller a moment. Within the space of half a mile are numberless springs ; the names of several of the larger are given on the Survey map. No other spot in Palestine, south of the sources of the Jordan at Bâniâs or Tell el Kâdy, so well deserves the name of "The Springs." There are four overshot flour mills within a few rods of one another ; lower down, in the course of two miles, are six or seven others. Some of the latter bring their water through aqueducts of solid masonry, others by a mill-race carried down to the terminus of the Wady. Other little canals are drawn off on either side for the purposes of irrigation. The rich green of grass, planted grain, and dense shrubbery, offers to the eye a most refreshing contrast with the sterile chalk and limestone slopes we have just traversed. One of the largest of the mills is at the inflow of the little rivulet from 'Ain es Subiân. From this point the Wâdy Beidân extends for nearly two miles to its junction with the Fâr'ah ; in places it is from a quarter to half a mile in width, enclosed between the higher terraces of the valley, and lying about two thousand feet below the

adjoining Neby Belân. The traveller will find few spots in Syria so beautiful as this glen in the wild luxuriance of its tropical foliage. Some gardens and enclosures of cultivated trees are owned, we were told, in Nâblous and Tulluza, as are also the neighboring mills. At the water's edge were thickets of oleander, then in full bloom ; within enclosures were the walnut, mulberry, olive, fig, and in great abundance that most beautiful tree of the orient, the pomegranate, just blossoming into gorgeous crimson.

The stream is swift, winding little, but broadens here and there into pools of considerable depth. The men at the mills said large fish were caught in them, and sold in the market at Nâblous ; I saw none longer than seven or eight inches. Of the depth of the water I attempted only an approximate measurement, by hiring one of the Fellâhin, who was fishing, to go with us, and wade back and forth through the pools. The largest was near the upper end of the glen, and in this the water reached about to his armpits. As compared with the northern branch of the Fâr'ah stream, this branch appears to be considerably the larger ; the volume of water at the junction was evidently much greater. With this opinion accords the fact that the natives have given the name Râs el Fâr'ah (head of the Fâr'ah) to the southern group of springs.

#### *Proofs of the Identification.*

*Near the Western End of the Wâdi Beiddn.* — In favor of thus locating Ænon upon the future New Testament Maps of Palestine are the following considerations : they apply for the most part to any site in the upper Fâr'ah, but become still more significant and conclusive, assuming the definite locality that has just been described.

1. *It is ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλήμ.* — Now it must be admitted that we cannot yet identify this Salim with certainty ; but recent geography and early tradition are at one, at least so far as to look for it in or on the border of Samaria. If the Shalem of Gen. xxxiii. 18 be the name of a city, it is then by all means probable that John refers to that ancient and well-known Biblical site. Granting it is not, but merely an adjective, "safe," still the Septuagint is in evidence that there was a Salem ( $\Sigma\alphaλήμ$ ) here in the neighborhood of Shechem ; and that to the Evangelist and his readers, familiar as they were with that version, it was known as the city by which Jacob encamped on his arrival from Padan Aram.

The objection perhaps occurs to the reader : if Ænon was situated in the valley so near the famous Samaritan capital, why

should the Evangelist not describe its situation accordingly? Why is it not "near to Shechem," the better-known city, instead of "near to Salim," especially considering that he wrote at a distance from Palestine, and for readers, to a great extent, unfamiliar with its geography? The answer that at once suggests itself is that the latter may have been its usual designation in Palestine itself, where it was to be distinguished from other Ænons. Furthermore, the Wâdy Beidân is, as described above, the natural appendage to the plain which is still often called the "plain of Salim,"<sup>1</sup> whereas it is some five miles in a direct line from Nâblous, and to the traveller much further, because he must follow the road around Mt. Ebal.

That the Sâlim east of Nâblous has had a continuous existence from the New Testament period seems still more likely from the fact that the Samaritan Chronicle, in its list of twenty-two towns, where the high priests who succeeded Tobiah resided, mentions, first in order, *Salem* (in the Arabic version, *Salim*) *the Great* (Neubauer's Sam. Chron., cited by Conder, Pal. Ex. Fund *Special Papers*, p. 230). It was probably, therefore, the chief and well-known place of that name at the time of John's writing.

2. No one spot in all western Palestine that could possibly be named as the site of Ænon is so well entitled to be designated "The Springs." The Wâdy Beidân is emphatically a place of "much water" (*πολλὰ ὕδατα*). Its closely-clustered group of springs would give the name to the valley, not merely from the ample supply of

<sup>1</sup> May this not furnish the clue to the gender of *Σαλεῖμ*? The permanence of the name renders it more than probable that the northern end of the plain or valley, often called the Mûkhna, anciently bore the name of the town overlooking it; *ό Σαλεῖμ* may have come to be the name of the plain (as *ό Σάρων*, of the plain of Sharon), it being a tract then threaded and crossed by several of the most important roads in Palestine.

Or the article may be neuter, the name belonging, at a still earlier date, to the mountain. Every traveller who has approached Nâblous from the north-east, south, or east, will recall the white wely of Neby Belân as the most conspicuous land-mark of the region. It crests the mountain-peak, on the southern slope of which lies the village of Sâlim. It is the local shrine, as I found on inquiry, to which the inhabitants of Sâlim and the two adjacent villages most frequently resort. One can hardly doubt that it is one of the Palestinian "high places" of very ancient sanctity, and it may itself have borne the name *Σαλεῖμ*. In that case, whether itself anterior to the town-name or not, the name might well have been *τὸ Σαλεῖμ*. On this latter supposition it would be still more natural for an Ænon situated in the Wâdy Beidân to be described as "near to Salim," since one who is in the valley seems to see the summits of the mountain almost immediately above him.

water for use, but as a conspicuous feature of the landscape. The traveller in ancient times as now must have taken with him a vivid picture of the verdant foliage and white cascades seen below him in the rocky gorge.

3. *Proximity of the name 'Ainûn.*—This is a ruined village, "apparently modern, standing on a small hillock" (see *P. E. F. Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 234). It is described by Robinson, and also by Guérin. The site is about five miles north-east of the springs of the Beidân. "There is only one other place of the name in Palestine," says Conder (*Tent Work*, i., p. 92), "Beit 'Ainûn, near Hebron; but this is a place which has no very fine supply of water, and no Salem near it. On the other hand, there are many other Salems all over Palestine, but none of them have an *Aenon* near them." It must be conceded that the finding of comparatively modern village-ruins with the name 'Ainûn, on a site so destitute of water as quite to belie the name, besides being distant some seven miles from Sâlim, over two intervening mountain-ranges, is not at first sight a promising re-enforcement to the argument. But the mere existence of this name in the region of the ancient Salim is a fact not to be ignored. Further, the very fact of its inappropriateness on its present site suggests the conjecture that it is a comparatively modern transfer from some earlier site in the neighborhood, nearer to the springs in the bed of the Fâr'ah. Such a transfer of an ancient name to a neighboring site (compare, for instance, the modern Sûrafend, the ancient Sarepta, or Zarephath) is sufficiently common to make it a creditable supposition in the present case.

4. *It fully satisfies the conditions imposed by the gospel narrative.*—John's work was nearly ended; our Lord had not yet left Judea to enter upon his ministry in Galilee. For not far from a year and a half John had been fulfilling his mission,—first in the lower Jordan valley, afterwards moving to the north. Between himself and the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem, the relation was one of recognized and avowed hostility. That the latter exerted themselves to diminish his influence and to hinder his public ministry, we can hardly doubt. It was but natural for John to withdraw from the region of Jerusalem and the districts most accessible to Pharasaic and priestly influence. The Wâdy Beidân, at the head of the Fâr'ah valley, was quite suitable for his purpose. Here was water for baptizing; space and water for the numbers who gathered about him, though at this period there were probably no such immense multitudes as at first. Two great thoroughfares converged just at the head of the valley,—that from Damascus

and the north, leading into central and southern Palestine, and that from Perea and the Jordan valley. Other roads came in from the west, at Shechem. Thus, the site was public and accessible.

Another point is to be considered. The forerunner may have wished to avoid molestation on the part of Herod Antipas as well as from the Jewish hierarchy. Whether he had already aroused the Tetrarch's hostility by rebuking his connection with Herodias, we cannot certainly know; but it is not improbable. It is plain, however, from Josephus, whose account rather supplements than contradicts the gospel history, that Herod had long been disturbed by the popular uprising caused by the preaching of John; this fact of itself would incline the Baptist to select a situation for this stage of his work outside of Herod's dominions.

"But it is difficult to believe," Dr. Andrews objects (in his invaluable *Life of Our Lord*, p. 156), "that John, the preacher of the Law, could have entered Samaria to baptize, when, at a later period, the Lord forbade the Twelve to preach in any of its cities (Matt. x. 5)."

Similarly Godet asks: "How should John have settled among the Samaritans? How would the multitude have followed him to the midst of this hostile people?" Weiss asserts positively: "It is in the nature of the case impossible that he had taken up his station in Samaria" (*Leben Jesu*, vol. ii., p. 408, note).<sup>1</sup>

But, we ask, why should John abstain from occupying a Samaritan neighborhood? Known to the Samaritans to be under ban of the Jewish hierarchy, he would be all the more welcome. He was not so much the preacher of the Law, as the herald of the Messiah; and the Samaritans, too, were awaiting a Messiah. Again, that John was stationed within the Samaritan limits does not imply that he came with a special mission to the Samaritans. It is not as if he entered a Samari-

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<sup>1</sup> I give the note in full. It illustrates, particularly the last remark, which I have put in italics, a tendency on the part of the distinguished author (it would be easy to add other examples) to neglect facts of geography and objective history that one would suppose easily accessible to him.

"Das Joh. iii. 23 genannte Enon bei Salem, wo er tauft, ist uns gänzlich unbekannt; aber die Angaben der Kirchenväter weisen hoch in den Norden hinauf.

"Die gangbare Vorstellung, dass auch Johannes noch in Judäa wirkte, ist nach den Andeutungen unseres Evangelisten ganz unwahrscheinlich; dass er in Samaria seinen Standort nahm, ist von vorn herein unmöglich; so bleibt nur das galiläische oder peräische Gebiet übrig. Uebrigens schliesst die Bemerkung, dass der Ort wasserreich war, keineswegs aus, dass derselbe im Jordantal lag, da der Jordan schwerlich überall tief genug war, um darin zu taufen."

tan community. To cross the vaguely-drawn boundary of Samaria involved no trespass or assumption of privilege, as would be the case in entering a territory of a European state or province. Particularly in the case of this ill-defined province, with its mixture of races, we are not to suppose that the Samaritans either actually occupied, or had jurisdiction over all the tracts between their towns. In ancient or in modern Palestine there was a constant interpenetration and intermingling of populations within very limited districts. An open-air encampment of a Jewish prophet for preaching and baptizing at the head of the Fā'rah valley, might be *in Samaria* without trespassing upon a Samaritan community, or breaking down in any way the barrier between the two peoples. Our Lord, indeed, forbade the Twelve, at the time when he sent them forth during the imprisonment of John the Baptist, to enter into "any city of the Samaritans." But they were not forbidden to traverse their territory. He himself is mentioned as being among the Samaritans on two separate occasions during the last period of his ministry, the five or six months preceding his crucifixion (Luke ix. 51 *sq.*, xvii. 11 *sq.*). Lange, indeed, supposes that a considerable part of this period was spent in the Samaritan borders.

Far too much stress has been laid in the interpretation of the gospel narrative on the hostility and supposed non-intercourse between Jews and Samaritans. "Jews have no dealings with Samaritans," — the Evangelist's annotation to the question of the woman of Samaria, — obviously means "no needless, friendly, or familiar intercourse with them." What Edersheim, a high authority on a question of this sort, says of Christ, applies also in measure to John the Baptist. "Such prejudices in regard to Samaria, as those which affected the ordinary Judean devotee, would, of course, not influence the conduct of Jesus. But great as these undoubtedly were, they have been unduly exaggerated by modern writers, misled by one-sided quotations from Rabbinical works" (*Jesus the Messiah*, i., p. 295). Also: "Samaria appears [*i.e.*, in the Rabbis] merely as a strip intervening between Judea and Galilee, being the land of the Cuthæans. Nevertheless, it was not regarded like heathen lands, but pronounced clean" (p. 398). Again, of the Samaritans: "They were not treated as heathen, and their land, their springs, baths, houses, and roads were declared clean" (p. 400).

One more point specially concerns the broader interpretation of the gospel narrative, and this will conclude the discussion. Our Lord's two days' ministry in Sychar is unique. In the whole history it has

no parallel. Among the Samaritans of this city he found a large, intelligent faith, such as met him nowhere else. He seems to have wrought no miracles ; he was not even challenged to produce "a sign out of heaven " ; faith followed the spoken word. Whence this faith, this intelligence ? Who had instructed this people ? Who had sown the seed that now sprang up into this white harvest ?, If the Baptist had been for some time preaching in the immediate neighborhood, within five miles distance, the question is answered. "Others had labored," as our Lord at the time reminds his disciples. Here in a remarkable manner John had fulfilled his prophetic mission, and, in the words of the angel, had made ready for his Lord "a prepared people."

## The Syriac Manuscript of the Union Theological Seminary of New York.

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PROF. ISAAC H. HALL, PH.D.

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THIS MS. was obtained from the neighborhood of Mardin, in Mesopotamia, by the Rev. Alpheus N. Andrus, and by him presented to the Union Theological Seminary in March, 1872. It consists, in its present shape, of 146 leaves of rather thick parchment, one of them a mere fragment, but each entire leaf being  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in dimension. The present binding, very dilapidated, of which only fragments of the back and one (wooden board) side remain, is pretty certainly three centuries old. The middle portions of the MS. are in fair preservation, but toward each end many leaves are more or less decayed, discolored, and obscured by the action of water and dirt. Very few portions of it, however, present any serious difficulty in deciphering, though some of them require a little close and slow work.

The sheets are arranged in *quiniones*, or quires of five folios or ten leaves each. The writing is in two columns to the page, each column regularly  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, and the space between the columns about  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch wide. All these measurements vary somewhat, but the size of the written page is generally  $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$  inches. The number of lines in a column is usually 24, but it varies from 21 to 26.

At present, the first three quires are gone; the MS. now beginning with a fragment of the first leaf of *quinio* 4, in Matt. xx. 22. This fragment, however, contains only portions of Matt. xx. 22, 23; xxi. 4-7. The real beginning is with Fol. 2, at Matt. xxi. 10. No gap then occurs till we pass Fol. 99, after which two leaves are missing, one the last leaf of *quinio* 13, and the other the first leaf of *quinio* 14, causing the loss of Luke xxxiii. 21 to xxxiv. 9 (latter part of the verse). Of these two missing leaves, the first has doubtless been *cut away since the MS. came to America*; the other was apparently lost by the natural wearing through of the outer folio of the *quinio*. The next break occurs in the last quire now present of the MS., the seventh and eighth

leaves of the *quinio* being gone, carrying away John xxi. 17 (latter part of the verse) to the end of the Gospel, and of the Epistle of James from its beginning to ii. 2 (first part of the verse). The present end of the MS. is in James ii. 26, first four words of the verse ; to which a later hand has added the rest of the verse, occupying four lines in the lower margin. This later hand undoubtedly belongs to the same period as the present binding, or about three centuries ago. The addition seems to have been made merely to give a clean end to the already mutilated MS.

The MS. thus contained originally the four Gospels and the Epistle of James, and probably all of the Catholic Epistles used by the Syrians (James, 1 Peter, 1 John). If it contained no more than that (a supposition favored by the general make and size of the volume), the codex would have been complete with one more *quinio* ; and would have contained originally 19 *quiniones*, or 190 leaves, or 380 pages.

The writing is in the old Jacobite character, of a style which seems to be of the twelfth century. (Mr. Andrus, the giver of the MS. to the Seminary, considered it to be about 800 years old ; but he seems to me to put it a century too early.) It is much later than the Beirût MS., which belongs to the same general style or class of writing ; for it intermingles much later forms of the letters, besides being written throughout in a later style. Rarely, except in lesson-numbers, a letter occurs in Estrangela. One line, at the bottom of a column (three words of Luke xxii. 29, Fol. 98, b. 2), is written entirely in the Estrangela.

Punctuation is used with the usual significance and insignificance of Syriac MSS. ; the end of a line or the beginning of a church-lesson note being often considered a sufficient indication of punctuation without any further marks. Often, the upper dot of a *rish*, the lower dot of a *dolath*, the point which denotes the feminine suffix pronoun, and the like, are made to do extra duty as a punctuation mark ; being in such cases pushed forward from their normal positions — either to serve the purpose of a single punctuation dot, or part of a double one. In the case of final *nun*, a single dot so often coalesces with its heavy end in such ways that it is impossible to tell exactly what punctuation is intended. The red diamond with a black centre occurs frequently, marking rhetorical significance, or some ecclesiastical or reference division, rather than any syntactical force. Where the diamond of four dots (two vertical red, two horizontal black) is used at the end of a line, the next line often has a red dot at the be-

ginning. The *verso* of each leaf, as in many Syriac MSS., is marked with a diamond of black dots in the upper outer corner.

Abbreviations are rare, except in the church-lesson notes, in which they are the rule. Otherwise, they are confined almost entirely to the words for "glory," with its derivatives, and to that for "disciples." Vowels of the Greek sort are not rare throughout the MS. Some of these are of the first hand; others were apparently added by some late reader to guide his voice.

Grammatical diacritic punctuation is frequent enough to keep the sense generally clear. Vocalization by points is neither rare nor very common. In some portions of the MS. are to be seen specimens of the peculiar compound voweling noted in Wiseman's *Horæ Syriacæ*, pages 191-193; which also occurs rarely in the Peshitto portion of the Beirrit MS.

The writing is generally done with considerable care and accuracy. Wherever words or letters have been omitted, or other slips made, the correction has been made generally by the original scribe or a contemporary hand, either above or below the line, or in the margin, with a proper reference mark (usually a small diamond of black dots).

Ornaments scarcely occur at all. The only thing of the sort is the diamond, composed of dot-diamonds, which surrounds the *quinio*-number at the beginning and end of each quire; besides here and there some dot-diamonds to fill out a line, and a few ornamental tails to letters — likewise attached for the purpose of filling a short blank at the end of a line.

The writing is continuous, without any break from the beginning to the end of a book. The (Jacobite) church-lessons are noted in vermillion letters (with the diacritic points in black), in the body of the text; these rubrics being much abbreviated. The numbers of these lessons, as they now appear, though written in Estrangela, are in a different ink and a much later hand than the rest of the MS.; and in many places there are evidences in them not only of a re-writing, but of an erasure before re-writing. In a few places the older number is still legible; but whether its writing is contemporary with the first scribe cannot now be determined.

The MS. was doubtless originally provided with the Syriac section (ܒܝܬ ܢܗܪܐ) numbers, written mostly in red. But of these numbers only the following now remain: In Matthew, 17, 19, 20, 22; in Mark, 1 (written in black), 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12; in Luke, 2, 6 (written in black), 11, 22 (written erroneously 25 or 26, it being uncertain whether an Estrangela *he* or *waw* has accidentally replaced the re-

quired *beth*) ; in John, 12. These numbers are generally, but not always, written exactly at the beginning of the section to which they belong ; but they always mark the page or column on which the division occurs.

The titles and subscriptions to the Gospels are very simple in form. The following is a translation of those that are still present : —

*Subscription to Matthew* : "Ends the Gospel of Matthew the Apostle, which he spoke in Hebrew in Palestine."

*Title to Mark* : "Holy Gospel, the preaching of Mark the Evangelist."

*Subscription to Mark* : "End of the preaching of Mark, which he spoke in Latin in Rome."

*Title to Luke* : "Holy Gospel, the preaching of Luke the Evangelist."

*Subscription to Luke* : "Ends the Holy Gospel, the preaching of Luke, which he spoke in Greek in Alexandria the Great."

*Title to John* : "Holy Gospel, the preaching of John the Apostle."

Besides the titles and subscriptions, it seems best to give the church-lesson notes in full. Technical students will find it of value. The numbers are given as they occur in the MS. ; in which the reader will perceive some continued mistakes. Generally, the numbers are those of a late hand ; but the few instances in which they are (still) legible in an older hand are marked with a \*. Sometimes, but very rarely, the older and the later hands are both legible. In a few instances there is an illegible spot. Such are denoted either by . . . or by a conjectural supply of the deficiency in brackets.

### *List of Church-Lessons.*

NO.	PASSAGE.	LESSON.
51.	Matt. xxi. 23.	Of Tuesday of [Passion] week, at vespers; and 13th of Resurrection. <sup>1</sup>
52.	" xxii. 33.	Of Stephen, at vespers; and of the martyrs, at vespers.
53.	" xxii. 1.	Of the fifth Sunday of Epiphany; and Monday of Passion week.
54.	" xxii. 15.	Of Passion Monday, at midday.
55.	" xxii. 23.	Of the Saturday of Rest, at matins; and of the departed, at vespers.
55.	" xxii. 34.	Of Passion Tuesday, at matins.
57.	" xxiii. 1.	Of Passion Monday, at matins.
58.	" xxiii. 25.	And Monday of Passion week, at the third hour; and of the martyrs, at the oblation.
59.	" xxiv. 1.	At vespers of the Feast of the Cross; . . . of the Resurrection, at matins.

<sup>1</sup> That is, 13th Sunday; 12th Sunday after Easter. Where a number occurs without the name of the day, it stands for a Sunday.

NO.	PASSAGE.	LESSON.
60.	Matt. xxiv. 34. Of the Supplication.	
61.	" xxiv. 41. Of the Priests, at vespers.	
62.	" xxv. 1. Approach to the gate ( <b>لِدْنَةٌ، σημός</b> ). <sup>1</sup>	
63.	" xxv. 13. Of Bishops and Priests, at the oblation.	
64.	" xxv. 31. Of Friday of Confessors, at matins; and of the vigils of the brethren, at vespers.	
65.	" xxvi. 6. Of Thursday of the Mysteries, at vespers.	
66.	" xxvi. 17. Of Thursday of the Mysteries, at matins.	
67.	" xxvi. 31. Of the great season of the night of the Crucifixion.	
68.	" xxvi. 46. Of the third ministration of the night of the Crucifixion.	
69.	" xxvi. 59. Of the . . . ministration of the night of the Crucifixion.	
70.	" xxvii. 1. Of matins of the Friday of the Crucifixion.	
71.	" xxvii. 27. Of the third hour of the Crucifixion.	
72.	" xxvii. 57. Of the Saturday of Annunciation, at vespers.	
73.	" xxvii. 63. Of the Saturday of Annunciation, at matins.	
74.	" xxviii. 1. Of the second Sunday of the Resurrection, at vespers.	
75.	" xxviii. 11. Of the second of Rest, at matins.	
76.	" xxviii. 16. Of the Ascension, at the oblation.	
1.*	Mark i. 1. Of the Season of the Epiphany, at vespers.	
2.	" i. 14. Of the second Sunday after Epiphany, at matins.	
3.*	" i. 32. Of the second Sunday of Lent, at vespers.	
4.*	" ii. 1. Of the third Sunday of Lent, at vespers.	
5.	" ii. 23. Of the fourth Saturday of Lent.	
6.	" iii. 13. Of the Mother of God ( <i>Deipara</i> ), at vespers.	
7.	" iv. 1. Of the sixth Sunday after Epiphany, at matins.	
8.	" iv. 35. Of the third Sunday of Lent, at matins.	
9.	" v. 21. Of the fourteenth Sunday, at vespers.	
10.	" vi. 14. Of John the Baptist, at vespers.	
11.	" vi. 34. Of the oblation, of any day.	
12.	" vii. 17. Of the eleventh of Resurrection, at vespers.	
13.	" viii. 1. Of the oblation, of any day.	
14.	" viii. 11. Of the Tuesday of Rest, at vespers.	
15.	" viii. 28. Of the Dedication of a church, at the oblation.	
16.	" viii. 34. Of the Resurrection, at vespers; and of the Prophets, at matins; and of the Tabernacles.	
17.	" ix. 9. Of the Saturday of Rest, at vespers.	
18.	" ix. 30. Of the tenth Sunday of the Resurrection, at matins.	
19.	" ix. 42. Of the twenty-fourth of the Resurrection, at vespers; and of the Supplications.	
20.	" x. 1. Of the nineteenth of the Resurrection, at matins.	

<sup>1</sup> In explaining this term, Castel's Lexicon makes a very gross mistake in citing J. S. Assemani, under the word **لِدْنَةٌ**, p. 237. For Castel's (or Michaelis's) "usque ad hanc dominicam," read "usque ad hoc tempus appellatur Syris." This feast was one day only. To explain the matter fully would take too much space here.

NO.	PASSAGE.	LESSON.
21.	Mark x. 32.	Of the twenty-ninth Sunday, at matins; and of the thirty-third <sup>1</sup> of the Passion, of the first ministration of the night.
22.	" x. 46.	Of Hosanna, at matins.
23.	" xi. 15.	Of Passion Tuesday, of the second ministration of the night.
24.	" xi. 27.	Of Passion Monday, at matins.
25.	" xii. 1.	Of Passion Tuesday, in the night, at the third ministration.
26.	" xii. 13.	Of Passion Monday, in the night, of the first ministration.
27.	" xii. 28.	Of the third of the Resurrection, at matins.
28.	" xiii. 1.	Of the night of Passion Tuesday, at the fourth ministration; and of the Feast of the Cross, at matins.
29.	" xiii. 14.	Of the fourth night.
30.	" xiv. 1.	Of Saint (Holy) Mûrûn. [The patron saint of the Maronites.]
31.	" xiv. 12.	Of Thursday of the Mysteries, at the oblation.
32.	" xiv. 43.	Of the second ministration of the night of the Crucifixion.
33.	" xvi. 1.	Of the great Sunday of the Resurrection, at night.
34.	" xvi. 12.	Of the Ascension, at matins.
1.	Luke i. 1.	Of the Annunciation (to) Zacharias, at vespers.
2.	" i. 18.	Of the Annunciation (to) Zacharias, at matins.
[3. <sup>2</sup> ]	" i. 26.	Of the Annunciation of (to) the Mother of God ( <i>Deipara</i> ).
3.	" i. 39.	Of the entry of Mary to Elisabeth.
4.	" i. 57.	Of the birth of John.
5.	" ii. 1.	Of the night of the Nativity of Our Lord.
6.	" ii. 21.	Of the entry of Our Lord to the Temple, at vespers.
7.	" ii. 33.	Of the entry, at matins.
8.	" ii. 40.	Of the Sunday after the Nativity, at vespers.
9.	" iii. 1.	Of the Epiphany, at the oblation.
10.	" iii. 15.	Of the Sunday after Nativity, at matins.
11.	" iii. 23.	Of the first Sunday of Nativity, at matins.
12.	" iv. 1.	Of the Sunday that Lent comes in, at the oblation.
13.	" iv. 14.	Of the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, at vespers.
14.	" iv. 25.	Of the Supplications; and of the Failure of Rain.
15.	" iv. 31.	Of the fifth Sunday of Lent, at the oblation.
16.	" v. 1.	Of the fifth Sunday after Epiphany, at matins.
17.	" v. 27.	Of the fourth Sunday of the Crucifixion, at matins.
18.	" vi. 6.	Of the first Saturday of Lent, at the oblation.
19.	" vii. 1.	Of the fourth Sunday of Lent, at matins.
20.*	" vii. 11.	Of the fifth Sunday of Lent, at vespers.
21. <sup>3</sup>	" vii. 18.	Of the Sunday after Epiphany, at vespers.

<sup>1</sup> If this is the right rendering, there is an error in the number (*gomal-lomad* for *lomad-gomal*). But if not an error, it is an abbreviation which I cannot solve, unless it be for "revelation," which makes no sense. If the *lomad* were absent, it would mean "Tuesday," which may be the right meaning.

<sup>2</sup> This number has been erased, but can still be made out.

<sup>3</sup> Numbers 21 to 29 (inclusive), following, were written 31 to 39, but have been

NO.	PASSAGE.	LESSON.
22.	Luke vii. 36.	Of the Thursday night of the mysteries, of the second time.
23.	" viii. 1.	Of the twenty-second of the Resurrection, at vespers.
24.	" viii. 40.	Of the fifth Sunday of Lent, at matins.
25.	" ix. 1.	Of John the Baptist, at the oblation.
26.	" ix. 11.	Of the oblation, of any day.
27.	" ix. 27.	Of the Feast of Tabernacles, at matins.
28.	" ix. 51.	Of the sixth Sunday of the Resurrection, at vespers.
29.	" x. 17.	Of the thirty-third of the Resurrection, at vespers.
40.	" x. 25.	Of the sixth Sunday of Lent, at vespers.
41.	" xi. 1.	Of the sixth Sunday of the Resurrection, at matins.
42.	" xi. 23.	Of the Mother of God ( <i>Deipara</i> ), at matins.
43.	" xi. 37.	Of the eighteenth of Resurrection, at matins.
44.	" xi. 52.	Of the twenty-third of the Resurrection, at vespers.
45.	" xii. 16.	Of the twenty-seventh of the Resurrection, at vespers.
46.	" xii. 31.	Of the Passion, at the third hour; and twenty-sixth of the Resurrection; and of the Saints, at vespers.
47.	" xii. 49.	Of the twenty-third of the Resurrection, at matins; and of the Supplications.
48.	" xiii. 1.	Of the twenty-first of the Resurrection, at vespers.
49.	" xiii. 10.	Of the twenty-fifth of the Resurrection, at matins.
50.	" xiii. 18.	Of the night of Wednesday of Passion week, at the first ministration.
51.	" xiii. 31.	Of Passion Tuesday, at the ninth hour.
52.	" xiv. 7.	Of the twelfth of the Resurrection, at matins; and of the thirtieth of Resurrection, at vespers.
53.	" xiv. 25.	Of the twenty-first of the Resurrection, at matins; and of the tonsure of monks.
54.	" xv. 1.	Of the fourteenth of the Resurrection, at matins.
55.	" xv. 11.	Of the Wednesday of Rest, at matins; and twenty-seventh of the Resurrection, at matins.
56.	" xv. 33.	Of the Thursday of Rest, at vespers.
57.	" xvi. 19.	Of the thirty-first of the Resurrection, at vespers.
58.	" xvii. 5.	Of the sixteenth Sunday of the Resurrection, at matins.
59.	" xvii. 10.	Of the second Sunday of Lent, at the oblation.
60.	" xvii. 20.	Of the night of Passion Tuesday, at the third ministration, at vespers.
61.	" xviii. 1.	Of Passion Thursday, at matins.
62.	" xviii. 35.	Of the sixth Sunday of Lent, at the oblation.
63.	" xix. 1.	Of the eleventh of the Resurrection, at matins.
64.	" xix. 11.	Of the Priests; and twenty-fourth of the Resurrection, at matins.
65.	" xix. 28.	Of the Hosanna, in the night.
66.	" xix. 47.	Of Passion Monday, at vespers.

corrected by erasing the upper end of the *lomad*, so as to make it read 'ee. But after 29 the error is suffered to remain uncorrected; and what should be 30-68 are written 40-78.

NO.	PASSAGE.	LESSON.
67.	Luke xx. 9.	Of the night of Passion Monday, at the second ministration.
68.	" xxi. 5.	Of the night of Passion Tuesday, at the second ministration; and of the Feast of the Cross, at the oblation.
69.	" xxi. 25.	Of the third ministration of Passion Wednesday, at night; and of the Supplications.
70.	" xxii. 1.	Of the Thursday of the mysteries, at night, the third time.
71.	" xxii. 31.	Of the Thursday of the mysteries, at the third hour.
72.	" xxii. 39.	Of the night of the Crucifixion, at the first ministration.
73.	" xxiii. 65.	Of the third hour of the Crucifixion. [Two leaves gone here.]
77.	" xxiv. 13.	Of the Monday of Rest, at vespers.
78.	" xxiv. 36.	Of the Ascension, at vespers.
1.	John i. 1.	Of the Nativity, at the oblation; and after the Nativity, at matins.
2.	" i. 19.	Of the first Sunday after Epiphany, at vespers.
3.	" i. 29.	Of the first Sunday after Epiphany, at matins.
4.	" i. 43.	Of the Sunday after Epiphany, at matins [ <i>sic</i> ].
5.	" ii. 1.	Of the Sunday of the coming in of Lent, at vespers.
6.	" ii. 12.	Of the Saturday of Lazarus, at the oblation.
7.	" ii. 18.	Of the Tuesday of Rest, at matins.
8.	" iii. 1.	Of the Baptism; and the thirty-second Sunday of the Resurrection, at vespers.
9.	" iii. 13.	Of the thirty-second of the Resurrection, at matins.
10.	" iii. 22.	Of the third Sunday after Epiphany, at vespers.
11.	" iv. 4.	Of the beginning of the waters in the night of Epiphany; and the adoration of Pentecost. iv. 42. End [of the preceding lesson].
12.	" iv. 46.	Of the third Sunday after the Resurrection, at vespers.
13.	" v. 1.	Of the twelfth Sunday of Resurrection, at vespers.
14.	" v. 19.	Of the vigil of the brethren, at the oblation; and of the departed, at matins.
15.	" v. 30.	Of the third Sunday after Epiphany, at matins; and Thursday of the mysteries, at midday.
16.	" vi. 5.	Of the oblation, of any day.
17.	" vi. 16.	Of the fourth Sunday of Lent, at the oblation.
18.	" vi. 22.	Of the twenty-second of the Resurrection, at matins.
19.	" vi. 47.	Of the oblation, of any day.
20.	" vi. 58.	Of Passion Wednesday, at vespers.
21.	" vii. 14.	Of the third hour of the fourth Wednesday of the earthquakes; and the twenty-sixth Sunday of the Resurrection, at matins.
22.	" vii. 28.	Of midday of the Wednesday of the earthquakes.
23.	" vii. 37.	Of the Thursday evening of the mysteries; and the twenty-eighth of the Resurrection, at matins.
24.	" vii. 45.	Of the fifth Saturday of Lent.
25.	" viii. 21.	Of the night of Passion Tuesday, at the fourth ministration.
26.	" viii. 28.	Of the Wednesday of the earthquakes, at the ninth hour.

NO.	PASSAGE.	LESSON.
27.	John viii. 39.	Of Stephen, at the oblation.
28.	" ix. 1.	Of the sixth Sunday of Lent, at matins; and of the thirty-fourth of Resurrection, at matins.
29.	" x. 1.	Of the Doctors (teachers) Basilius [ <i>sic</i> ] and Gregorius; and thirty-fifth of the Resurrection, at matins.
30.	" x. 22.	Of the consecration of a church, at matins.
31.	" xi. 1.	Of the Saturday of Lazarus; and of Peace (or Rest) for the departed.
32.	" xi. 39.	Of Lazarus, at matins.
33.	" xi. 47.	Of the Wednesday of the earthquakes, at matins.
34.	" xi. 55.	Of the Thursday of the mysteries, at night, and at the first ministration.
35.	" xii. 12.	Of the Sunday of Hosannas, at the oblation.
36.	" xii. 23.	Of Passion Tuesday, at midday.
37.	" xiii. 1.	Of the Washing [of the feet], of Thursday of the mysteries.
38.	" xiii. 20.	Of the night of Wednesday of the earthquakes, at the second ministration.
39.	" xiv. 1.	Of the ninth hour of Passion Monday.
40.	" xiv. 15.	Of the vespers of the Sunday of Pentecost.
41.	" xiv. 28.	Of the first season of the night of the Crucifixion.
42.	" xv. 20.	Of Pentecost, at matins.
33 [ <i>sic</i> ] <sup>1</sup> .	xvi. 16.	Of Pentecost, at oblation.
34. John	xvi. 23.	Of the twentieth Sunday of the Resurrection, at matins.
35.	" xvii. 1.	Of the seventh of the Resurrection, at vespers.
36.	" xvii. 12.	Of the night of Thursday of the mysteries, at the fourth ministration.
37.	" xviii. 1.	Of the night of the Crucifixion, at the second ministration.
38.	" xviii. 28.	Of the Friday of the Crucifixion, at matins.
	" (xix. 7, red letter <i>gof</i> above the line, signifying probably <i>first</i> , or else oblation. The number 38 is repeated at xix. 26, but without a lesson note.)	
39.	" xix. 38.	Of the Saturday of glad tidings (or, of expectation), at matins.
40.	" xx. 1.	Of the great Thursday of the Resurrection.
41.	" xx. 19.	Of the dawn of New Sunday.
41 [ <i>sic—bis</i> ].	xx. 26.	Of matins of New Sunday.
42. John	xxi. 1.	Of New Sunday, at the oblation.
43.	" xxi. 15.	Of Simeon Cephas; of Bishops. (Also a red <i>gof</i> in the margin, as at xix. 7.)

With regard to text, this MS. coincides almost exactly with the American editions (Urmf and New York, both Amer. Bib. Soc.), as well as with that of the original Widmanstadt edition of 1555; and steers clear of the numerous variations of sundry European editions

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<sup>1</sup> From this point to the end, the numbers are all too small by ten.

(especially English) which were introduced on inferior authority or on mere conjecture. Except in printer's slips on the one hand, or manifest errors on the other, the coincidence of the American and the Widmanstadt text with that of this MS. is so close that collation becomes very monotonous, and is confined mostly to noting peculiarities of punctuation and spelling. A collation of either with the far too highly praised text of Lee or Greenfield would disclose many more differences.

This negative fact is to be taken as evidence of the general excellence of the MS., as representing a text certainly very ancient, and received alike in all the divergent Syrian churches. Besides this, it may be added that the MS. is very carefully written, with comparatively few slips of the scribe; and in the great majority of cases, those slips are corrected either by the scribe himself or by a contemporary hand.

As might be expected, this MS. omits the passages not ordinarily found in Syriac MSS., or which are bracketed in the better printed editions after they were once introduced; such as John vii. 53-viii. 11; Luke xxii. 17, 18. As to those actually erroneous readings preferred by the Syrians, such as "heavy" for "burning" in Luke xxiv.-32, this MS. follows the Widmanstadt and the American editions. Another case (not erroneous, however), all the more interesting from its disappearance from most other editions, even in the various readings, is **لَهُ**; for **لَهُ**, as a rendering of *paββow̄i* in John xx. 16.

The main differences between this MS. and the American (New York, 1874) edition are in the spelling of the Syriac words for Jews, Herod, Herodias, Rome, Peter, Soldier, Israel, Andrew, and other transliterated or foreign words; the exchange of a longer for a shorter grammatical form, or the reverse; the writing of compound words as separate ones, and the reverse; some slight variations in spelling; the addition or omission of a prefix *waw*, or of a prefix *dolath*, or of a *waw* in the termination, with effect either *nil* or idiomatic only, and in the punctuation. Rarely there is an exchange of one equivalent for another, e.g., Mark viii. 9, **وَمِنْ** for **وَمِنْ لِهِ**; or of the pronoun for the noun, e.g., Mark v. 46, **لَهُمَا** for **أَنْتُمْ**; or of one word for another of nearly the same purport but different meaning, e.g., Mark x. 50, **أَنْتَ** for **أَنْتَ أَنْتَ**. Of additions, there is scarcely anything worse than that of "Amen" before "I say" in Luke xiii. 25; or of transpositions, anything worse than "Elias and Moses" for "Moses and Elias" in Mark ix. 4; while the worst omission left uncorrected by

the scribe appears to be in Mark i. 6, of the words for "and was there in the wilderness" (homoiotelenton of one line).

I have full material for presenting further differences, having carefully collated the whole MS.; but I do not suppose that a detailed statement of the results is called for in this article.

## Notes.

*Luke xxiv. 32 in Syriac.*

BY PROF. I. H. HALL, PH.D.

**I**N the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* of October, 1880, pp. xxxvi., xxxvii., I have shown that the reading of the Curetonian Syriac, of "heavy" for "burning," in Luke xxiv. 32, said by Scrivener (*Plain Introd. to N. T. Criticism*, 2d ed., p. 285; 3d ed., p. 324) to be "a variation supported only by those precarious allies the Thebaic and (apparently) the American versions," is not only the Peshitto and the Harklensian reading, but the reading known and preferred by the Nestorian and Jacobite ecclesiastics, and the common one in use by the Syrians. Sundry conjectures have been indulged in as to the Greek which underlay this variant; though it consists only in a point placed at the *top* of a letter instead of the bottom, making the letter *rish* instead of *dolath*. But on examining the Peshitto, the origin of the first scribe's error is manifest. In verse 25 of the same chapter, the same Syriac phrase (with the *rish*) is used to render  $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\tau\bar{\eta}\kappa\rho\delta\iota\varsigma$ ; and it was most natural for the Syrian scribe to suppose that the disciples, in verse 32, were repeating the same expression, and that the *dolath* in the translator's draught, or other correct copy, was probably an oversight. Of course the error is that of a copyist only; for the translator, with the Greek before him, would not be misled. It is plain, too, that the Syriac word for "heavy" in verse 32, stands, in the Syriac mind, for an imaginary Greek  $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , and for nothing else. The Syrian reader supposes the disciples to be repeating and applying to themselves the reproach of Christ uttered in verse 25; and it is not strange that the Syrians, when apprised of the true reading, should still prefer their common one of "heavy." See, on this point, Dr. Justin Perkins's *Eight Years in Persia*, pp. 16, 17. A comparison of the Peshitto rendering of Luke xxi. 34 (the phrase  $\beta\alpha\rho\eta\theta\omega\sigma\iota\bar{w}\iota\mu\bar{w}\iota\alpha\kappa\rho\delta\iota\varsigma$ ) will throw a little more light on the general subject.

It should be said, however, that the real error probably goes back to the time when the Syriac *dolath* and *rish* were indistinguishable; and

that when the diacritic point came to be applied, it followed the common understanding, which chose what seemed to be the more appropriate of two good senses.

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*Job xix. 25-27.*

BY REV. J. I. MOMBERT, D.D.

In the *Journal* for June and December, 1882, beginning p. 27, is a paper on this passage. The exact Greek text of the passage, as it stands in the printed editions of the Alexandrian and Vatican Manuscripts, and in the Complutensian Polyglot, herewith supplied, may be useful for reference.

A. *Codex Alexandrinus (Baber), Lond. 1821.*

ΟΙΔΑ ΓΑΡ ΟΤΙ ΑΕΝΑΟC ECTIN Ο ΕΚ  
ΑΤΕΙN ΜΕ ΜΕΛΛΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΓΗC  
ΑΝΑСTHCEI ΔE MOT TO CΩMA To  
ANANTLAOTN TATTA·  
ΠΑРА ΓΑΡ ΚΤ MOI TATTA CTNETELESCΩH  
A ΕΓΩ ΕΜΑΤΤΩ CTNEPISTAMAI  
A OI OΦΘΑΛΜΟI MOT EOPAKACIN  
KAI OTK AΛΛΟC PANTA ΔE MOI  
CTNTETELESTAI EN KOΛΠΩ

B. *Codex Vaticanus, Roma, 1871.*

ΟΙΔΑ ΓΑΡ ΟΤΙ ΑΕΝΑΟC ECTIN Ο EKAT·  
EIN ME MELLON  
EPI ΓΗC ANACTHCAI TO ΔEERMA MOT  
TO ANANTLAOTN TATTA  
ΠΑΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΚΤ TATTA MOI CTNETELESCΩH  
A ΕΓΩ ΕΜΑΤΤΩ CTNEPISTAMAI  
A O OΦΘΑΛΜΟC MOT EÖRAKEN KAI  
OTK AΛΛΟC  
PANTA ΔE MOI CTNTETELESTAI  
EN KOΛΠΩ

C. *Complutensian Polyglot.*

οῖδα ἐγὼ ὅτι ἀένναδος ἔστιν ὁ ἐκλύειν με μέλλων, ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναστῆσαι τὸ δέρμα ην τὸ ἀναντλοῦν ταῦτα. παρὰ γὰρ κυρίου ταῦτά μοι συνετελέσθη, ἢ ἐγὼ ἐμαντῶ συνεπίσταμαι, ἢ ὀδφθαλμός μου ἔώρακε, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος, πάντα δέ μοι συντελεσται ἐν κόλπῳ.

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*Corrections.*

BY PROF. ISAAC H. HALL, PH.D.

THE following corrections should be made in papers on the Beirût Codex and the Syriac Apocalypse, published in the *Journal* for June and December, 1882 :—

- Page 4, line 15, for "128" read "98."  
 " 8, lines 15-19, *del* the sentence beginning "Several instructive examples," with the one which follows in parenthesis. The peculiarity is one noted at several places in Wiseman's *Hore Syriacæ*, and seems to serve another object. I have observed the same thing in other MSS., e.g., in that of the Union Theological Seminary in New York. The statements made in the two sentences referred to rest, however, on the assurance of sundry native scholars, of whom the late Butrus el-Bistani, author of the *Mohut el-Mohit*, and an excellent Syriac scholar, was one. But it seems contradicted by other MS. phenomena and explanation.  
 " 16, line 6, for "1627" read "1630."  
 " 135, line 1 of foot-note, for "1565" read "1555."  
 " " lines 2 and 3 of foot-note, for "Guido" read "Guy."  
 " " line 4 of foot-note, add "Also a ninth, after the publication of the Pococke and De Dieu matter, viz., [Christian Knorr von Rosenroth,] Sulzbach, 1684."  
 " 136, lines 1, 20, for "Le Croze" read "La Croze."  
 " 137, line 16, for "J. J. Assemani" read "J. S. Assemani."  
 " 138, line 2, put a full stop in place of comma after "emendavi" (the old semi-period).  
 " " line 8, for "idem" read "item."  
 " " line 10, for "commississe" read "commissee."  
 " " line 15, put full stop after "fuissent" (the old semi-period).

Other less important corrections, especially in the accentuation of some of the Greek words, will easily be made by the reader.

## Proceedings.

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THE eighth meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was held in the Chapel of the Union Theological School, December 27, 1883.

The Society met in accordance with the arrangements of the committee at 9 A.M.

In the absence of both the President and the Vice-President, Rev. M. S. Terry, D.D., was called to the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Committee of Arrangements reported the following programme : Morning session, 9-12.30 ; recess, 12.30-2 ; afternoon session 2-5.30 ; recess, 5.30-7.30 ; evening session, 7.30 onward ; which was adopted, as also the further recommendation that the first part of the afternoon session be devoted to necessary business, and the hour immediately following to brief notes.

The first paper, on "The Independent Legislation of Deuteronomy," was read by Prof. E. C. Bissell, D.D., and discussed by various members of the Society.

The second paper, on "Recent Discussions of Rom. ix. 5," by Prof. Ezra Abbott, D.D., in the absence of the author on account of illness, was read by Prof. Francis Brown.

The third paper, on "The Readings 'Ελληνας and 'Ελληνιστάς," by Prof. B. B. Warfield, D.D., who also could not be present, was read by the Secretary.

Before it was quite completed, the time fixed for closing the session arrived, and a recess was taken.

At 2 P.M. the Society re-assembled, and at once proceeded to the transaction of business.

Pursuant to a recommendation of the Council, it was voted that thenceforth back numbers of the *Journal* be sold singly, to members elected after their publication, at one dollar a copy.

The following persons were recommended by the Council, and elected to membership in the Society :—

Prof. C. R. Brown, Newton Centre, Mass.  
Rev. P. A. Nordell, New London, Conn.

Rev. J. P. Peters, Ph.D.,	Cor. 99th St. and 10th Ave., New York, N.Y.
Rev. W. M. Taylor, D.D., LL.D.,	5 West 35th St., New York, N.Y.
Prof. H. M. Scott,	Congregational Theol. Sem., Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Jacob Streibert,	West Haven, Conn.
Prof. E. B. Andrews,	Providence, R.I.
Prof. E. D. Burton,	Newton Centre, Mass.
Rev. J. J. McCook,	114 Main St., Hartford, Conn.
Prof. J. W. Lindsay, D.D.,	12 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.
Rev. F. A. Henry,	Ridgefield, Conn.
Prof. J. F. Genung, Ph.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
Prof. D. M. Welton, Ph.D.,	Toronto, Canada.
Prof. G. T. Ladd, D.D.,	New Haven, Conn.

The Society further adopted the recommendation of the Council to the effect that Hartford, Conn., be the place of the next meeting, and Profs. Bissell and Hart, and Rev. Mr. Andrews, a committee to fix the date, and make all necessary arrangements.

At the conclusion of these matters of business, it was voted that the presentation of the brief notes, which were next in order, be deferred, in order that Prof. W. A. Stevens might read his paper on "Ænon near to Salim," which was followed by a short discussion.

Among the notes afterwards offered were the following: —

One by Prof. I. H. Hall, Ph.D., on Luke xxiv. 32 in Syriac.

One by Prof. Francis Brown, on the Gospel of Matthew in a MS. of the National Library at Paris, edited by John Wordsworth, A.M.

One by Rev. J. I. Mombert, D.D., on Ziegler's series of printed editions of the ante-Hieronymian portions of the Italic text, with a reference to the speaker's edition of Tyndale's Pentateuch in process of publication.

One by Rev. W. H. Ward, D.D., on Ps. xci. 4, as illustrated by the decorations on the Bowl of Palestrina. See *Le Journal Asiatique*, 1878.

A second by Dr. Hall, on two Greek MSS., — one a copy of Chrysostom's Homilies on Ephesians, and his Hermeneia on Galatians; the other, a Lexicon in the Philadelphia Library, — and two liturgical works in the possession of Hiram Hitchcock, Esq., of New York.

At the close of the hour devoted to these notes, Rev. J. I. Mombert, D.D., requested permission, which was granted, to read his paper on "The Tridentine Decrees concerning the Holy Scriptures, and the History of the Official Text of the Scriptures of the Church of Rome."

The discussion which followed this paper elicited much that was interesting concerning the Latin MSS. of the Bible.

At this point, it was moved and voted that the meeting close with the session then in progress, but that the session be extended long enough to allow the presentation of the papers yet to be read.

Prof. I. H. Hall, Ph.D., then gave the Society a description of "The Union Theological Seminary's Syriac MS. of the Gospels, etc."

Dr. Mombert asked permission to publish, in the next volume of the *Journal*, some additions to an article in that of 1882.

It was voted to authorize the Council to publish the papers read during the year as far as the funds on hand would permit.

The remainder of Prof. Warfield's paper was then read, and one by Rev. B. Pick, Ph.D., on "The History of the Printed Text of the Old Testament," was read by its title.

There were present at one or both sessions of the meeting, Drs. Buttz, Crosby, Hitchcock, Mombert, and Terry; Profs. Ballantine, Beckwith, Bissell, Briggs, Brown, Gardiner, Hall, Harper, Hart, Mitchell, Moore, and Stevens; Revs. Gillett, Micou, Rice, and Riggs.

A rough copy of the minutes was read and corrected, after which the Society, at 6.30, adjourned.

H. G. MITCHELL,  
*Secretary.*

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## LIST OF MEMBERS.

*Members are requested to give the Secretary notice of changes in their addresses.*

Prof. Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D.,*	23 Berkeley St., Cambridge, Mass.
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Prof. C. R. Brown,	Newton Centre, Mass.

\* Died March 21, 1884.

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